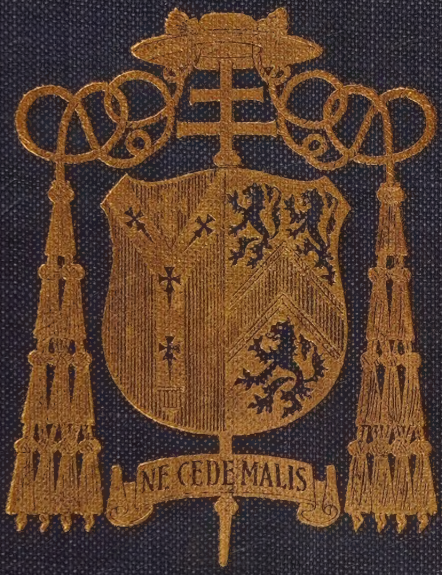

NE CEDE MALIS

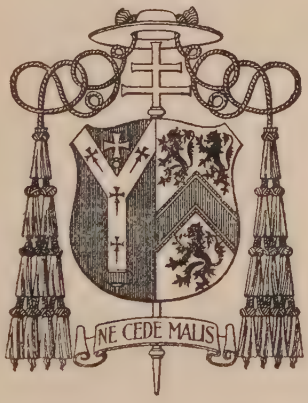
REPORT OF THE NINETEENTH EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

Photo by] [*Histed.*

His Eminence Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli,
Bishop of Palestrina, Papal Legate to the Eucharistic Congress.

[*Frontispiece.*

Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, held at Westminster from 9th to 13th September 1908



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PREFACE

By the Archbishop of Westminster

Those who had the joy of being present in person at the Eucharistic Congress held in Westminster will not easily allow the memory of those eventful days to pass from their minds. The thought of the religious ceremonies, of the public meetings, of the discussions, will perpetually recur to give them fresh earnestness in the service of God.

But no one, however active, was able to take part in every one of the ceremonies and meetings of those days, and a permanent record of the Congress, from the opening until the close, will be welcomed by all without exception. Such a record is needed still more by the thousands in every land who were with us in spirit, following as best they could the history of each day, and longing to learn in detail the story of the Congress as a whole.

The Official Report now about to be published will, it is hoped, meet the aspirations of all, and set down as a chapter of ecclesiastical history the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, the first ever held in any English-speaking country, and the most interesting, in almost every sense, in the series to which it is now added.

"Epoch-making" is the epithet attached to the Congress by more than one authoritative voice, and there can be no doubt that generations to come will look back upon it as marking a development of Catholic faith and practice in England far beyond the expectations of those who, with the

single idea of giving honour to the most Blessed Sacrament, made themselves responsible for the preparation and arrangement of this great international gathering.

England has shown that, although the number of her Catholics is still only a small part of the total population, she can take her place not unworthily in the midst of the nations as a centre of Catholic worship. Her Metropolitan See has, by God's blessing, been able to welcome representatives of the Catholic Church from every part of the world; and they, as we know by their own most kindly avowals, have felt themselves at home in the capital of the British Empire. One in faith, in heart, in worship with their English brethren, they have given thanks to God that the days of our mourning are over, and that, as was the case for many hundreds of years, the Church in England forms no mean part of the true Church of Jesus Christ.

From the beginning to the end the providence of God was watching over the Eucharistic Congress, and the Divine Blessing was manifestly upon it. That blessing has been re-echoed and emphasised by the words of the Holy Father, who has spoken in no stinted terms of the joy which the Congress has brought to his fatherly heart. May we be worthy of these blessings, may we understand the responsibility which comes to us all, both clergy and laity of every degree, as a result of the favour bestowed upon us in being allowed to proclaim so gloriously and so openly our adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and our obedience to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. If we forget, if we grow lukewarm, the record of the Congress will be there to renew our memory and to stimulate our zeal. God grant that neither we, nor those who come after us, may ever prove unworthy of the graces so lavishly bestowed upon us.

✠ FRANCIS,
Archbishop of Westminster.

LES MÉMOIRES DU CONGRÈS EUCHARISTIQUE

Par le Très Rev. F. M. Cabrol, O.S.B., Abbé de Farnborough

Le Congrès eucharistique de Londres n'a pas été un de ces événements éphémères qui occupent l'attention du public pendant quelques heures et dont on se souvient à peine le lendemain. Les conséquences de ce XIX^e^ Congrès, qui doit à diverses circonstances d'avoir eu une portée et une solennité hors de pair, continueront à se développer dans l'avenir.

Mais en dehors du grand effet moral et religieux, il restera de ces grandes assises de l'Eucharistie, un enseignement dans les travaux présentés aux diverses sections et qui remplit une partie du volume que les éditeurs présentent au public.

Il était naturel que les études composées pour être lues à un congrès eucharistique réuni dans la capitale de l'Angleterre protestante, eussent surtout pour objet l'Eucharistie dans ses relations avec l'histoire de ce pays. C'est ce que les organisateurs du congrès ont compris et ce qui donne aux différents mémoires réunis dans ce volume leur unité et leur caractère. Aussi forment-ils une page de l'histoire de l'Eucharistie qui devra s'ajouter au beau livre du Père Bridgett: *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.*[1]

[1] Ce livre a été réédité avec luxe à l'occasion du congrès par le P. H. Thurston, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, MCMVIII.

Il n'était peut-être pas inutile de le constater ici, puisqu'aussi bien un observateur du reste bienveillant et fort intelligent, mais peut-être un peu préoccupé dans la circonstance, a méconnu ce caractère.[1] Il suffira nous semble-t-il, de comparer les travaux de ce congrès à ceux de ses aînés pour voir du premier coup la différence.

Dans la première catégorie nous rangerons le mémoire de Dom Gasquet sur *L'Eucharistie dans les temps qui ont précédé la Réforme en Angleterre ;* celui du Chanoine Moyes sur *La Messe et la Réforme protestante ;* celui de Mgr. Keating, évêque de Northampton, sur *Les Martyrs anglais et l'Eucharistie ;* les remarques sur *La Déclaration royale contre la Transsubstantiation,* par le Vicomte Llandaff ; le travail du Père le Bachelet, S.J. *La Doctrine du Vénérable Bède sur l'Eucharistie ;* celui des RR. PP. Gougaud, Baudot, et Leclercq, de l'Abbaye de Farnborough, le premier sur *les Rites de la consécration et de la fraction dans la liturgie Celtique,* le second sur les *Bénédictions dans la Liturgie anglo-saxonne,* le troisième sur les *Autels bretons.* Le mémoire sur *L'Eucharistie dans l'Ordre des Chartreux,* peut aussi se rattacher à cette classe.

Un deuxième groupe de mémoires s'est inspiré d'un sujet qu'on pourrait appeler d'actualité sur l'Eucharistie, la communion fréquente. Il était naturel, après les récentes décisions du saint siège sur cette matière, que le congrès de Londres s'en occupât. Sans parler de travaux pratiques, comme ceux du R. P. de Wouters, S.J., du Chanoine Arthur Ryan, sur la *Pratique de la Communion fréquente en Irlande,* on trouvera dans ce volume les savantes études du Bénédictin Dom Chapman, d'Erdington, du Chanoine Th. B. Scannell, du Père Lucas, S.J.

D'autres mémoires, celui du Prince Max de Saxe sur *La Doctrine de Saint Jean Chrysostôme au sujet de l'Eucharistie ;* celui du Dr Fortescue sur *l'Église grecque orthodoxe et l'Eucharistie ;* du P. le Breton, S.J., sur *L'Influence de la Théologie d'Antioche sur*

[1] *Le Correspondant,* 25 Sept. 1908, pp. 1043 *seq.*

l'Eucharistie ; celui du P. de Puniet sur de *Nouveaux Fragments Liturgiques du Canon de la Messe,* semblent ne se rattacher au plan général que par un lien plus fragile, mais il suffit de les lire pour voir qu'ils ont tous pour objet d'expliquer et de défendre les doctrines de l'Église sur l'Eucharistie attaquées par les protestants.

Je laisse de côté quelques autres communications d'un caractère plus exclusivement pratique, qui ont bien aussi leur place dans un congrès eucharistique. Nous avons voulu montrer seulement que celui de Londres, avait, au point de vue des travaux présentés, mérité une place à part, et ouvert une voie nouvelle, dans laquelle sans doute voudront entrer les organisateurs des congrès futurs, en dressant à l'avance un programme d'études et de questions bien déterminé.

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire encore sur la valeur des mémoires que les éditeurs présentent dans ce volume. Nous pensons qu'ils se recommandent assez par le nom de leurs auteurs et que le public leur fera un accueil favorable, et, comme le dit l'Archevêque de Westminster, ils contribueront à l'édification aussi bien qu'à l'instruction du lecteur.

FERNAND CABROL.

The Abbey, Farnborough.

EDITORIAL NOTE

THE compilation of this Report was in the first instance entrusted to the Sectional Meetings Sub-Committee of the Congress; but owing partly to the indisposition of one of the original editors, partly to some unforeseen difficulties that were encountered, it has since been transferred to other hands. A certain delay has resulted, for which neither publisher nor printers are responsible, but even as it is, the Report will appear within six months of the termination of the Congress, which is more, we believe, than can be said of any of its predecessors. The complications just referred to are also mainly responsible for the fact that not quite all the papers read or presented at the sectional meetings are here reproduced.[1] It may be noted, however, that with one very regrettable exception, all the more valuable contributions are included. And indeed, while each of the previous eighteen Reports has, no doubt, its own distinctive features, that of the present Congress holds a unique place in the series from the permanent historical value of so many of the dissertations it contains. To profess to distinguish among them where all are excellent, would be invidious, but it is only fitting that a special word of thanks should be accorded to Dom Pierre de Puniet, O.S.B., for his extremely important essay, entitled "Fragments inédits d'une Liturgie égyptienne écrits sur Papyrus" (see pp. 367-401). The generosity of Dom de Puniet in offering to the London

[1] The same is true of the Report of the preceding Congress held at Metz in 1907.

Eucharistic Congress the first-fruits of this remarkable discovery is only rendered the more conspicuous by the unfortunate delay in the publication of the Report, which has prevented him from making his conclusions known to the learned world at an earlier date. It can hardly escape notice that in this, as in so many other ways, the deplorable persecution which has driven the religious orders out of France, has in no small degree brought benefit to the countries in which the exiles have sought refuge.

In two or three instances, those who have contributed papers to this volume have written in a language which was not their own native tongue. We have thought that the indulgence of the reader would be generously extended in such cases to minor defects of style, and the papers, except for a few purely literal corrections, have accordingly been printed as they were sent in by their authors.

If the present Report has not been illustrated quite so profusely as some of its predecessors, it may be pointed out that, owing to the style of binding adopted, the extensive use of Greek type in many of the papers, and other causes, the expense of production has been unusually great. On the other hand, apart from the illustrated papers of the United Kingdom, which nearly all devoted much attention to the more striking scenes of the Congress, two admirably illustrated little works have already been published in connection with the meeting by Messrs Burns & Oates, viz., the *Official Guide* and *The Story of the Congress*. To the compilers of these booklets, and particularly to Mr Wilfrid Meynell, who in this and other ways has rendered great assistance in making the work of the Congress better known and appreciated, the thanks of all interested in its success are especially due. Cordial acknowledgments ought also to be made here to Dr Jackman, Dom Gougaud, and others, who have assisted in the correction of the proofs, as also to *The Tablet* and the other Catholic journals,

which have been freely drawn upon in such descriptions of the scenes and ceremonies of this memorable gathering as are incorporated in the following pages.

Lastly, it seems desirable to call attention to the very remarkable letter addressed by our Holy Father Pope Pius X. to His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, in acknowledgment of the great success with which, by God's blessing, the Eucharistic Congress of London had been attended (see pp. 609-611). As the letter was not received in England until more than a month after the Congress itself was over, it seems somehow to have passed comparatively unnoticed. But no one can study the terms in which the Holy Father's thanks are conveyed without receiving the impression that this is not the language of merely formal acknowledgment, but that His Holiness looks upon the London meeting of last September as having worthily fulfilled its object, and as occupying a most memorable if not a unique place in the history of these nineteen Eucharistic celebrations.

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THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS OF 1908

Tuesday, 8th September

ARRIVAL OF THE LEGATE

On this day Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli, the Legate deputed by the Holy Father to act as his representative at the Eucharistic Congress, crossed from Ostend in the Belgian steamer *Princesse Clémentine*. His Eminence was attended by his personal suite, consisting of Mgr. Bidwell, who acted as his *Uditore*, and of Count Aymard d'Ursel and Mr Stuart Coats, both Camerieri Segreti di Spada e Cappa at the Papal Court.

On their arrival at the Admiralty Pier at Dover, they found a large number of Catholics and others assembled to greet the Legate. So enthusiastic and eager were the crowd, that the Bishop of Southwark (the bishop of the diocese in which Dover is situated) and the Bishop of Arindela (representing Westminster) had considerable difficulty in making their way through to the saloon in the steamer where His Eminence awaited them. Presently the Cardinal, escorted by the Bishops and others, left the boat for the pier. Cardinal Vannutelli was the first Legate to set foot on English soil since Cardinal Pole was received in state at Dover—an interval of 350 years. In spite of the still existing law against the entrance of a Papal Legate, he was not only not arrested, but was received with every demonstration of courtesy and respect.

At Charing Cross a much larger crowd had assembled to welcome the Legate. On the platform were the Archbishop

of Westminster, the Archbishop of Acrida (the coadjutor of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, Australia), Mgr. Stonor (Archbishop of Trebizond and Arch-priest of St John Lateran), the Bishop of Olinda (Brazil), the Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud (Chile), Bishop MacSherry from Port Elizabeth (Cape of Good Hope), the Duke of Norfolk, the Hon. A. Wilmot of the Cape Legislative Assembly, the Hon. Frank Russell, K.C., Mr W. S. Lilly, Secretary of the Catholic Union, together with numbers of the clergy from all parts of the world, and numerous representatives of the laity. Cardinal Sancha y Hervas, Archbishop of Toledo, attended by Count Arellano, was also waiting in a motor car. The train arrived at 6 P.M., when Cardinal Sancha, the Archbishop of Westminster, the prelates, and the Duke of Norfolk entered the saloon carriage, and presented their personal welcome to the Pope's representative. After several prominent persons had been introduced to His Eminence, the latter stepped to the door of the carriage, and, speaking in Italian, addressed the assembly to the following effect:—

"For the first time in a long series of years a Pontifical Legate has been sent here by the Holy Father. The duty and honour of representing him devolves upon me, and it is with the greatest pleasure that I find myself again in London. I thank you for your warm reception in this city—this magnificent London—and I will not fail to convey to the Holy Father information of the warm welcome I have received in this land of liberty, freedom, and toleration. To the Congress I wish every success. It will mark an epoch in the religious life of the country."

The speech was followed by enthusiastic cheers, which continued till the Legate was driven off to Archbishop's House. Here another crowd awaited the distinguished visitor, and accorded him a welcome, which, if not so vociferous as that at Charing Cross, was quite as hearty. The Cardinal blessed the crowd in passing up the steps, and as he crossed the threshold, the Papal flag over the portal was unfurled.

Wednesday, 9th September

THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS[1]

THE solemn opening of the Congress took place on Wednesday evening, 9th September, when the Westminster Cathedral was filled with a vast congregation of clergy and laity, the Cardinals occupying stalls in the sanctuary, and the archbishops and bishops and other dignitaries lining the nave, awaiting the coming of the Legate. On his arrival, the Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father appointing him was read.

VENERABILI FRATRI NOSTRO

VINCENTIO S. R. E. CARD. VANNUTELLI

EPISCOPO PRAENESTINO

PIUS PP. X.

VENERABILIS FRATER NOSTER

SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

E solemnibus catholicorum conventibus, qui quotannis in honorem Sanctissimae Eucharistiae haberi solent, insignis admodum is fore videtur, quem nosti indictum esse Londinium in Septembrem proximum; idque tum frequentia et dignitate

[1] A fuller description of the incomparable scene presented in the Cathedral on this occasion will be found among other Press notices collected in Appendix A. Appendix B preserves a record of the music performed in the Cathedral at each of the functions.

coeuntium, tum caeremoniarum splendore ac celebritate. Nam, curantibus praesertim Venerabilibus Fratribus, Francisco Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi, qui rei apparandae summa cum diligentia praeest, ac Thoma, Episcopo Namurcensi, praefecto generalis Consilii coetibus Eucharisticis agendis, audimus in eum conventum mirifice commota esse studia piorum; conventuros undique lectissimos cuiusvis ordinis viros; in ipsa autem luce amplissimae florentissimaeque urbis magnas factum iri significationes pietatis publicae. Quam iucunda Nobis haec accidant, facile existimabit, quisquis permagni referre intelligit, ut vigeat in populo christiano quotidieque crescat amor, cultus atque usus divinae Eucharistiæ. Hic adeo fons est, unde per totum Ecclesiae corpus supernaturalis vitae spiritus diffunditur; hoc vinculum, quo eiusdem membra corporis arctissime coalescunt. Etenim, quum in augusto Sacramento, licet mystice latens, vere tamen praesens et vivus adsit inter nos usque in finem saeculorum dulcis Redemptor noster, inde potissimum divinae caritatis flammam concipimus; in ipso spes omnes nituntur nostrae; ipsum nobis omnibus unum idemque est quasi centrum Fidei; quemadmodum ratio huius Sacramenti conficiendi, quae sacerdotibus omnibus catholicis in magna rituum varietate communis est, regiminis disciplinaeque nostrae aperte indicat unitatem. Porro Eucharistiam veneramur non solum ut Sacramentorum maximum, sed etiam ut quod religioni necessario inhaeret, atque adeo divini cultus caput est, ut Sacrificium scilicet. Est enim ipsa sacrificium Novi Testamenti, Ecclesiaeque Christi proprium variis iam antiquorum patrum hostiis, praecipue sacerdotis Melchisedech, adumbratum, oraculo autem Malachiae non dubie promissum. Quo quidem Sacrificium, quod semel in ara Crucis oblatum est, illud ipsum incruente sine ulla intermissione instauratur per omnem orbem terrarum, ubicumque ad altare congregantur oves Christi, ut, quod maiores et in veteri Lege et in nova perpetuo consueverunt, rite omnipotenti Deo debitam gratiam laudemque persolvant, eumque placatum sibi reddant et propitium. Non igitur inveniri potest res ulla dignior, quae animos hominum religiosorum studio inflammet, ut apud christianos magis ac magis in honore sit.

Recte autem placuit, ut conventus iste in urbe principe celebretur eius Imperii, cuius non ultima laus est aequam omnibus civibus ministrare libertatem, et cuius auctoritati ac legibus tam multa catholicorum centena millia fideliter ex officii conscientia parent. Iam vero Nos, quod alias in simili causa fecimus, non modo id consilii vehementer probamus, verum etiam in partem rei perlibenter venimus: quare, ut Personam Nostram in conventu Eucharistico Westmonasteriensi ipse geras, Legatum Nostrum his te litteris renunciamus. Aderit ubertate gratiae suae consiliantibus divinus Ecclesiae Auctor, cuius unice agitur gloria: interim Nos auspicem Eius munerum, eamdemque benevolentiae Nostrae peculiaris testem, tibi, Venerabilis Frater Noster, universisque et singulis, qui conventuri sunt, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxviij. Augusti, in festo Sancti Augustini, Ecclesiae Doctoris, anno MCMVIII., Pontificatus Nostri sexto.

[TRANSLATION]

TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHER VINCENT VANNUTELLI, CARDINAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, BISHOP OF PALESTRINA.

PIUS X., POPE.

Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolic Benediction,—

Among the important Catholic Congresses which it is customary to hold yearly in honour of the most Blessed Eucharist, that which, as you are aware, has been called to assemble in London next September seems likely to be most noteworthy by reason of the number and dignity of those who will attend it, and because of the splendour and solemnity of its ceremonies. And indeed We learn that, owing chiefly to the efforts of Our Venerable Brethren, Francis, Archbishop of Westminster, who, with the utmost solicitude, has directed the preparatory arrangements, and of Thomas, Bishop of Namur, President of the Permanent Committee for the organisation of Eucharistic Councils, devout minds are displaying a remark-

able interest in this meeting; that men of learning of every class will assemble from all parts; and that impressive religious celebrations will take place publicly in the heart of the great metropolis.

That this is most pleasing to Us will readily be understood by all who realize how necessary it is that the Divine Eucharist should be loved, worshipped, and partaken of, more and more, among the Christian people. It is indeed from the Eucharist, as from its source, that the spirit of the supernatural life is diffused over the whole body of the Church. Here we have a bond whereby the members of the same body are closely brought together. In this august sacrament our sweet Saviour is really present; and truly living, although mystically hidden from us, will dwell in our midst until the end of time. Here then, especially, is the flame of divine charity enkindled within us; here lies the foundation of our hope. And whereas we regard this sacrament as a centre of our faith, one and the same for all, so likewise the order of its consecration, one and the same for the whole Catholic priesthood through so many different rites, denotes our unity of discipline and of government.

Again, we venerate the Eucharist, not only as the greatest of the sacraments, but as that which is truly the chief act of divine worship and essential to religion: namely, a sacrifice. For it is indeed the sacrifice of the New Testament, proper to the Church of Christ, foreshadowed by the offerings of the Fathers of the old Law, notably by that of the High Priest Melchisedech, and clearly promised in the prophecy of Malachias. In the Eucharist that selfsame sacrifice offered once upon the Cross is renewed, in a bloodless manner and uninterruptedly, throughout the world. Wherever members of the fold of Christ stand before the altar, and, after the manner of their forefathers in the new dispensation as in the old, tender to God Almighty the homage which is His due, there this sacrifice is offered: a tribute of thanksgiving and praise, of atonement and propitiation. We cannot imagine anything better calculated than this to inflame devout souls with the desire that it may be held in ever greater honour throughout Christendom.

It was properly decided to hold this Congress in the capital of that Empire rightly famed for the liberty it extends to its citizens, and to whose authority and laws so many millions of Catholics render faithful and dutiful obedience. As on other occasions, We not only give Our approval to this design, but We gladly take part in it. Wherefore, in order that you may represent Us at the Eucharistic Congress of Westminster, by these letters We name you Our Legate. The Divine Author of the Church, whose glory alone is sought, will be in your midst in the abundance of His grace. Meanwhile as a pledge of His gifts, as a token of Our special goodwill, We lovingly impart to you, Venerable Brother, and to all and each one of those who will be present at the Congress, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, on the 28th day of August, the Feast of Saint Augustine, Doctor of the Church, in the year 1908, the sixth of Our Pontificate.

The LEGATE then proceeded to the pulpit and delivered the

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

EMINENTISSIMI PRINCIPES, ANTISTITES AMPLISSIMI, PERILLUSTRES AUDITORES HUMANISSIMI,

Delatum infirmitati meae a Summo Pontifice munus nobilissimum, per eas, quae modo vobis recitatae sunt, litteras, quanto in honore ponam, non est sane cur exprimam verbis. Unum illud adfirmem, perquam feliciter mihi contigisse ut sanctissimi principis personam sustinerem in amplissimo coetu vestro, in quo, tot inter praeclara sacri ordinis lumina, Catholicorum virorum ex anglico genere aliisque nationibus video collectum Florem; utque, augusti pontificis nomine, undevicesimum gentium conventum ab Eucharistia nuncupatum auspicarer in hoc principe templo, cujus parietes insignem purpuratum patrem in memoriam reducunt, de re Catholica in Anglia summopere meritum, qui praesentis dignissimi Westmonasteriensis antistitis proxime sedem obtinuit; lapides vero singuli eorum videntur praedicare nomina, qui effusis largitionibus conspicuae pietatis monumentum posteris commendarunt. Majore vero me laetitia perfundunt jubentque

erecto animo esse ipsius verba pontificis, hinc pollicentis divinam opem studiis coeptisque nostris minime defuturam, hinc declarantis non aliud in hoc agi consessu nisi gloriam Dei Servatoris. "Aderit, inquit, ubertate gratiae suae consiliantibus divinus Ecclesiae auctor, cuius unice agitur gloria."

Eccui iam non videatur conventus hic noster quasi saeptus faustis ominibus, pontificiae vocis efficaciam praenuntiantibus?

Atque ut ex eo initia sumamus quod nos propius attingit, in hospitali maxime regione versamur quam saeculorum decursu exquisitis Deus beneficiis cumulavit; quae meruit a magni nominis quodam romano pontifice angelorum potius quam anglorum titulo honestari. Quod si dolendae postea dissensiones extiterunt, eas in studia pacis facta propensior aetas mitigavit. Jamque, nunc primum post saecula, Angliae portae Cardinali viro patent pontificio legato; patent Ecclesiae principibus, episcopis, variarum gentium sacerdotibus frequentissimis. O vere admirabiles divinae providentiae viae hanc nos in urbem benignissime deducentis! O sane splendidum infinitae pietatis argumentum dispersa congregantis; pro quo beneficio singulares immortali Deo erunt habendae gratiae! Tu vero, inclita Natio, quae nos effuso sinu exceptas, humanissimo hospitio tueris, grati animi nostri sensus acceptos habeto. Ad Eum, cuius sapienti auctoritati commissa est tui regni fortuna, ascendant officia clientelae nostrae; deinde ad primores civitatis, qui tuis rebus tuendis praesunt, memoris nostrae voluntatis testificatio se porrigat. Atque utinam conspectus hic noster afferre aliquid possit ad verae pacis christianae consecutionem, in qua tuorum summa votorum continetur!

Quid vero de animorum concordia dicam, qua uno eodemque fidei et caritatis vinculo obstricti sunt quicumque in celeberrimum hunc coetum convenerunt? Quem quidem coetum non tam inter gentes haberi, quam gentium esse omnium adfirmare non dubitaverim. Britannici enim imperii sedes, propter longe lateque diffusum sui sermonis iurisque commercium, multo potuit facilius ex omni parte terrarum ad se homines tamquam ad centrum attrahere. Quare mirum non est quod undique collecti huc peregrini convenerint, tum sacri ordinis principes et suorum ornamenta antistites, tum nobiles alii viri auctoritate, virtute, consilio maxime praediti. Nihilominus

tantae huius ac tam varie conflatae multitudinis est *cor unum et anima una.* Idem omnibus de Fide iudicium; disciplina eadem; opinionum nulla dissensio. Servatorem colimus Iesum Christum, Ecclesiae auctorem et caput, non subjectum oculis; sed hac ipsa de causa adspectabilem Vicarium eius in terris, Petri Successorem, reveremur ac sequimur, alterum ab altero non secernentes officium. Ita, per mutuam hanc animorum ac voluntatum conspirationem, in fidei et caritatis unitate consistimus. Admirandam sane atque a divina profectam natura conjunctionem, ex qua fieri non potest ut in conventum nostrum coelestia beneficia non confluant!

Ad hanc augendum concordiam eius plurimum confert propensus in nos animus qui Supremus Ecclesiae magister nostraeque unitatis fundamentum a Christo Deo est constitutus. Nobis auditae sunt Pontificis voces de huius congressionis exitu apprime solliciti. Cuius rei testis est vel ipsa inter vos Cardinalis Legati praesentia. His acti stimulis, quanto alacriorem animum afferemus ad propositum finem exhibendi honoris Augusto Sacramento eiusque religionis late proferendae. Nec mihi praetereundum est, quod pontificiis ipsis declaratur litteris Sanctissimo Patri gratum accidere, Londinensi in urbe capite memorandum hunc coetum haberi. Neque id solum propter ea quae inde sperat proventura bona, sed etiam propter oblatam sibi occasionem testandae palam existimationis ac benevolentiae praecipuae erga Britannicam gentem nobilissimam. An vero singularis ista dilectio, qua Angliae filios in oculis fert, non causa extitit latae ab ipso nuperrime legis, quae, regimine missionum exemptos, cui erant obnoxii, ad iura erexit ac privilegia dioecesium catholicae vitae robore pollentium? Ex quo etiam id videmur consequuti, ut et erectiore animo congressionis huius munia capessere, et rei prospere cessurae spe sustentari possimus.

Tam laetis auspiciis, fas est conclamare Londinensem hunc inter gentes conventum, colligendorum copia fructuum, superius habitis coetibus haud minorem futurum. Atque utinam congregatis heic nobis detur efficere ut eucharistica illa aetas reviviscat, quae insulae sanctorum propria fuit, sublatisque dubitationibus, compositis dissidiis, discussa caligine, in unam eamdemque Fidei lucem oculi coniiciantur; in eam inquam

Fidem quae Angliae episcopis, regibus, principibus, populis thesaurus jam fuit omnium pretiosissimus!

Ad hanc autem firmandam consensionem quid aptius divina Eucharistia, cuius propria et singularis natura est ut sit *Sacramentum pietatis, signum unitatis, vinculum charitatis,* prout ipsam designat Hipponensis Episcopus, Ecclesiae Doctor Augustinus? Primum namque manat inde pietas, quod in ea, tamquam in centro, christiana vita continetur: *caro mea est pro mundi vita.* Deinde nos cum Christo conjungit efficitque divinae ipsius naturae consortes: *qui manducat meam carnem in me manet et ego in eo.* Denique fovendo caritatem in Deum, mutuum inter nos amorem gignit enutritque; ita ut, quemadmodum physici solem cor coeli vocarunt, sic coelestis ille Panis totius christianae vitae cor unum existat, Jesu Cor amantissimum, quocum nostra omnium pectora eundem spiritum ducunt: ex qua vitae communione admirabilis illa coalescit Ecclesiae compages ab Apostolo his verbis expressa: *Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo.* Atque his plane consonant verba Pontificis, vobis profecto non invitis recitanda iterum: "Hic adeo fons est, inquit, unde per totum Ecclesiae corpus supernaturalis vitae spiritus diffunditur: hoc vinculum quo ejusdem membra corporis arctissime coalescunt . . . ipsum nobis omnibus unum idemque est quasi centrum fidei."

Quae quum ita sint, quantum spei licet colligere ex inito a nobis consilio offerendi doni omnium ditissimi, quod Ecclesiae suae largitus est Christus? Fidenter igitur admoveamus operi manum, nihili dubitantes quin coeptis nostris adspiratura sit divina benignitas. Ex hac pietatis palaestra quae tollentur voces, eae sint quasi repercussio fidei nostrorum Patrum, quorum exemplo, eloquio, labore, sanguine, tanta his pulcherrimis regionibus est indita sanctitas. Nonne vestras feriunt aures ab eorum tumulis ducta suspiria cum votis fervidissimis, ut Angliae fratrum Eucharistica sitis tandem aliquando expleatur, atque ut Orientis et Occidentis constans de tanto mysterio traditio dilectae patriae restituta reviviscat? Nonne repetentes antiquae illius fidei memoriam, ipsorum commoveri ossa sentimus?

Neminem sane latet Anglicae genti solemne fuisse, in suis atheneis ac magistratibus gravioris momenti negotium nullum

suscipere, non convocatis ante sodalitatibus variis, quae pronae ad aram spectante populo divinam sibi hostiam conciliarent. Ubinam vero gentium tam regia patuit in extruendis, ditandis, exornandis augusto Sacramento templis munificentia? Vel ante datas ab Urbano IV. pontifice litteras, nonne fuit Britannorum in more positum Sanctissimam Eucharistiam per urbium vias solemni pompa deferre? Quarum supplicationum ritus accurato descriptos reliquit Berengarii debellator ille Lanfrancus Cantuariensis antistes.

Insonet heic nobis, insonet adhuc immortalis vestra vox, o venerandi antiqui pastores, o Britanniae reges illustres, o strenui regionis huius apostoli, ab Augustino ad Cuthbertum, et ad Ioannem Fisherium purpuratum virum, ab Ethelberto ad novissimum catholicum Regem in aevum perductae successionis. Sit ea vox incitamento seris nepotibus; eorum auribus inculcetur, divini referens amoris mysterium, ac portenta memorans incruenti sacrificii, quod vel obtulistis ipsi, vel cui interesse non sine lacrimis consuevistis. Insonet adhuc vestra vox, impellatque universos ad hauriendum robur ex coelesti convivio. Insonet, iteretque cum Ecclesiae doctore Venerabili Beda aliisque sanctissimis viris, "quam salutare sit omni christianorum generi quotidiana dominici Corporis et Sanguinis perceptio" (Ven. Beda, *Epist. ad Egbertum*).

Nunc vero, quantum in nobis est, hanc seriem traditionis et quasi catenam, iterum connectendam curemus, pretiosum annulum splendidi huius conventus religantes ceteris, quorum in hac illustri regione memoriam nulla delebit oblivio.

Interea colligendorum ex nostris hisce laboribus fructuum pignus et auspicium uberis gratiae, quam dilectae Britanniae ac latissimis terrarum partibus, ad quas imperium eius protenditur, effuso animo adprecamur, super vos omnes et super ceteros qui ad hanc sese causam adiunxerunt, Apostolica descendat Benedictio, cuius impertiendae, nomine et auctoritate Pontificis Maximi, honorificum est mihi munus commissum.

[TRANSLATION]

In what great honour I hold the high duty which the Supreme Pontiff has entrusted to my weakness in the letter

which has just been read to you, there is no need for me now to tell. But one thing I will say, and that is the pleasure it is to me to represent the person of the Holy Father at your great Congress, in which, amongst so many illustrious members of the sacred hierarchy, I see gathered together the flower of the Catholic manhood of the English race and of other nationalities; and in the name of the august Pontiff to bid God-speed to this Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress assembled in this metropolitan Cathedral, the walls of which recall the memory of the illustrious Cardinal and father who deserved so well of Catholicity in England and who immediately preceded in the see of Westminster its present most worthy Archbishop. The stones of this building seem to speak the names of those who by their generous gifts hand down to posterity this monument of splendid piety. The words of the same Pontiff fill me with all the greater joy and bid me be of good heart, for they are an earnest that the divine assistance will by no means be wanting to our desires and undertaking, and declare that nothing else is sought in our gathering but the glory of God our Saviour. "The Divine Author of the Church," says his Holiness, "whose glory alone is sought, will be present to the members with the abundance of His grace."

And does not this our Congress seem surrounded with the most favourable omens which foretell the realisation of the words of the Sovereign Pontiff?

To begin with what is nearest at hand, we meet in a most hospitable country, upon which through the ages God has heaped the most signal blessings; which deserved to be honoured by the mouth of a Roman Pontiff of great name with the title of a land of Angels rather than of Angles. And if, in later days, deplorable differences arose, these have since been softened by an age which has learned to set greater store by peace. And now, for the first time for many centuries, the gates of England are open to a Cardinal who is also a Papal Legate; and open to Princes of the Church, Bishops, and a multitude of priests of many nations. O truly wonderful ways of Divine Providence which are so sweetly bringing us together in this city! O truly splendid testimony to the unbounded piety which gathers together that which was

scattered—a blessing for which special thanks must be given to the eternal God! And do thou, most mighty Nation, which art receiving us with open arms and giving us such kindly hospitality, accept the thanks of our grateful heart. To him to whose authority the fortunes of thy realm are entrusted goes forth the respect of our assembly; and after him, to the chiefs of the State who preside over thy polity we offer the expression of our gratitude. And may our presence here contribute something towards the attainment of that true Christian peace which is the chief object of thy desires.

But what shall I say of the concord of minds in which all those who have come together to this great meeting are bound by one and the same bond of faith and charity? It is a meeting which I do not hesitate to describe as a Congress of Nations, rather than as an International Congress; for the seat of the British Empire, by the intercourse of its speech and rule flung so far and so wide, is especially able to draw men together as to a centre from every part of the world. It is not therefore to be wondered at that travellers from all parts of the earth have here come together—princes of the sacred hierarchy, bishops the ornaments of their peoples, and other distinguished men famous by their authority, virtue, and wisdom. And yet this great multitude, gathered together from so many places, has but one heart and one soul. All have the same faith, the same discipline; there is no diversity of opinion. We worship Jesus Christ our Saviour the Author and invisible Head of the Church, and for this reason we venerate and follow His visible Vicar on earth, making no distinction between the one obligation and the other. And so, by this mutual harmony of hearts and wills, we stand together in the unity of faith and charity; a bond truly admirable and divine from which heavenly blessings cannot but pour upon our Congress.

The increase of this concord is greatly assisted by the message of him who has been constituted by Christ our God as the Head of the Church and the foundation of our unity. You have heard the words of the Pontiff, who is so earnestly solicitous for the success of this Congress. The very presence among you of a Cardinal Legate is a witness of this special goodwill. Encouraged by these considerations, we shall devote

ourselves the more thoroughly to the purpose of showing honour to the august Sacrament, and of spreading its worship abroad. Nor must I omit to point out that, as is clear from the letter of the Pontiff, the Holy Father is pleased that this memorable gathering should be held in London the capital city. And this, not only because of the good which he hopes will accrue, but also because of the opportunity it gives him of publicly expressing his special regard and goodwill towards the most noble English people. Was it not the special love which he bears to his sons of England that induced him lately to promulgate the law by which he exempted their dioceses from the *régime* of missionary countries to which they were subject, and to raise them to the rights and privileges of dioceses enjoying the full vigour of Catholic life? From this, too, we feel assured that we may undertake the work of this Congress with good heart, and sustained by the hope of its prosperous conclusion.

We may fairly conclude that, held under such happy auspices, this Congress of many nations in London will not be less fruitful in results than any of its predecessors. May it be granted to us assembled here to do something to bring about a revival of that Eucharistic age which was once so characteristic of this Island of Saints; so that, all doubts being cleared away, all disputes settled, and the darkness of error removed, the eyes of all may be turned towards the one unchanging light of faith—of that faith, I say, which in the old time was of all things the most precious to the bishops and the kings, to the nobles and people of England.

And for the strengthening of this unity in the faith, what is more efficacious than that Divine Eucharist, which, in the words of St Augustine, is by its nature essentially "the sacrament of piety, the sign of unity, and the bond of charity"? Piety flows from the Holy Eucharist for the reason that the whole Christian life centres in it: "My Flesh is for the life of the world." Again, the Eucharist unites us with Christ and makes us sharers of the divine nature: "Whoso eateth My Flesh abideth in Me and I in him." Moreover, by promoting the love of God it engenders and cherishes the love of men for men, so that just as physicists speak of the sun as the heart of

the heavens, so, by our union with the most loving Heart of Jesus, all drawing the same breath, we have in this heavenly Bread the one heart of our whole Christian life; it is from this vital communion that there comes that structural unity of the Church which the Apostle expresses in the words "We being many are one body in Christ." This, too, is the meaning of these words of the Holy Father which you will gladly hear repeated: "It is indeed from the Eucharist," he says, "as from its source, that the spirit of the supernatural life is diffused over the whole body of the Church. Here we have a bond whereby the members of the same body are closely brought together. . . . It is the centre of our faith, one and the same for all."

Under these circumstances, how great things may fairly be hoped from our undertaking the task of exhibiting to the world the richest of all the gifts with which Christ has endowed His Church. Let us set to work, therefore, in all confidence, never doubting that the divine goodwill will second our efforts. From these scenes of piety what voices seem to come to us like echoes of the faith of our fathers by whose example, eloquence, labours, and blood, such holiness was planted in this most beautiful land. Can you not hear sounds as of fervent prayers coming from their tombs, asking that the Eucharistic thirst of the people of England may at length be satisfied, and that the unchanging faith of the East and the West in regard to the great mystery may again flourish here in the country they loved so well? Can we not hear their bones stirring, as we renew the memories of their ancient faith?

We know that in those days before undertaking anything of importance the heads of the universities and the judges of the land made it a point always to meet together corporately and, prostrate before the altar, to implore the help of the Divine Victim in the presence of all the people. And where in the world shall we find examples of such royal magnificence in building, enriching, and adorning churches in honour of the august Sacrament? Even before the date of the Pontifical Letters granted by Urban IV., was it not a custom among the people of England to carry the Holy Eucharist in solemn procession along the public ways? Lanfranc, the great Archbishop of

Canterbury, the overcomer of Berengarius, has left us a full description of these ceremonies.

May your voices ever immortal sound again for us—your voices, O venerable shepherds of the past, yours, O illustrious sovereigns of England, and yours, O strenuous Apostles of this land, from Augustine to Cuthbert and on to Cardinal Fisher, from Ethelbert down to the last of the long line of Catholic kings! May that united voice of yours be for an encouragement to your latest descendants, may it ring in their ears, recalling the mystery of divine love and reminding them of the miracle of the unbloody Sacrifice which you yourselves offered to God, or else assisted thereat and oftentimes in tears! May your voice still sound for us and lead us all to draw our strength from the heavenly banquet! May it sound again and tell anew with that Doctor of the Church, the Venerable Bede, and other most holy men, how salutary for all Christians is the practice of daily Communion!

Let us, therefore, as far as in us lies, try to join up this series or chain of tradition, uniting the precious link of this splendid gathering to those who have gone before, the memory of which in this great country no lapse of time shall obliterate.

Meanwhile, as a pledge of the fruits to be gathered from these our labours, and an earnest of the rich blessing which, from our hearts we pray may be poured down upon this dear England and all the wide lands to which her sway extends, may the Apostolic Blessing descend upon all of you and upon all of those who have associated themselves with you in this cause—a blessing which it is my privilege to grant to you in the name and by the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The following

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

was then delivered by the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER:—

My Lord Cardinal,—In my own name as Archbishop of this Metropolitan See, in the name of my brethren the Bishops of this province, and of all the clergy and of the faithful laity of England; speaking, too, if they will allow me to give utterance

to the thoughts which are in their minds, on behalf of those who are our brethren in race and blood, and the use of a common tongue, and who are so nobly represented here to-night; acting also as the spokesman of that still larger company who are united with us by a bond transcending and effacing all distinctions of nation or of speech, namely our holy faith, I bid your Eminence hearty welcome in our midst.

That welcome goes forth, in the first place, to him whom your Eminence so worthily represents, to the Successor of Blessed Peter, the Supreme Pastor on earth of the one true Church of Jesus Christ. We feel that we are in the presence of our common Father, who is indeed with us by his prayers and by his blessing.

Next we offer you our greeting, with special joy that you, my Lord Cardinal, should have been called to preside over this great gathering, knowing as we do how closely your person is identified with the annually recurring work of the Eucharistic Congress, and that none could guide our deliberations more gladly or with keener interest than your Eminence.

You, my Lord Cardinal, have dwelt upon the characteristics which, while they unite this Congress with all those that have preceded it, yet stamp it with its own especial features. It is an act of worship, an act of faith, but at the same time an act of reparation, intended to atone for all those words uttered in the English tongue which—some sent forth in knowing and bitter malice, and many more spoken in ignorance, which will surely plead in mitigation of their guilt—have done outrage to the Blessed Sacrament.

This spirit of reparation, made animate by our faith, is in the hearts of all to-day, and mingles with the joy that marks this great assembly made memorable, as it is, by the presence of Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church and of Bishops of the Catholic Church in numbers such as our English soil has, I think, never witnessed in days gone by.

And if, profiting by the grateful fact that the native sense of justice in our countrymen has overcome the prejudice which once did them so great dishonour, we, on this occasion, make the fullest use of that right of free speech and public demonstration which they employ so readily to advance every cause which

they have at heart, let no man imagine that we do these things in any spirit of hostile feeling towards those who do not think as we; still less that there is any thought of empty boasting in our minds. "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam"—"Not to us, O Lord, but to Thine own name give glory"—if to-day we are able openly to speak Thy praises, and to make known to all our love and our thanksgiving for the greatest of Thy gifts.

Encouraged by your gracious words, my Lord Cardinal, and by the thought of the Shepherd of all the Flock, of whose mind those words are indeed the faithful echo, we enter on the prayers and labours of this Congress; and as you have blessed us in his name, so now do we beg God to pour down His choicest gifts and blessings upon His servant whom He has been pleased to call to the summit of the Apostolic Office, singing with one heart and voice: "May the Lord guard him, and give him life, and make him blessed upon this earth, and give him not up into the hands of his enemies. Amen."

These last words were immediately re-echoed by the choir in Latin.

The Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, with which the service terminated, was given by the Archbishop Coadjutor of Sydney (Australia), representing Cardinal Moran.

The impressions left by the scene of that evening will never be effaced from the minds of those who were present. The dense crowd which not only filled every corner of the building, but blocked each avenue of approach, the dim vastness of gaunt brickwork and vaulted roof overhead, the brilliantly lighted sanctuary, the purple robes of innumerable prelates, the subdued roar of cheers and the blare of trumpets from outside, the thrill that swept through the church as the imposing figure of the Legate passed up the aisle, the sudden sinking of that vast assembly upon their knees for the Papal blessing, and then the climax, when Legate, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, and laity knelt in humble adoration before the Blessed Sacrament enthroned, all these things are memories which will be handed down among the Catholics of England as long as Westminster Cathedral stands.

Thursday, 10*th September*

THE PONTIFICAL MASS

ALREADY, some hours before the heart of London had begun to beat with life, hundreds of priests were saying Mass, or preparing to do so. At the Cathedral itself altars had been erected in the crypt and elsewhere to meet the expected number of celebrants. In the school in Great Peter Street some fifteen altars had been provided; the Sisters of Charity, Carlisle Place, gave facilities for fifty Masses daily; and in nearly all the London churches, from the Brompton Oratory down to the smallest convent chapels, the Holy Sacrifice was celebrated uninterruptedly from early morning till about 9. It has been ascertained that in the vicinity of the Cathedral alone five hundred masses were offered every morning while the Congress lasted.

Each day—from Thursday to Sunday—Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral, the canonical hour of Terce having previously been sung. At the function of Thursday Mgr. Amette, Archbishop of Paris, was the celebrant, and the music at all the services was taken from the French, Flemish, and Spanish Schools. The Mass was by Tinel: *Messe de Notre Dame de Lourdes,* the Offertory motet being Gounod's *Ave Verum.* Conducted by Mr R. R. Terry, the Cathedral choir performed their part superbly. The vast building was thronged by a congregation numbering some thousands; the foreigners chiefly French and French-speaking, but mingled with the faithful of many other nationalities—the Germans and Italians being the most conspicuous. Rarely, perhaps, out of Rome, has such a truly Catholic assemblage of Christian worshippers

been gathered together in one sacred building. And this large congregation had been waiting patiently, in many cases for over an hour, in long queues outside the various entrances to the Cathedral, each one desirous of taking part in the great central act of Catholic worship—a living testimony to the unity and Catholicity of the Church.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

SECTION A (ENGLISH)

(MEETINGS AT THE HORTICULTURAL HALL)

MORNING SESSION

The Chair was taken by the CARDINAL LEGATE, who opened the Meeting by reciting a short prayer to the Holy Ghost, after which he requested the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER to undertake the direction of the proceedings.

HIS GRACE, having read a selection from the numerous telegrams of sympathy and adhesion received from all parts of the world, called upon ABBOT GASQUET to read his paper, which would be followed by one from MGR. CANON MOYES.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST IN PRE-REFORMATION TIMES

BY THE RIGHT REV. ABBOT GASQUET, O.S.B.

The dawn of the Christian faith in these islands is shrouded in much mystery. How the Gospel was brought to these shores, or when it came, or who have been the early apostles of our far-off Britain, must ever remain matters of conjecture and more or less of uncertainty. Out of the obscurity, the only thing that is sure is that the Christian teaching, which effected so

great a change in the hearts and lives of the British race, must have been received some time in the second century. As early as A.D. 208, Tertullian declares that the "haunts of the British, which have been inaccessible to the Romans, are subject to Christ;" and from this time onwards till the coming of St Augustine in the sixth century, whatever we know of the British Church manifests it as one with the Catholic Church throughout the then known world.

In regard especially to its Eucharistic doctrine, about which only we are concerned to-day, out of the darkness which enwraps so much else during the first centuries of our history —out of the mists of legend, and out of the necessary obscurity of those ancient times—one or two points take definite shape and may be accepted by us as reliable historical facts. For instance, we know that Victricius and Germanus, two Bishops of the Church of Gaul, were sent by the Popes to compose certain religious difficulties which had arisen in this island. The first-named, in A.D. 390, speaks of the Bishops of Britain as "holy prelates, fellow-priests with me." And the second came hither in A.D. 439, at the bidding of Pope Celestine, "to keep the island Catholic" in all things. What the Church of Gaul in communion with the Apostolic See believed and taught about the Blessed Sacrament, this the British Church in those days held and proclaimed. This much seems certain.

Fastidius also, the British bishop who wrote at this very time, speaks of "a priesthood anointed" for the service of God; whilst even from the exaggerated and querulous language of Gildas it is possible to glean the important fact that the Church of Britain emerged from the long continued persecutions of the pagan Saxons, practically as before. Amid the deep shadows of his picture of the desolation which had overwhelmed the Church, we hear of a regularly organised hierarchy, of a priesthood claiming power to bind and loose, of bishops asserting their right to be considered the successors of the Apostles and especially of St Peter, "the holder of the keys," of priests whose hands were anointed for their sacred ministry of the altar—that "place of the heavenly sacrifice." Finally, when, in A.D. 597, St Augustine and his fellow monks came to convert the Saxon oppressors of the British Christians,

we have the express testimony of this Apostle, direct from Rome, that the existing form of religion among the British was, except in two minor points, the same as that of the rest of the Christian world. In spite of the enforced isolation of the persecuted British from other Christian bodies during a hundred and fifty years, their doctrines and practices had remained fully Catholic; and except as to their clinging to the old date of Easter and some peculiar and obviously non-essential customs in the administration of baptism, these doctrines and practices were the same as those of all churches which with Rome followed Catholic usage.

Therefore, even in the gloom and obscurity of the ages prior to the conversion of our Saxon forefathers, we may discern in regard to the most holy Eucharist the full faith of the Holy Roman Church of to-day. The sacred orders, the anointed priesthood, the Christian altar, and, above all, the holy Sacrifice, were to the British Christian what they are to the Roman Catholic to-day. What the full belief of those primitive times was is adequately expressed in the ancient Antiphonary of Bangor in the hymn chanted at the communion of the priests. Here are some few lines from it: "Holy men," it says, "draw ye nigh and eat Christ's Body. Drink ye too that holy Blood by which ye are redeemed. Let us sing together our praises to God—we who are saved by the Body and Blood of Christ, by which also our souls are refreshed."

To speak to the faith of the Saxon Church in regard to the Holy Eucharist and in proof of its practical devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the altar, we have the evidence of the writings of the great men who lived in these islands during the four centuries which intervened between the coming of St Augustine and the Norman Conquest. Take St Theodore as an example. St Theodore came from southern Italy by order of the Pope, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. His great work was to organise the Church of this country, and in A.D. 668 he issued his *Penitential*, in which (c. xlv.) he calls the Mass a sacrifice. "No priest," he says, "shall offer up in sacrifice anything but what the Lord has commanded, that is unleavened bread and wine mingled with water, since blood and water flowed from our Lord's side." So also, he declares that

the souls of the departed are purged from the stains of sin by the sacrifice of the priest.

Or take St Bede—our own Venerable Bede, as our Catholic forefathers loved to call him. That glorious doctor of the Church speaks of "the offering up of the healing Victim"; of "the Victim of the holy oblation"; of "our salutary sacrifice"; and of "the mysteries of the most holy oblation." As we now hold, so did Bede hold and profess, back in that far-off century when the faith was fresh and young and vigorous, that upon the priesthood of His Church Christ Himself laid the injunction to offer up the perpetual Sacrifice, in which Christ's true, real, and substantial Flesh and Blood were present under the forms of bread and wine. "To His priests," he writes, in his Commentary on St Luke, "Christ has said, Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech, so that in place of the flesh and blood of lambs, we may now possess the Sacrament of Christ's Flesh and Blood under the appearance of bread and wine, which He Himself tells us is His very self."

Nor is it possible in this regard to pass over a remarkable passage in St Bede's letter to Archbishop Egbert on the question of frequent Communion. He speaks of the practice of daily Communion by the laity as a thing much to be desired, and as having been the custom throughout Italy, Africa, Greece, and the whole of the East. This, he says, through the neglect of instruction has indeed fallen into disuse, and in England people have come to think it sufficient to receive the most Holy Eucharist on Christmas Day, on the Epiphany, and at Easter. But, he goes on, "since there are numberless boys and girls, youths and maidens, and grown-up men and women leading innocent and pure lives, they may rightly become partakers of the heavenly mysteries without scruple or objection every Sunday, and even on the feast days of the Apostles and Martyrs, as you yourself [*i.e.* Archbishop Egbert] have seen to be the practice in the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church."

If there could be room for even a shade of a doubt as to the precise teaching of the Saxon Church in regard to Eucharistic doctrine, it would be dispelled by an examination of the Missals and Rituals and Pontificals, the tracts and sermons which have

been preserved to our time. "At God's altar," we read in one, "His only-begotten Son is immolated by the hands of the faithful." "In the bread," says another, "what is meant but the living Bread which came down from heaven?" "Our Lord," says a third, "did not say: Take this consecrated bread and eat it in place of My Body, or, Drink this consecrated wine instead of My Blood; but He says, without making use of any figure of speech or ambiguity: This is My Body and this is My Blood; and to remove any possibility of error, He adds: That Body which was delivered for you, and the Blood which was shed for you."

It is impossible to multiply here examples of this plain teaching, nor is there any need to do so; for if we turn to the works of our Anglo-Saxon fathers, we shall find abundant and absolute proof that the English belief in what we now call with theological precision *Transubstantiation*—that is, the change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of our Lord's Body and Blood—was as clear and determined as it certainly was in the later Middle Ages, or as we Roman Catholics have it to-day. "Not only," again says our Bede, "did Christ wash us from our sins in His Blood when on the Cross—or when each of us is cleansed in the mystery of His most sacred Passion by the waters of Baptism; but daily does He continue to take away the sins of the world. Daily, indeed, does Christ wash us from our sins in His own Blood, when the remembrance of His blessed Passion is renewed at the altar, when the creatures of bread and wine, by the ineffable hallowing of the Spirit, is transformed into the Sacrament of His Body and Blood." This must suffice as a mere sample of the exact and clear teaching of our Saxon fathers in regard to the great and mysterious change which is effected by the words of the consecrating minister at Holy Mass. "At that time," writes the illustrious English scholar Alcuin to a friend, "when thou shalt consecrate the bread and the wine into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, be not unmindful of me."

For the closing period of the Saxon centuries, there is perhaps no better witness to the belief of the English Church than Ælfric, the homilist. In his Easter-day sermon—which by the way, has been so strangely misunderstood and misrepresented by those who would try to read Lutheran and Calvinistic

doctrine into his words—in this sermon he makes it as clear as the noon-day sun that his belief was the same as ours is to-day. One quotation must be sufficient: "Why," he asks, "is the holy housel called Christ's Body, or His Blood? Why, if it be not truly what it is called? But the fact is that the bread and the wine which are hallowed in the Mass of the priest appear one thing to human understandings without, and cry another thing to believing minds within. *Without*, they appear bread and wine both in aspect and in taste, but they are truly after the hallowing, Christ's Body and His Blood, through a ghostly mystery."

The expression *Lex orandi est lex credendi* has, of course, only a very general application, because the prayers of a people need not necessarily express their beliefs with complete fulness. But when beliefs do find expression in popular prayers it is obvious that they are rooted deep in the minds and hearts of those who make use of them. In this way, the liturgical *formulæ* and other prayers of a nation are the surest evidence of the doctrines taught and held. Now, clear and definite as are the expressions made use of in the Catholic Church to-day in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, those of Anglo-Saxon times are, if possible, still clearer and more definite. Let me give one or two examples. What can be more expressive of Catholic doctrine, for instance, than the words of a prayer for the consecration of an altar, found in a Pontifical of about the year A.D. 900? The Bishop prays: "O Lord, sprinkle with the dew of heavenly unction this stone prepared for the celebration of the health-giving mysteries of redemption; pour forth on it the unction of Thy divine sanctification; send down on it the gift of grace, hallowing the sacrifice upon it, that thus truly a hidden power may change upon it the creatures chosen for the sacrifice into the Body and Blood of our Redeemer, and secretly transmute them into the sacred Victim of the Lamb, so that as the Word was made Flesh, so the nature of the oblation when blessed, may pass into the substance of the Word."

Among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers—as indeed elsewhere in the Christian world—nothing was ever employed on the altar or in connection with the Sacrifice without having been

first set apart by prayers and blessings for so holy a use. The Chalice, in the words of the prayers then employed, was to hold the precious Blood; the paten was "for the Body of our Lord to be made in it"; the corporal, of the finest linen, was "to cover and veil" His Body and Blood, as Joseph's winding-sheet once had done, and upon it the consecration was to be effected, and it was then to serve to cover and wrap up the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Beyond all else, however, one practice of the Saxon Church seems to me to demonstrate the lively faith of the Catholics of those days in the true, real, substantial, and continuous presence of Christ our Lord in the consecrated Host. This practice—which, by the way, was continued under certain circumstances, according to our great English canonist Lyndwood, up to the very eve of the religious changes of the sixteenth century—was the placing of the Blessed Sacrament in the altar sepulchre instead of the relics of the martyrs in consecrated altars.

But I must pass rapidly on. What the faith and teaching of the Saxon Church was as to the Blessed Sacrament, that no less clearly was the belief of our ancestors in the centuries which followed upon the Norman Conquest. From the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Eucharistic doctrine of Catholic England was as full and as developed as we have it to-day. I cannot imagine how anyone who is not wilfully blind can gainsay this patent fact. A few years after the Normans had settled in England, the declaration of Archbishop Lanfranc in A.D. 1079 expresses that faith. Indeed, he was called on to voice the protest of the entire Catholic Church against the errors of Berengarius in regard to the most august mystery of the Holy Eucharist. In this declaration is found the following words: "We hold that the earthly substances which are divinely sanctified at the Lord's Table through the priestly ministration become ineffably, incomprehensibly, wonderfully changed by the working of the heavenly power into the essence of the Lord's Body, the external look of these substances and certain other qualities being kept, lest people might be horrified at seeing what was flesh and blood-red, and that believers might get a more abundant reward for their faith."

Let us pass to the days of our Plantagenet kings. In 1195 Archbishop Hubert Walter held a synod at York, the provisions of which are important as manifesting the faith of the English Church and showing the extreme care and reverence which it had for the most Blessed Sacrament. The law as to the mixed chalice; the care taken to preserve the sacred Canon of the "Sacrifice of the Mass" from the least verbal change; the provisions as to the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, which, out of reverence, was to be changed each week; the honour with which it was to be carried to the sick for their Viaticum, are all evidences of the faith of the English people, and of their devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Archbishop Hubert's words sum up the teaching: "Let the Blessed Sacrament," he says, "be consecrated with humility, received with fear, and dispensed [to the faithful] with all reverence."

So much with regard to the teaching of the pre-Reformation Church in England as to the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The evidence of the faith of our Catholic ancestors in those days when England knew but one creed, can be seen in the works of almost every English writer for a thousand years and more; and blind indeed are they who cannot read aright what is there written. What that faith was; how full it was, and how it overflowed with devotion to our Lord, ever present in the consecrated Host, can be seen in the walls of every cathedral, abbey, and parish church, which were raised by the generous piety of our Catholic ancestors in every part of the country. These were the tabernacles of the Lord of Hosts; the shrines set up by generations of Englishmen as the places where the "glory of the Lord" should dwell in their midst, hardly hidden by the sacramental veils from the eyes of their faith. Upon these sanctuaries they lavished all that was best and most beautiful, as they would do on a house prepared for their Lord and Saviour. Even desecrated, dismantled, and destroyed as many of them are, they still proclaim the purpose for which they were erected. As St Bede has said, they were raised as "houses of prayer where the Body of the Lord is consecrated, and where, as we cannot doubt, the angels are ever present," since "where the mysteries of the Lord's Body and Blood are wrought, we cannot but believe that there are

the hosts of heaven," who were present when the lifeless body was placed in the tomb and who guarded it reverently till the moment of its glorious resurrection.

In these buildings stood the altar of the Christian Sacrifice. As Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury says in his *Constitution*, it is the altar "to honour which each church is dedicated." And so here in England, as of course elsewhere in the Christian world, the church and "God's acre" round about it was known as the sacred, hallowed spot in every city, town, and hamlet—hallowed because there stood the altar; there was the daily Christian Sacrifice offered up for the living and the dead—hallowed because there, under the veils of the sacramental species, giving meaning and purpose to everything, was the abiding presence of the same Lord who was born into the world for our sakes and for our sins, who lived at Nazareth, who taught in Galilee, and who died for our salvation. They who built these old cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches believed all this, as we Catholics do now. Of this there can be no sort of doubt; and to-day, when we enter any one of those venerable walls, from which the Blessed Sacrament has been cast forth, and view the place where stood the altar of the Christian Sacrifice—and where literally it was overthrown in the religious changes of the sixteenth century, to typify the "passing of the Mass," the abolition of the Sacrifice—a sense of desolation comes upon us, and the feeling of a real absence is experienced by us Catholics. To-day, alas! we look merely upon the setting which the piety and devotion of generations of Catholic Englishmen had fashioned, to be somewhat less unworthy of the precious jewel of the Holy Sacrament. The very beauty of the setting only emphasises the absence of the jewel. Like the holy city which one of the seven angels of the Apocalypse showed to St John, each English church was as a place "coming down out of heaven from God; having the glory of God; and the light thereof was like to a precious stone, as to the jasper stone—even as a crystal." Now the light is gone, the jewel is torn from its place; and even the setting, upon which so much love and faith had been lavished, shows patent proofs of the violence of the means employed, and seems to proclaim aloud that "the glory of God which hath

enlightened it and the lamp thereof is departed." Ichabod, indeed may we say, for "the glory is departed from Israel, because the ark of God is taken" (1 Kings iv. 22). As Cardinal Manning once said, "The old sanctuaries of England are indeed beautiful; but they have the beauty of a face from which the eyes have been removed."

To notice another point. If any one will take the trouble to study the wills and churchwardens' accounts for the period immediately before the change of religion, he cannot fail to admit that the English people were vying with one another in adorning and beautifying the sanctuaries of God. The evidence of the church walls in almost every village over the length and breadth of England proclaims that the reparation, rebuilding, and reornamentation of these sacred places was almost universal. From the wardens' accounts we know that this was not the work of some great noble or rich landlord, but in every sense this movement on the eve of the Reformation was a manifestation of spontaneous popular love of religion and of the Blessed Sacrament in particular, a movement in which even the poorest wished to have a share and take a part. The Church was the centre of the Christian family life and of the corporate life of the parish, because it was the home of the most Holy Sacrament, the place where our Lord dwelt in the midst of a believing people. What is commonly and regularly done is very seldom set down in any record, and we may look in vain for any evidence of the acts of religion practised by our forefathers in chronicles or papers of the period. By chance the truth sometimes appears. An examination of one of the Pilgrims of Grace, in 1536, reveals, for example, one Catholic practice in an obscure village in Yorkshire. A party of workmen, after having finished their daily labour and refreshed themselves in an alehouse on their way home, turned in to their village church to say their *Pater* before the most Holy Sacrament hanging over the altar before going to their rest.

It would, too, seem certain that good Catholic Englishmen in those days desired to be present at daily Mass, where this was in any way possible. The evidence for this is conclusive; and even where the hearing of daily Mass was not possible, the mediæval English Catholic was taught to join in spirit in this

supreme act of worship and adoration. The little Sanctus bell on the chancel roof or elsewhere rang out across the country to warn the traveller on the roads and the labourer in the fields that the Sacrifice was being accomplished close by in God's house. In 1281, the celebrated Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury orders that "at the time of the elevation of the Body of our Lord (in the Holy Mass), a bell be rung on one side of the church, that those who cannot be at the daily Mass, no matter where they may be, whether in the fields or in their own homes, may kneel down and so gain the indulgences granted by many bishops" to such as perform this act of devotion.

Of the many incidents in the public and private life of the English people which could be cited as manifesting a devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, I have time to speak of only one or two. The first is national. Two miles beyond Northallerton, in A.D. 1138, was fought what has become known in our history books as the Battle of the Standard. The Scots had espoused the cause of Matilda against Stephen, and in that year they moved in large numbers southward in her cause. Thurstan, the old Archbishop of York, exhorted the northern barons to fight for their families, their country, and their God; and after three days had been spent in fasting and devotion, they set out to bar the progress of their enemies. Their standard was the mast of a vessel fixed into the framework of a carriage. In the centre of the cross fixed on its summit was fastened a pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament, and below waved the banners of their patron saints, SS. Peter, Wilfrid, and John of Beverley. It was round this standard that the battle raged; and the victory they won was ever attributed to the presence of our Blessed Lord, the God of battles, in the midst of those who believed and trusted in Him.

Let me take another and a wholly different instance of this lively faith of our Catholic ancestors in the presence of our Blessed Lord. In many parts of this country in pre-Reformation days, the dramatic ceremonies of Palm Sunday show the intense belief of the people in the Blessed Sacrament, and their full realisation of the sacred presence of our Lord in the consecrated Host. Early in the morning of Palm Sunday, the Sacred Host was brought from the Church and placed under a

richly ornamented tent set up in the furthermost corner of the burial ground. Here the precious pyx was watched by the clergy, until the procession of the blessed palms had issued from the church and the first *Statio*, or resting-place, had been held. At this time the Gospel was sung which told of the crowd that had come forth from the city to meet our Lord on the Sunday before He suffered. At its conclusion, as if re-enacting the sacred drama of that day, the Blessed Sacrament was borne forth from its resting-place. It was carried in the hands of the priests under a canopy, surrounded by lights and preceded by a silver cross and incense; and thus, as of old the Jews met our Lord at the city gate, so here the people advanced towards Him and saluted Him with their hymns of praise. The cantors intoned the words of the anthem *En rex noster venit mansuetus*, and then kneeling down and bowing to the ground, they one and all saluted the Blessed Sacrament. The processions then moved on together to the churchyard cross, where the Sacred Host was raised in blessing, whilst priests and people fell down and adored Him, who had died upon the Cross for their sakes. Then once more the people followed our Lord to the closed doors of the church, and when, after the chanting of the *Gloria laus*, the doors flew open, the priests who bore the shrine in which the Blessed Sacrament was hanging, held their sacred burden aloft in the doorway, and each one as he entered had to pass beneath it, and had to bow his head in token of reverence and humble belief.

I cannot conclude without saying something about the forms of prayer made use of in the popular devotions of pre-Reformation England in regard to the most Blessed Sacrament. Even to-day, in my opinion, we cannot possibly have better prayers for our own personal use, than those in which the deep faith and true love of our Catholic forefathers found expression. I pass over the well-known *Anima Christi*, now commonly known as the prayer of St Ignatius and attributed to him, but which, in reality, is a flower of the devotion of the fifteenth century and was much used here in England in pre-Reformation days. I pass also the *Ave caro Christi cara*, etc., "Hail, dear flesh of Christ," etc., so often recommended for the sacred time of the Elevation at the Mass, and I take a few examples of

prayers to the Blessed Sacrament, hardly much known in these days, but which were popular in every sense of the term among English folk in the Middle Ages; and I venture to say that, whether for the dogmatic expression of faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, or for the spirit of genuine devotion to the Bread of Life, we can wish for nothing better.

Here are some ejaculations to be said at the Elevation in Holy Mass: "Hail to Thee, Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Word made Flesh, Son of the Virgin Mary, Lamb of God, true Saviour of the World, sacred Victim, source of love!"

"Hail to Thee, Jesus Christ, glory of the angels, reward of the saints, vision of the Father, true God and true Man, fruit of the Virgin's womb!

"Hail to Thee, author of our being! Hail, price of our redemption! Hail, our guide to holiness! Hail to Thee, food of our pilgrimage! Hail, reward of our hope! Thou art the King of Glory. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father."

"O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who didst take flesh from the Virgin Mary for the redemption of sinners, by virtue of Thy sacred Body and Blood here sacrificed and received as a memorial of Thy sacred Passion, I beseech Thee in Thy mercy to pardon me all my sins, and to grant me perseverance in good works, so that keeping myself unspotted from this world I may be saved in the life to come when I shall pass from this perishable life."

Or take these prayers to the Consecrated Elements on the altar to be said after the Elevation:

"Hail, Thou source of our being! Hail, Thou cause of our redemption! Hail, most pure flesh of Christ the Son of God! Take pity on me and grant that I, Thy unworthy servant, may, at the close of my life, truly acknowledge Thy most holy Body which hath been consecrated for me, that in full faith I may adore Thee and receive Thee into my being.

"Hail, true Body of Christ, which, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, and was offered on the Cross for man! . . .

"Hail, dear Flesh of Christ, sacrificed as a victim upon the altar of the Cross for the redemption of the world!

"Hail, sacred Blood, which flowed forth from Christ's right side, wash us we beseech Thee from our sins! Hail, vessel of

Christ's love. Hail, cup of sweetness in which is contained the pledge of all heavenly delight, the true and entire substance of our Saviour, the sacrament of grace, the food of divine love. Therefore, we beseech Thee, come to the aid of Thy servants whom Thou hast purchased by Thy precious Blood.

"May the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ bring us to the joys of paradise. Amen."

Or take this example of Saxon piety towards the Blessed Sacrament at the time of the Canon of the Holy Mass.

"O God, priest of the true and eternal tabernacle, who hast offered Thyself as the immaculate Lamb on the altar of the Cross, may the mystery of Thy life-giving passion which is now being offered by our priest be an expiation of all our sins. And as once Thou didst take pity on the tears of Peter and the sighs of the thief crucified with Thee, so now at this moment have mercy on us, bring us also to that tabernacle where, seated on the right hand of the Father, Thou, moved with compassion for the human race, dost plead for us. O Jesus Christ, our God and our glory, do Thou offer up each day in heaven, that sacrifice which once Thou hast offered for us upon the Cross."

I must draw to a conclusion. I have been able merely to touch the fringe of a great and interesting topic, about which a volume, nay, volumes, might be written. On every side we have evidence of the belief of the English people in the most Holy Sacrament, and of their true and sound devotion to it. The evidence is so obvious that, after all, any demonstration of it is not needed. If any man wishes to know exactly what the people of these islands believed in regard to it, let him call to mind what we Roman Catholics to-day hold to so firmly, and let him know that every faithful soul in pre-Reformation times in this England of ours held no less certainly to this most Holy Sacrament, the centre and life of our religion.

THE MASS AND THE REFORMATION

By the Right Rev. Monsignor Canon Moyes, D.D.

When we say the "Mass and the Reformation" we are uttering two words which confront each other as irreconcilable enemies. A glance of retrospect into the history and working of the Church will reveal the nature of the conflict.

The Mass and Development

At the risk of making this paper unnecessarily tiresome I permit myself to enter into a preface which, at first sight, must seem very much like a digression.

The fundamental fact of Catholicism is that God the Son, made Man for us, became our Teacher and brought here upon earth a message of salvation, and founded a Church in order that it might be conveyed to all nations and all generations. In other words, Christ deposited in the mind of the Church that body of Divine truth to be believed which the Fathers and theologians of the Church call the "Deposit of Faith," which Holy Scripture calls "the Faith once delivered to the Saints," and which we all in common language speak of more simply as the "Catholic Faith."

But the mind of the Church into which the Faith was received is not a mere mechanical receptacle which holds the truth without informing it, but is on the contrary an active, living, intelligent depositary which permeates, penetrates, and appropriates the truth which it receives. Moreover, Christ who gave the message of truth to the mind of the Church, gave also the Holy Ghost, who is the living "Spirit of Truth," to enable the Church to preserve it, grasp it, and appreciate its true meaning and interpretation, and to guide aright its new applications as need would arise. It was thus impossible that the Deposit of Faith should remain in the mind of the Church, without the Church, under the action of the Holy Ghost, obtaining, as the ages went on, a fuller and clearer insight into the truth which she possessed from the beginning. It is this process which we call doctrinal development — development

which proceeds from a deposit of revealed truth, and retains forever all that it has once included—development in the true and Catholic sense of the word, as emphatically marked off from the false conceptions which have recently gathered around the term. An eminent exponent of the Church's teaching—Andrew, Archbishop of Rhodes—nearly five hundred years ago, at the Council of Florence, described it as a process of development or "unfolding," by which conclusions which as hidden or "underlying" truths are folded up in the principles of the Faith are "folded out," so that without addition or admixture of or accretion from without that which before was believed implicitly, is believed explicitly.[1] A point on which I would venture to lay stress is the following. The process of doctrinal development which I have stated is, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a necessary and normal function of the Church's life and action. It is not an accidental function which is only intermittently awakened into activity by influences from without. It takes place just as surely as the mind of the Church lives and acts.

The Church cannot hold the body of revealed truth under the action of the Holy Spirit, without entering more and more clearly into it and penetrating more fully its meaning and purport; and the results of such acquired insight gradually but necessarily find place and expression in her ordinary thought and magisterium. But it is precisely this growing accession of light and insight which is opposed by heresy—by that element which is alien to the spirit and movement of Faith, and is made up of the souls that lag and straggle and revolt; and in opposing the normal progress of Catholic development, the dissidents are logically led into conflict with the great truths which lie behind it.

Hence, it would seem to be superficial and inaccurate to speak of the process of doctrinal development as if it were something solely and chiefly actuated by the rise of the various

[1] It is not necessary to point out in an assembly of Catholics that Cardinal Newman has made the principle familiar to English readers in our own day, and that the Church in the Council of the Vatican recognises such progression as an ancient and Catholic truth taught as far back as the Commonitorium of St Vincent of Lerins in the fifth century.

heresies, or the need that the Church feels of defending her treasure of truth against those by whom it is assailed. It is not the heresies which have caused or shaped the Church's development, that development would certainly have existed if there had never been a heresy, but rather the development, first in the field as the essential and necessary outcome of the Church's life, has all along the line been attacked by the heresies. It is then that the Church, in condemning and repressing the heresies which seek to rob her of her development gains, fixes for ever these gains as part of the patrimony of the Faith by doctrinal definitions, which simply put into clear and authoritative terms the revealed truth in the fuller insight which has accrued from the development. We may thus say that there are three stages. First, the holding of the deposit of truth and its development are in origin and operation the fruit of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the mind of the Church, and the convictions born therefrom enter into the ordinary magisterium: secondly, these, and ultimately the parent truths from which they spring, become the object of heretical revulsion and denial: thirdly, the Church, in reprobating such denial, perpetuates her developed insight in doctrinal decisions. That means that these decisions are of the permanent logic and structure of the Faith, and have in their underlying development an origin, a value, and a significance beyond and independent of their mere relativity to the circumstances and controversies of the heresies which they condemn.

It is in the light of this principle that we may account for that character of logical succession which has been so often pointed out as marking the long line of conciliar definitions. From the beginning, Christ has been the central and paramount object of the Church's loving study and insight. It was natural, as has been often observed, that in the earlier centuries her meditation should centre first of all upon our Lord's natures and person. The accession of insight which thus resulted, and the great dogmas of the deposit from which it proceeded were fiercely attacked by the Arian and cognate heresies. As a consequence these dogmas of Christology in their developed fullness and precision were authoritatively defined, chiefly in the first four General Councils—Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. In

the period which followed, the insight of the Church continued upon its loyal and logical path, and now turned more specially upon the Eucharistic and mystic Body of our Lord—the nature of the Eucharist and the constitution of His Church. The doctrines of the Pope and the Mass loom more and more largely and glow more and more clearly as we proceed along the path of the centuries. Against the fruits of this accruing insight and the dogmas involved, attack was made by the second great group of heresies, which culminated in the movement which we call the Reformation. In condemnation of these heresies, their inception and their aftermath, we have the doctrinal decisions of the last four General Councils—Lateran, Florence, Trent, and the Vatican.

The Principle of the Reformation

The Reformation was thus the recoil from and the revolt against the Church in her preservation of the Deposit of Faith, and in her normal and divinely guided development of its import. That development had during the long ages of the period mentioned deepened in the mind of the Church the fuller and clearer realisation of the two great Catholic dogmas, which, as expressing the immediate institution of our Lord, had been held from the beginning—the Supremacy of St Peter and the Sacrifice of the Altar. The Reformation offered to these a direct and frontal attack. It substituted and took its stand upon a twofold antagonistic principle of its own—first, the principle of the immediate guidance of the soul by the Holy Spirit or private judgement which radically subverted all Church authority, and notably that of the Supreme Pontiff; and secondly, the principle of justification by Faith alone, which practically subverted the whole Sacramental and Sacrificial system and with it the sacerdotium or priestly ministry that it postulates. Both these twin Reformational principles are at root logically one. They mean in the order of salvation the sufficiency of a narrow individualism in the soul's direct relation to Christ, instead of the broad and full collectivism or close social bond of the member-of-member solidarity of the Catholic Church, by which souls, in Christ and through Christ as the sole Saviour, share in the blessedness of helping in the saving of other souls, whether through the sacramental and sacrificial ministry or through the

communion of saints. Or we may put it in this way. In the Catholic mind, the order of Salvation stands as one, two, three—Christ, the Church, the Soul: that is to say, Christ living and acting in His Church teaches, saves, and sanctifies the soul. The work of Luther was to alter the order into that of Christ, the Soul, and the Church—or one, three, two. It is thus that in the Protestant mind the Church, falling into the third place, becomes something merely instrumental, instead of being as it is in the Catholic mind, something vital and permanently structural—the Mystic and Everlasting Body of Christ, into which we are built or engrafted, and in which and through which we receive immediately but dependently Christ's life and sanctification. We can thus realise that the conflict was one of root principles, and that the Reformation was essentially a declaration of war against the Papacy and the Mass. As long as the Reformation holds to its primary principle—in other words, as long as it continues to be itself—any reconciliation between it and these doctrines becomes metaphysically impossible.

Luther was much too clear-sighted not to perceive where the main issue lay, and that in the clash of the two systems, after the Pope, it is "the Mass that matters." In the Articles which he helped to draw up for the Assembly at Smalcald in 1537, he denounced the Mass as "the greatest and most horrible abomination and idolatry," and warned his followers that while the Mass was the point on which Cardinal Campeggio had taught him that Catholics would never yield, it was also the one in regard to which he would rather be burnt to ashes than give way. "Thus," he continues, "we shall differ for all eternity, and the Papacy will stand or fall with the Mass" (*Seckendorf*, iii., 16, 46). His words are as true to-day as when they were first uttered.

In the Zuinglian or Calvinist following, which made up the second great wing of the Reformation army, the hatred and abhorrence of the Mass was, as we know, if anything even more deadly and relentless than it was amongst the Lutherans. Among both, the animus was chiefly against the doctrine of Sacrifice, and consequently against the Canon of the Mass, in which the sacrificial character of the rite was most plainly asserted. Luther pours out the vials of his wrath in vehement

abuse of what he calls the "abominable Canon," and in the reformed liturgies, even when the words of institution were preserved, the entire sacrificial expression of the Canon was carefully and completely eliminated.

It is important to bear in mind this special incidence of the Reformation attack upon the essential part of the Mass, for it is the key and the clue to what subsequently took place in England.

The Mass in Pre-Reformation England

We have seen that the Church from the beginning held the great dogmas as to the Primacy and the Mass, and that in the centuries that followed the Christological definitions, these dogmas received their historic doctrinal development. That development was one which the controversies during Wicliffite and Hussite heresies and the schism of the West only served to strengthen and intensify. In this work of the defence and development of the Faith, the Church here in England from its foundation had taken a full and notable share.

It was here that St Bede taught to the Anglo-Saxon youth —the grandchildren of men who had gazed on the face of Augustine, Aidan, and Paulinus—that the "precious Body and Blood of the Lamb by whom we were redeemed are sacrificed anew in the Mass for our salvation" (*Hom. in Vig. Paschæ*). It was from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury — albeit before he came to us—that went forth the treatise *de Corpore et Sanguine Christi*, the chief refutation of the errors of Berengarius. It was here that the Lateran definitions upon Transubstantiation were loyally echoed in the constitutions of Exeter, Durham, and Oxford. It was here—not many hundred yards from where we stand—that in the face of the Wicliffite heresy, Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel in convocation, and supported by one of the largest and most influential commissions ever appointed by the English Church, proclaimed the traditional faith of this land in the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Mass, and disciplined even to the stake those who would not receive those doctrines "according to the determination of the Holy Roman Church" (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii., 157, 355, 404).

It is characteristic of the thoroughgoing Catholicity of the English Church, that in 1433—just a century before the breach with Rome—when the English clergy were asked whether they would continue to acknowledge the Council of Basle after it had been dissolved by the Pope, Convocation under Chichely declared by a unanimous vote that it held the Papal Act of dissolution to be perfectly valid, and that the English clergy would stand by their obedience to the Pope; and, concerning the proposal to allow the Bohemians to have communion in both kinds, they expressed their conviction that it would be scandalous and unworthy if any departure were made "even in the very least" from the decisions of "our Mother the Holy Roman Church" (Wilkins, iii., 520).

In the very last Catholic convocation which was held in this country at the accession of Elizabeth,[1] the English Church, foreseeing that the storm was about to burst, solemnly affirmed with its last cry its Faith in Papal Supremacy and Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

I have ventured to recall these well-known facts of our Catholic past, showing the strength and clearness of English faith in the Blessed Sacrament and Sacrifice, because it has sometimes been pleaded that the Reformational changes in England were made at a time when much of the doctrinal teaching on the Eucharist was still open and undefined, and had not yet received that precision and fixity which it obtained in 1562 by the decisions of the XXII. Session of the Council of Trent. I take it that, on the contrary, any conscientious study of pre-Reformation history will show that the mind of the English Church was perfectly clear and convinced in its Eucharistic teaching, and that there is nothing in the dogmatic decrees of Trent which may not be found substantially and unmistakably stated in the English pre-Reformation formularies, and notably in the declaration of convocation in 1558, and in the replies of Gardiner to the heresies of Cranmer in his book on the Lord's Supper.

Certainly it would be difficult to find anywhere in the Tridentine Canons and chapters any statement of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation more clear or more emphatic than those

[1] Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ii., 493.

which were already contained in the test Articles of Archbishop Arundel, or in the two declarations on faith in both these doctrines which were set forth in the Winchester Pontifical as specially required of a bishop-elect before his consecration (see Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, ii., 265).

In the historic hour of this the first meeting of the Eucharistic Congress held in England, we may be pardoned if, with the records of the land before our eyes, we claim that the Catholic Church of this land—the "Dowry of Mary"—during the thousand years of its pre-Reformation history, from its foundation until the breach with Rome, was second to none in the eloquence and fervour of its witness to the Catholic faith; and that from first to last she was luminously stamped with those three great characteristics which are always and everywhere the seal of genuine Catholicity—fidelity to the See of Peter, devotion to the Mother of God, and love of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Her altars were countless and glorious; nowhere in Catholic Christendom did piety turn more loyally towards our Lord upon the Altar, and nowhere was provision more splendidly and more generously made for the continual offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass for the quick and the dead.

The English Reformation

The facts of the Divorce and the breach with Rome are familiar to you all, and you have read that momentous lesson written upon one of the saddest pages of our history—how an episcopate and clergy who unworthily abandoned the Pope for the King, found their punishment where they found their sin, and were themselves crushed into servile submission under the heavy hand of the Tudor tyrant.

It was upon this Church, weakened and unnerved by some thirteen years of Erastian schism and poisoned by all the malaria of religious nationalism and anti-Papal prejudice, that burst the storm of the Edwardine Reformation with its flood of doctrinal and liturgical change. On the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer the archplotter had a free hand of which he was quick to take advantage; the sluice-gates were speedily uplifted and the tide of the Reformation which already submerged a large part of the continent flowed in. The

connection of the English with the continental Reformation is too palpable to be ignored. The European Reformation movement of the sixteenth century takes its personal colour from the minds of its various leaders, and its local colour from the countries in which it was established. It is thus quite true that the English Reformation has its specific differences marking it off from the parent movement, just as the Reformation movements in France, Switzerland, Holland, and Sweden have theirs; and the fullest account must be taken of their value. But such differences, important as they may be, are merely specific, and they do not touch the sameness of the fundamental principles of the movement or remove the fact that the Reformation in Europe stands in history as one substantial whole. In fact, no real grasp of the history or spirit of the Reformation in this or that country will ever be obtained except by considering it broadly in relation to the whole of which it is a part. This is especially true of the English Reformation, on account of the vitally close bond which united it to the continental movement from which it originated, and from which with certain national reservations it took its shape and spirit and direction.

The bond was in fact a triple one.

There was first of all the personal bond, by which the leading English Reformers were, most of them, men who for years had resided in Germany or Switzerland and had been thoroughly indoctrinated in the Reformation principles, and inversely, by which a large number of the leading continental Reformers had come to England, and were afforded every opportunity of leavening the nation with their doctrines. Men like Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were even given chairs at the Universities so that they might form in their new theology, the future English clergy. Cranmer himself was a living bond between the Reformation in Germany and the Reformation in England, for he was at once the disciple of the one and the prime mover of the other.

The second bond was the doctrinal one, by which the doctrines of the continental Reformation were imported here into England. Undoubtedly the Protestantism of England had its points of special difference, and made some important

reserves while accepting the movement, but the fundamental principles and the main features of the doctrinal system are obviously the same. The ten cardinal doctrines of the continental Reformation are all reproduced in the Anglican Reformation, and often they are set forth almost *verbatim* in the terms of the German and Swiss Reformers.[1] In fact, the Thirty-nine Articles have their substantial origin and pedigree as we know in the Confession of Augsburg and in the Thirteen Articles, agreed upon by Cranmer with the Lutheran divines who came to England in 1538.

Thirdly, there is the liturgical bond, by which a very notable proportion of the composition of the new formularies compiled for the purposes of public worship and the administration of the sacraments by the reformers here in England was either borrowed from or strongly influenced by those which had already been brought into use in Germany. That some of the most central and important parts of the Communion Service in the *Book of Common Prayer* have been derived from the Church orders drawn up by German Reformers, has been irrefutably shown in the well-known work of Abbot Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, and the same point has recently been brought out with much clearness in the books of Dr Dowden, the Anglican Bishop of Edinburgh. In many ways the liturgical changes were even more far-reaching in England than they were in Germany.

With this personal, doctrinal, and liturgical bond cementing in close and constant co-operation the work of the English Reformation with that of the parent movement on the continent, and with its transference of men, beliefs, and formularies clearly recorded in the teeming evidence of Reformation history and literature, it would be difficult to discover any two movements which are found to be more intimately

[1] Rejection of the Papacy. Rejection of the infallibility of the Church. The supremacy and sufficiency of Holy Scripture as a rule of Faith. Justification by Faith and not by works. The Eucharist as a Communion and not as a Sacrifice. The non-sacrificial character of the Ministry. The rejection of Transubstantiation and the worship of the Host. The non-necessity of auricular confession. The rejection of invocation and intercession of Saints. The rejection of Purgatory and Indulgences, and the disuse of prayers for the dead.

welded and interwoven. For this reason, it would be both a narrow and an unscientific view to look upon the new settlement of religion in England as something to be considered apart from its origins and historical context in the Protestant Reformation of Germany and Switzerland.

The English Reformation and the Mass

We have now to see the results of this nexus upon the attitude of the English Reformation towards the Mass. In view of the solidarity of the Reformers it was inevitable that the movement in England should bring with it that determined antagonism to the sacrificial character of the Mass, which had such an essential and prominent place in the whole system of the Reformation abroad. Luther's denunciation of the Mass as the "greatest and most horrible abomination and idolatry" was echoed here by Cranmer, who repudiated it almost in the same words as "abominable and detestable idolatry."[1] The hatred of the Mass amongst the English Reformers was even more deep-rooted than that of the Lutherans, as it was coloured by the more subversive theology of Geneva. The brunt of the anti-sacrificial animus naturally fell upon the Canon, or most distinctly sacrificial part of the Mass. The main parts of the earlier section of the Mass—the *Missa Catechumenorum* (the Collects, Kyrie, Gloria, Epistle, Gospel, Creed, etc.), as non-sacrificial—were mostly allowed to survive. The introductory sacrificial psalm "Judica me Deus" was abolished. But the Mass proper, or *Missa Fidelium*, was mutilated beyond recognition and, especially the Canon which contained the action of sacrifice, was wholly altered and was utterly eviscerated of all its sacrificial expression; and the gap was largely filled up by Communion prayers modelled upon the service books of the German Reformers. The words of institution as significant of communion were, of course, retained as they were in Germany; but throughout the whole liturgy of the Eucharist, whatever even remotely savoured of Transubstantiation or Sacrifice was mercilessly eliminated. The elimination is so complete that out of twenty-four passages in the Mass which express our Lord's real Presence and Sacrifice, not even one was allowed to

[1] See the concluding passage of his book on the Lord's Supper.

remain. All such expressions were torn out, and words redolent of the new Protestant doctrine were fitted into their place. The old saying of a Protestant divine, that "it was not the Prayer Book that was taken out of the Mass, but the Mass that was cut out of the Prayer Book," represents in very truth the gist of the great liturgical change which Cranmer and his fellow Reformers, backed by the strong hand of the civil power, introduced into every parish church in England. Even a few passages in the First Prayer Book which were subsequently found to be still in some way susceptible of a sacrificial interpretation, and were ingeniously used by Bishop Bonner in that sense, were ruthlessly swept away in the composition of the Second Prayer Book,[1] and it is this Second or more Protestant book, and not the First, that with a few trifling alterations was adopted under Elizabeth as the permanent liturgy of the Anglican settlement. In this, the purgation of the Eucharistic liturgy from all sacrificial significance and the substitution of a Communion service or synaxis for the Sacrifice of the Mass, we have the first and main work of the Reformation in England.

This fact finds its full recognition in the national tradition and the public opinion of this country to the present day. Only a few days ago, the *Times* spoke of this Eucharistic Congress being, by its cultus of the Mass, a direct challenge to the Reformation, which was "based on the repudiation of the Sacrifice of the Altar, and all that it involves, and to the Church of England in particular, which condemns 'the Sacrifices of Masses' as 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.'"[2]

The anti-Sacrificial campaign was much too thorough not to go farther. The Catholic Sacrificium was inseparably bound up with the Catholic Sacerdotium, and the English Reformation pursued its enemy, the Sacrificial idea, from the Missal into its source in the Pontifical, which gave to the Church a Sacrificing Priesthood. Hence Cranmer promptly followed up the introduction of a new Prayer Book by that of a new Ordinal. While maintaining the distinction of the three Orders of bishops,

[1] *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, by Abbot Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, chap. xvi.

[2] *Times*, Sept. 3, 1908, p. 7.

priests, and deacons in the sense of which he and his fellow-revisers believed them to come down from the apostles, he removed from the Ordination services all that expressed or implied the conveyance of sacrificial powers, or the idea that those who were ordained were in any sense sacrificing priests empowered to offer a sacrifice upon the altar. In the Ordination service of the Catholic Church there are no less than sixteen different parts in which the sacerdotium or sacrificial character is clearly expressed. Of these, not one was suffered to remain in the new Ordinal. Thus taking the Ordinal with its natural accompaniment, the Communion Service, corresponding to the Missal and Pontifical which they replaced, there are forty distinct cases of deliberate suppression of anything which would indicate a sacrifice of the Mass or of a Sacrificial Priesthood empowered to offer it.

It has been sometimes pleaded in these later days that this suppression was directed not so much against the Sacrificial idea as against theological exaggerations or abuses connected with it, and that the main object of these liturgical changes was the simplification of the services and their translation into the vernacular. To that it is enough to reply that if the authors of the Prayer Book and Ordinal believed in the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacrificing Priesthood, nothing in the world would have been easier for them than to have said so. There was absolutely nothing to prevent their shortening and simplifying and translating the ancient services as much as they wished, and still expressing the Sacrificial and Sacerdotal idea. A single sentence in each book would have sufficed for the purpose. Moreover, had the Reformers been striking at mere abuses or exaggerations, it is a matter of common sense that in that case they would have felt bound to have been all the more careful to safeguard the true use, and the Sacrificial doctrine, as marked off from the abuse, and they would have recognised the necessity for such safeguarding as all the more imperative, knowing as they did that the whole Sacrificial idea was being utterly denied and denounced in France and Germany, and by the reforming party in England.

So far from making any attempt to safeguard it, they strike it out wherever they find it, and they borrow and make their

own the very words which the German and Swiss Reformers have used to deny it.

A third stage of the anti-Sacrificial fury vented itself upon what we call the accessories of the Mass. The altars were thrown down, and wooden Communion tables substituted. The order for subversion of the altars was even accompanied by a schedule of reasons, by which the Act was to be explained to the people as directed against the Sacrifice of the Mass.[1]

Especially the Altar-stone — the consecrated Stone of Sacrifice—was to be destroyed and defaced, and to be discredited in the eyes of the people by turning it to base and profane purposes. Under Queen Elizabeth in 1571, Archbishop Grindal required "all altars to be pulled down to the ground, and the altar-stones defaced and bestowed to some common use."[2] Later on, in 1576, the order is repeated with emphasis, and it is commanded that "all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed, even unto the foundation."[3] Lighted candles, the use of Mass vestments, the sacring bells, the ceremonial acts connected with the Mass, all passed away in the adoption of the new religion, and were swept from the sight of the English people. Even down to matters of such small ceremonial detail as the breathing upon the Host (an indication of consecrating power), or the priest holding his finger and thumb together after the words of institution (as a precaution based on a sense of the Real Presence), the visitation articles of the new reformed bishops allowed nothing to escape them in their determination to crush out even the faintest trace of the Holy Sacrifice, once so familiar to the English people.

While this war of extermination was being waged against the Mass in the new Prayer Book, in the Ordinal, and in the churches of the land, the Civil Power did its supporting part by enacting a code of penal laws which for their severity are almost without parallel in the statute books of Europe. Any one saying or hearing the Mass was to be punished by fine and imprisonment,

[1] "The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper." Reasons issued by the Council to Bishop Ridley with order for pulling down the Altars.—Foxe, *Monuments*, vi., 5.

[2] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i., 371. [3] *Ibid.*, i., 376.

and any Jesuit or Seminary Priest remaining in the country to say Mass or any one sheltering such priest, was to suffer the death of a traitor. The rack in the Tower, and the rope and the knife at Tyburn, bore witness to the earnestness with which these laws were put into execution.

Thus of all that the powers of the Reformed Church and State could accomplish, absolutely nothing was left undone to stamp out the very memory of the Mass in England.

We may say truly that in England the Reformation measured its strength with the Mass in a death-struggle, as if conscious that its own survival ultimately depended upon its victory.

Conclusion

And now we pass gladly to another side of the picture. More than three hundred and fifty years have rolled by. The blood of our martyrs has borne its fruit, and the loyalty and prayers, and the suffering of our faithful people under God's good providence have won their reward. The natural sense of goodness and fair play, of justice and liberty inherent in the English people has gradually righted itself. The penal laws have passed away like a nightmare, and have become a memory of shame to those who made them. Under the British flag wherever it waves throughout the world, is found a freedom for the Catholic Church and for the Mass, which is second to none in Christendom. Throughout this realm of England there is hardly a town of any importance where the Catholic Altar has not been raised, and where the Mass is not being offered. Under the shadow of Tyburn itself, on the very spot where our martyrs mounted the ladder that reached to Heaven, the Mass is not only said, but the most Blessed Sacrament is adored perpetually. The net-work of Altar and Sacrifice, which fast covers the land, is now in this, the Capital of the Empire, majestically crowned by the Metropolitan Cathedral, in which the High Mass, in its own sublime setting of the Divine Office, is celebrated daily, and in which we take up publicly once again, our ancient part in the world-wide concert of the Church's Sacred Liturgy.

There is a sense in which the Cathedral itself may be said to

be a peaceful trophy of the triumph of the Mass in England, and it is one that may be of special interest to the members of this Eucharistic Congress. One of the most prominent features of Westminster Cathedral is that its High Altar is one single massive block of stone. The late Cardinal in his love for the Mass would have it so. It was his wish that this hewn rock of fifteen tons of solid granite should stand for all ages in the midst of this great Temple as the Stone of Sacrifice, witnessing thereby to the Sacrificial character of the Mass which the heresy of the sixteenth century denied, and as an indestructible reparation for the ruined Altars, and shattered Altar stones, which marked the havoc and apostasy of the Reformation.

We shall have lived to see a Legate from the See of Peter enter in state within our Cathedral and sing the High Mass upon its solid stone Altar, surrounded by the episcopate of England and so many of our fellow Catholics from abroad who have come to share in our joy, and by multitudes of the clergy and faithful of this land, hardly less numerous, and certainly not less loyal than those who gathered around the Papal Legates in the days of old, when they sang the Mass at the High Altar in the Cathedral of Canterbury. Little marvel if on such a day we know and feel that we have reached an *annus mirabilis* in our history, and a glorious landmark in the progress of the Church in England. We read in it the growing fulfilment of the well-known words of sacred prophecy:

"*In that day, I will raise up the Tabernacle of David that is fallen: and I will close up the breaches in the walls thereof, and repair what was fallen, and I will rebuild it as in the days of old*" (Amos ix. 11).

The discussion of the papers was opened by the Bishop of Namur, President General of the Eucharistic Congresses, who spoke in English. His Lordship dwelt on the union of his Belgian ancestors with England in the One Faith and in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

Father David Fleming, English Provincial O.F.M., urged the necessity of remembering that Christianity is Jesus Christ, and that to understand it we must reject subjective speculation and attend to objective truth. The Catholic Church, he

said, might be described as the spiritual telephone of the truth of Jesus Christ throughout the ages.

Mgr. Montes de Oca, Bishop of San Luis Potosi, Mexico, followed with a pathetic account of his first visit to England in the days of Cardinal Wiseman. He found that so far God had answered the prayers of himself and of many others for the conversion of England.

The Apostolic Delegate to Canada, declaring himself an Italian, expressed his happiness to be working under the protection of the British Flag, and he declared that the Catholics of Canada enjoy more liberty than any other nation on the earth. He described a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in Canada, and showed how the Congress should work, not only for the increase of our love of God, but also for the increase of our love of our neighbour. "The fulness of celestial blessings" was invoked upon all the people of England, irrespective of creed.

The Archbishop having expressed his thanks to the readers of the papers, the Cardinal Legate, speaking in French, concluded the morning's proceedings by expressing the great joy the meeting had caused him. He congratulated the Catholics of London on the auspicious opening of the Congress, and trusted that the best results would follow its meetings.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The chair having been taken by the Bishop of Southwark, the following papers were read:—

THE ROYAL DECLARATION

By the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Llandaff

The first public act of every sovereign who ascends the throne of this country is one from which every generous mind must recoil. He is obliged by law, on the first day of the meeting of his first Parliament, sitting on his throne in the House of Peers,

in the presence of the assembled Lords and Commons, to make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the following Declaration:

> "I, A. B., solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous; and I do solemnly in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted to me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof although the Pope or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or cancel the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

By this outrageous formula the sovereign is required to profess his repudiation of certain Catholic doctrines which have no political significance, and no bearing on the proper exercise of the royal power. He is required to vouch his sincerity in this profession by a clause which obviously assumes that he is capable of mental reservation, and which is insulting to him if he is an honest man, and futile if he is not; since a person capable of mental reservation on his oath would be capable of mental reservation on the clause directed against it. He is also required to profess his disbelief in a supposed dispensing power which the Catholic Church has never asserted; and he has put into his mouth a false statement of Catholic doctrine when he is

called upon to say that the "adoration" of the Virgin Mary and the Saints is "now used in the Church of Rome."

When we remember that the sovereign, at the time of his or her accession, may be a person of tender years, there is something grotesque in the notion that this *ex cathedrâ* denunciation of solemn and mysterious doctrines should be uttered by childish lips.

The history of this Declaration increases the bitterness of feeling which it arouses. It was first introduced in a statute of the reign of Charles II. (30 Car. II., St. 2), passed at the time when the whole nation was in a frenzy of irrational passion and discreditable panic in which the English qualities of good sense and moderation seemed to have given place to blind credulity and bloodthirsty violence.

Titus Oates, a man of blemished character, invented the details of a Popish plot to assassinate the king and subvert by force the Protestant Government of the country, with the help of foreign princes. Oates was afterwards supported by a convicted swindler, William Bedloe. In spite of the gross contradictions and improbabilities of their tale, the statements of these men were accepted as gospel by the public. The body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was found in a ditch on Primrose Hill. It was instantly reported and believed that he had been murdered by the Papists. Some letters written by Coleman, a vain, intriguing man who was secretary to the Duchess of York, and addressed to Père La Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV., asking for money to further the Catholic cause in England, were discovered, and served to inflame still more the minds of the people. London presented the aspect of a city threatened with assault. The streets were patrolled by soldiers. Cannon were placed round the royal palace. The citizens carried arms to protect themselves against Popish assassins. The gaols were filled with Catholics, whose houses were searched and their papers seized. Unscrupulous statesmen like Lord Shaftesbury sought popularity by fanning the flame of popular fury. Judges and juries forgot all decency in their eagerness to convict Catholics accused of participation in the plot; and much innocent blood was shed on the scaffold. It was in this condition of the public mind that the Statute of 1678 was

passed for the purpose of excluding Catholics from Parliament, from the Court, and from public offices of trust. It is perhaps not surprising that it bore traces of the passionate excitement of the time, and contained a formula couched in terms of studied violence and insult.

Ten years afterwards the reign of James II. came to an end. The Convention summoned by the Prince of Orange declared that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant nation to be governed by a Popish king; but they prescribed no test by which the religious belief of the king could be ascertained. Accordingly, when the Bill of Rights was passed in 1689 (1 Will. & Mary, S. 2, c. 2), Parliament took the formula which was ready to its hand in the Act of Charles II., and required the sovereign to make the Declaration it contained. Another period of eleven years elapsed; and the failure of issue of Princess Anne led Parliament to pass the Act of Settlement (12 & 13 Will. III. c. 2), by which the succession to the British Crown was conferred on the descendants of the Princess Sophia "being Protestants," and the sovereigns of this line were required to make the same declaration as that prescribed by the Bill of Rights. In consequence of this legislation every British sovereign from Queen Anne to His Majesty Edward VII. has been obliged on his accession to repeat a formula which, in the words of Lingard, owes its origin "to the perjuries of an impostor and the delusion of a nation."

England stands alone in this respect. In no other civilised country—neither in Protestant States such as Prussia and America, nor in Catholic States such as Austria and France—is it thought necessary to put into the mouth of the sovereign or president a controversial utterance of this kind, or to search his conscience by a religious test.

The reasons which explain, if they do not excuse, the original imposition of this test have long ceased to exist. When the Bill of Rights was enacted, James II. had only just been driven from the country. He seemed likely to reassert his claim to the throne with the support of Louis XIV. The battle of the Boyne had not yet been fought. And as the country was firmly resolved not to have a Catholic King, Parliament adopted a form of Declaration which no Catholic could take.

Again, when the Act of Settlement was passed there were still "Popish Pretenders," whose claims to the throne were active and alive, and were soon after asserted in arms. This state of things has entirely passed away. There are no Catholic pretenders to the throne remaining; and the extinction of the line of James II. has made the Declaration unmeaning and superfluous.

The altered position of Catholics has made the Declaration still more indecorous. When the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement were passed, Catholics were excluded from both Houses of Parliament, from civil and military offices, and from the liberal professions. Their religion was proscribed, and was in itself an offence against the law. While the penal laws were in force, an outrage in words to the religious beliefs of Catholics was a matter of comparatively small importance. Now, by the liberality of Parliament, all this is altered. The Catholic religion is sanctioned by law. The doctrines which the Declaration condemns are lawfully taught and professed by millions of His Majesty's subjects. The Parliament to which the Declaration is addressed contains many Catholic members, whose public duty calls upon them to stand round the sovereign while he is compelled to utter words which offend their most sacred convictions.

Moreover, since William III. came to the throne the bounds of the British Empire have been greatly enlarged, and now include countries such as Malta, Mauritius, and some others, almost wholly Catholic; Canada, where 43 per cent. of the population are Catholic; India and Australia, where large Catholic communities are to be found. His Majesty Edward VII. cannot have less than twelve millions of Catholic subjects. There can be no doubt that they are unanimous in their feeling on this subject.

This unanimity was clearly shown in 1901 when an unsuccessful attempt was made in the House of Lords to modify the Declaration. The House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada passed a resolution protesting against the Declaration, and declaring that "the staunch loyalty of the Roman Catholics in Canada and throughout the British possessions should exempt them from any offensive reference to them by their

sovereign." The Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Dominion in a letter addressed to Cardinal Vaughan declared their agreement with the Resolution, and said that "Parliament merely voiced the general sentiment of the country." The Australian Hierarchy forwarded to the Imperial Government an energetic protest against the Declaration, in which they point out that one-third of the Australian contingent then fighting for the honour and the interests of the Empire in South Africa were Catholics, and say that they regard the Declaration "as an outrage against common sense, no less than religion," and protest against it "as an infringement of the religious equality to which we are entitled by the constitution of the Commonwealth, and which we cherish as our birthright." Similar resolutions and addresses reached this country from Malta, from various places in British India, and from Mauritius. The lay Catholics of Ceylon presented an address to the Prince of Wales, who was then visiting the Colonies, in which they say: "At the moment when all races and creeds throughout the Empire are hastening forward to tender their homage and dutiful service to their Sovereign, Catholics alone are rebuffed with wounding words directed against two of the most cherished tenets of their holy religion."

It cannot be successfully argued that the making of this Declaration is necessary to secure the Protestant succession to the Crown upon which the Protestants of this country insist as a cardinal principle of our Constitution. The Protestant succession is safeguarded by other and independent securities.

The Coronation Oath was settled soon after the Revolution by a statute (1 Will. & Mary, S. 3, c. 6) which requires the sovereign to give an affirmative answer on oath to the following question:—

> "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, and the Protestant reformed Religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the Churches committed to their charge all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them or any of them?"

By the Bill of Rights it is enacted (1 Will. & Mary, S. 22, c.

2, 59) "that any person who shall be reconciled or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be for ever incapable to inherit or possess the Crown; and in every such case the people of these realms are absolved from their allegiance, and the crown and government are to descend on such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the person holding communion with Rome, or marrying a Papist, were naturally dead.

The Act of Settlement (12 & 13 Will. III., S. 2, c. 2) applies these enactments to the descendants of the Electress Sophia, who now occupy the British throne. It also enacts (S. 3) that:

> "Whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of the Crown of England, shall join in Communion with the Church of England as by law established."

These enactments appear to afford ample security for the Protestant succession to the Crown. They are far more efficacious than the Declaration, for they cover the whole life of the sovereign; whereas the Declaration only gives assurance of his belief at the moment when it is uttered.

It is worth recalling that, up to the year 1867, certain holders of high office—the Lord Chancellors of England and of Ireland, the Chancellors of the Universities, and some others—were also required to make this declaration, as those offices were not intended to be open to Roman Catholics. In 1867 an Act was passed (30 and 31 Vict. c. 62), by which all subjects of the realm were relieved from the necessity of making the declaration as a qualification for holding any civil office; the Act at the same time declared that Roman Catholics should not be enabled to hold any of the offices for the enjoyment of which it was then necessary to make the declaration. The result has been perfectly satisfactory. No Roman Catholic has been enabled by the abolition of the Declaration to intrude into any of the reserved offices. The Protestant holders of those offices have been relieved from the necessity of giving offence to their Catholic fellow-subjects. The sovereign alone remains subject to their painful necessity.

The Catholic peers have since 1891 made several attempts to get rid of this "relic of barbarism." In that year, on the motion of Lord Herries, a Committee of Protestant Peers was appointed to revise the declaration. This committee concluded their labours in one short sitting, without consulting a single Catholic, or ascertaining what the Catholic feeling on this subject was. They struck out the epithets "superstitious," and "idolatrous." They condensed the offensive clause concerning equivocation and mental reservation into one word, by making the Sovereign say that he made the Declaration and every part of it "unreservedly." But they preserved the repudiation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, of the invocation or adoration of Saints, and of the Sacrifice of the Mass. It seems not to have occurred to the members of the Committee that what makes the Declaration an offence and a grievance to Catholics is precisely this repudiation and condemnation of doctrines which they hold sacred made by the Sovereign publicly, audibly, before his assembled Parliament, on the most solemn ceremonial occasion of his reign. There are scores of creeds held by different subjects of His Majesty, the doctrines of which he, as a member of the Church of England, is bound to disbelieve. But he is not required to condemn the doctrines of the Calvinist or the Unitarian, or to dissociate himself from the creed of the Baptist or the Brahmin. It is the Catholic faith alone, held by so many of his ancestors, which is singled out for exceptional treatment and contemptuous repudiation. Whether that repudiation is accompanied with scurrilous epithets or not is comparatively unimportant. The epithets are implied in the public and solemn condemnation of the doctrines, which is the real grievance. The Catholic peers preferred to leave the Declaration unamended, in all its original coarseness, rather than accept an expurgated version which would amount to a deliberate reaffirmation by the Parliament of the twentieth century of the anti-Catholic spirit of the seventeenth century. The third reading of the Government Bill was carried in the House of Lords, the Catholic peers voting against it. But the Government dropped the Bill and never presented it to the House of Commons.

In 1903 Earl Grey introduced a Bill in the House of Lords to abolish the Declaration altogether. This is the best solution

of the question. It relieves the sovereign from almost the last religious test which remains in our legislation. It was supported in a closely reasoned and eloquent speech by Lord Grey, but was rejected on the second reading by a majority of 109 against 62 of whom 25 were Catholic peers.

In 1904 another attempt was made to remedy this long-standing grievance. The Duke of Norfolk moved a Resolution, which recited the ample securities provided by the Act of Settlement to ensure the Protestant succession to the Crown, and the needless offence given by the Royal Declaration to many millions of loyal subjects of His Majesty, and invited the House to express its opinion that the Declaration ought to be amended so as not to include the condemnation or repudiation of specific doctrines which form part of the conscientious belief of any of His Majesty's subjects. The Duke of Northumberland moved what is called the previous question, a parliamentary device which enables the House to decide that it will not allow the original motion to be put to the vote. This was carried by 103 votes to 36; and therefore the Duke of Norfolk's Resolution was not submitted to the House at all.

In 1905 a Bill was introduced, and read a first time in the House of Lords, by which a new form of Declaration was substituted for the obnoxious form in the Act of Settlement. The Sovereign by this new form declared his membership of the Church of England, his belief in her Articles and Formularies, and his determination to uphold the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the throne. The approach of a General Election prevented any further progress being made with this Bill.

Since that time the Education Question has been the prominent one. Catholics and members of the Church of England have stood side by side in defending the cause of definite religious education in elementary schools. It was thought by many leading Catholics that the moment was inopportune for reviving the subject of the Royal Declaration, which must always be one of some controversial bitterness.

I am one of those who hope that before long some fresh attempt may be made to get rid of what the late Lord Salisbury rightly described as a "stain upon the Statute Book."

EUCHARISTIC BEQUESTS

By the Hon. Frank Russell, K.C.

Within the short limits of this paper I will endeavour to place before you a few points concerning the Law of England, as it affects "Eucharistic Bequests," in which term I would include all dispositions by will made with the object of securing that the Sacrifice of the Mass should be offered up for the repose of souls, or securing that especial honour should in any way be paid to the Holy Eucharist. The present attitude of English Law towards such dispositions is clear enough; it invalidates all such bequests upon the ground that they are (if one may use the current phrase without admitting its truthfulness) "superstitious." The Law did not always assume this attitude, as I shall show; and there are undoubtedly serious grounds for contending that the true legal view is, or at all events ought now to be, the same as it undoubtedly was in the days before the "Reformation." There can be no doubt whatever that, in pre-Reformation days, bequests for prayers and Masses for the benefit of the testator himself or other deceased persons were valid and effectual. The will of King Alfred has been preserved, and in it he provides as follows: "Also let them distribute for me, and for my father, and for the friends that he interceded for, and that I intercede for, two hundred pounds—fifty to Mass priests throughout all my Kingdom, fifty to poor servants of God, fifty to distressed poor, fifty to the Church where I shall rest—and I will that my Aldermen and Thanes meet together and distribute it." Theodred (who was Bishop of London in the time of Edgar) left a will which contained among other bequests the following: "And I give to every Bishop's See five pounds to dole out for my soul . . . and I grant that ten pounds be doled for my soul at my Bishopric within London and without London." And the worthy prelate, in order, no doubt, to ensure his wishes being carried out, concludes with these words—"And whosoever takes from my testament, may God take him from the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he amend it before his death." If statutory authority

be needed, one may refer to the Statute of Westminster 1st (31 Edwd. III., Stat. 1., c. 11), which enacted that in case a man dies intestate, the ordinary shall depute his nearest and most lawful friends to administer his goods, "and dispend for the soul of the dead."

The first restriction placed by Law upon trusts for Masses and prayers is contained in a Statute of 1531, passed in the reign of Henry VIII. (23 Hen. VIII., c. 10). That enactment prohibited trusts of hereditaments to the use of parish churches and chapels for the purpose of having "obits" or annual funeral services performed beyond a period of twenty years. The limitation in point of time establishes the fact that, apart from the statute, the trusts were legal and recognised. Moreover, this statute of Henry VIII. is not really to be considered as a legislative protest against the religious practice of Masses and prayers for the dead. Boyle, in his well-known work on *Charities*, puts the point most clearly (p. 245): "The Act was never intended to root out religious opinions, nor to aim a blow at religious practices of whatever kind, as such; it was directed to the preservation of those incidents of feudal tenure, which were fast falling under the sickle of cunning invention. It was, in fact, a Mortmain Act, and had no more to do with the Reformation, as some would have us believe, than Magna Carta."

A few years later, viz., in 1547, was enacted the Statute of Chantries (1 Edwd. VI., c. 14). It is upon this Statute that the foundations of the existing state of the Law are built. It is accordingly deserving of somewhat close attention. The actual enactment provided that there should vest in the King all free chapels, chantries, lands given for finding a priest, and lands and charges on lands devoted to the maintenance of any annual funeral service; and it only applied to then existing trusts. It is, however, in the preamble to this Statute that the Courts of this country have found materials which in their opinion enabled them properly to hold that bequests for Masses and similar bequests were gifts to "superstitious" uses and therefore void. The preamble which they construed as declaratory of the Law (which for centuries had clearly been established in the contrary sense), and which has had such far-

reaching and (in all probability) unforeseen results, recites that: "A great part of superstition and errors in Christian Religion had been brought into the minds and estimations of men by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ, and by devising and fantasying vain opinions of Purgatory and Masses satisfactory to be done for them which be departed; the which doctrine and vain opinion by nothing more is maintained and upholden than by the abuse of trentals, chantries, and other provisions made for the continuance of the said blindness and ignorance."

Out of the words of this preamble was evolved the theory that trusts and bequests for the purpose of Masses and kindred purposes were "superstitious" and void; and the Courts held (in cases of bequests admittedly not within the language of the enacting portion of the Statute) that the preamble was declaratory of the Law as it existed at the date of the Statute, and that such bequests were accordingly "superstitious" and void.

It must be remembered that down to a very recent time before that Statute, such bequests could not have been considered in the eyes of the Law either "superstitious" or void, otherwise there would seem to have been no reason or necessity for enacting in 1531 the Statute of Henry VIII., which I have referred to above. Further, it is a matter of considerable interest to observe that even Henry VIII. himself by his own will instituted an obit at Windsor, and this fact is alluded to in the course of Counsel's argument in the case of A. G. *v.* The Fishmonger's Company (2 Bea. at p. 160). The will of Henry VIII. (which is dated the 30th December 1546) begins: "In the name of God and of the glorious and blessed Virgin Our Lady Saint Mary, and all the Holy Company of Heaven;" and in the course thereof he wills "the service of Placebo and Dirige with a sermon and Mass on the morrow devoutly to be done" (Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*). The period of time during which these bequests ceased to be valid and became void must, therefore, have been incredibly brief.

It was not until some years had elapsed from the date of the Statute of Chantries, that the Courts pronounced the decisions which determined that the preamble to the Statute was declaratory of the Law at the date of the Statute; or (as it

is put by Sir Edward Coke) that such bequests were prohibited "by the equity of the said Act which intended to extirpate all praying for souls" (4 Co., Rep. 113 A). The earliest case which I have been able to find in which the Statute can be said to have been so construed, is Chibnal and Witton's Case in 1588, in which (according to Coke) the decision of the judges involved the following proposition: "If land of the yearly value of £20 be given upon consideration to find a priest to pray for souls, and that the priest shall have for his salary £10, and to distribute between twenty poor men and women other £10, in that case the King shall have but the £10 limited to the priest . . . and the reason is because . . . there was a good use separate and distinct from the *superstitious* use; and therefore God forbid that the ill use shall swallow up the good use" (4 Co., Rep. III. A).

From all this it appears to me as a proper conclusion that these *ex post facto* declarations of what the Law was at the date of the Statute, are to be attributed to the great changes in religious practice and doctrine in England which had accompanied the "Reformation." In other words, the bequests had in course of time become "superstitious" because they connoted or were believed to connote a practice and doctrine opposed to the practices and doctrines of the Church of the Nation or State; for (in the words of Sir Francis Moore) "religion being variable according to the pleasure of succeeding princes, that which at one time is held for orthodox may at another be accounted superstitious, and then such lands are confiscated as appears by the Statute of Chantries" (Bridgeman's Edition of Duke, 1805, p. 125). If I may quote Boyle once more, he says (at p. 256): "A change had, it is true, taken place; but not in the common Law. The principle of that Law remained the same, but (and here was the alteration) inasmuch as one religion had been substituted for another, those very principles which had protected the latter so long as it was sanctioned by the legislature, and had discountenanced all others, now that it was no longer so sanctioned, transferred the protection of the Law from a religion which the legislature had branded as false to that which it pronounced to be true." And again (at p. 273) speaking of the effect of the Statute of Chantries on bequests

to "superstitious" uses, he says: "In truth, however, the illegality of this kind of bequest seems attributable, not so much to the Statute in question, as to the entire scheme of the Reformation."

Whether the reason suggested for the earlier decisions as to the effect of the Statute of Chantries is correct or not, there is no doubt whatever that in fact the decisions of the English Courts were all one way, and that bequests for Masses were void. The current of authority flowed uninterruptedly until the year 1832. I pause at that date, not because the river then selected a different channel, but because legislation then took place which in the view of some might well have had the effect of diverting the stream.

On the 15th August 1832, in the reign of William IV., was passed the Roman Catholic Charities Act 1832 (2 & 3 Wm. IV., c. 115), the full title of which is "An Act for the better securing the Charitable Donations and Bequests of His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain professing the Roman Catholic Religion." Stated shortly, the effect of this Act was to put Catholics upon the same footing with regard to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, as Protestant Dissenters. The first section enacts that "His Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic Religion, in respect to their schools, places of religious worship, education, and charitable purposes in Great Britain, and the property held therewith and the persons employed in or about the same shall in respect thereof be subject to the same laws as the Protestant Dissenters are subject to in England in respect to their schools and places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes and not further or otherwise." The 4th section provides that nothing in the Act shall be taken in any way to alter any provision in the "Catholic Emancipation Act" of 1829 respecting the suppression or prohibition of religious orders or societies bound by monastic or religious vows. The 5th section provides that all property to be acquired or held for such purposes of religious worship, education, and charitable purposes shall be subject to the provisions of the old Mortmain Act of 1735 (9 Geo. II., c. 36).

Now, three points should be noted. First, the Statute

contemplates property being held for Catholic religious worship; secondly, before the passing of this Act the English Law had made no distinction between gifts for Masses generally and gifts for Masses to be said for the repose of souls (see per Sir John Romilly *In re* Michel 28 Bea. at p. 43); and thirdly, special provision is made to ensure that the Statute should not be construed as releasing religious orders from their disabilities. Bearing these points in mind, and remembering that the supreme act of religious worship in the Catholic Church is the Sacrifice of the Mass, we may urge that it would not have been impossible or indeed unreasonable for the English Courts to have drawn a general inference from this Act in favour of the Catholic religion (much in the same way as they had drawn an inference from the Statute of Chantries, adversely to that religion) and to have held that thenceforward the Catholic Religion was no longer outlawed, and that a disposition of property for the purpose of securing the celebration of the supreme act of worship of that religion was no longer to be under the ban of illegality. In other words they might properly have held that gifts for religious ceremonies practised by any religious body were valid, provided that no offence against public morality was involved.

This, however, was not to be. Very shortly after the passing of the Act of 1832 (viz., in 1835) the case of *West* v. *Shuttleworth* (2 My. & K., 684) came before the Master of the Rolls, Sir Charles Pepys, afterwards Lord Cottenham, Lord Chancellor. In that case the Testatrix (to put the facts shortly) had by her testamentary dispositions given sums of money to various priests (as to some) "that I may have the benefit of their prayers and Masses"; (as to others), "for the benefit of their prayers for the repose of my soul, and that of my deceased husband." The remainder of her property her trustees were to appropriate "in such way as you may judge best calculated to promote the knowledge of the Catholic Christian Religion among the poor and ignorant inhabitants of Swale Dale and Wenston Dale, in the county of York." The case involved two points—(1) the validity of the bequests for prayers and Masses, and (2) the validity of the disposition of the residue for the promotion of knowledge of the Catholic religion. The Master of

the Rolls held that the former were void, but that the disposition of the residue was good, by virtue of the Act of 1832. He held that the bequests for prayers and Masses were not affected by that Act, and he continued: "It is truly observed that there was no Statute making superstitious uses void generally, and that the Statute of Edward VI. related only to superstitious uses of a particular description then existing; and it is to be observed that that Statute does not declare any such gift to be unlawful, but avoids certain superstitious gifts previously created. The legacies in question, therefore, are not within the terms of the Statute of Edward VI., but that Statute has been considered as establishing the illegality of certain gifts, and, amongst others, the giving legacies to priests to pray for the soul of the donor has in many cases . . . been decided to be within the superstitious uses intended to be suppressed by that Statute. I am therefore of opinion that these legacies to priests . . . are void."

In the year 1854 the point again came up for decision, before Vice-Chancellor Kindersley in the case of *Heath* v. *Chapman* (2 Drewry, 417). In that case an Italian gentleman had transferred a sum of £3000 bank annuities into the names of certain persons, who had undertaken to hold them on certain trusts, to pay annuities in perpetuity to churches in Venice and London, for Masses and Requiems; and the question was whether the gifts or trusts were void. It was argued that at Common Law the gifts were good, that the Statute of Edward VI. had not avoided them, and that in any event they were good by virtue of the Act of 1832.

Vice-Chancellor Kindersley adopted and followed the decision in *West* v. *Shuttleworth*, and held the gifts or trusts to be void. In the course of his judgement, he expressed his views in the following words:—"A series of cases has left no doubt what the Law was, at least down to the Statute of William IV. Then what did that Statute do? If it had meant to alter the Law with respect to superstitious uses, certainly it uses the most inept words that could be well imagined for the purpose. But in truth there is no such indication of intention in the Act at all. What it intended was this. As to their places of worship, as to their places of education, and as to the employment of

persons officiating in their ceremonial, it intended to put Roman Catholics on the same footing as Protestant Dissenters. But it does not refer at all to the purposes to which property is devoted, which, if superstitious, still renders the gift void. No doubt, if property is given for the use of a place of worship, that is good; but the Statute leaves quite untouched the case where property is given for superstitious uses. That is the view taken in *West* v. *Shuttleworth*, with respect to which I must say that, besides feeling myself bound to follow it, even if I did not entirely agree with it, I do in fact entirely subscribe to the correctness of the reasoning in it. That case is almost on all fours with this."

It will be observed that the Vice-Chanceller based his decision upon the actual words of the Statute, and refused to follow in the steps of his predecessors, who, in the case of the Statute of Chantries had no difficulty in deducing results founded upon the general tenor, but not upon the actual wording of the enactment.

These cases of *West* v. *Shuttleworth* and *Heath* v. *Chapman* have been uniformly followed down to the present time; but they have not escaped criticism, notably at the hands of Sir John Romilly, Master of the Rolls, afterwards Lord Romilly.

In the case of *re* Michel (28 Bea. 39) which was a Jewish case (decided in 1860) relating to a bequest for the purpose of having said, on the anniversary of the Testator's death, the Hebrew prayer "Kaddish," Sir John Romilly used these words: "In regard to *West* v. *Shuttleworth* and *Heath* v. *Chapman* I have always felt this difficulty; so far as relates to their places of religious worship and the property held therewith, Roman Catholics and Jews are now placed in the same position as Protestant Dissenters; and if it be part of the forms of their religion that prayers should be said for the benefit of the souls of deceased persons, it would be difficult to say that, as a religious ceremony practised by a dissenting class of religionists, it could be deemed superstitious in the legal sense in which these words were used prior to the passing of the Statutes in question which practically have authorised them. . . . I express no opinion on this point, however, as no such case arises here." The Statutes which the Master of the Rolls

refers to as having "practically authorised" religious ceremonies including prayers for the dead, are the Act of 1832, and the corresponding Act passed in favour of Jews in the year 1845.

In the year 1861, the point again came before Sir John Romilly in the case of *re* Blundell (30 Bea. 360). That was a Catholic case where trusts had been declared by deed of moneys the income of which was to be paid to priests upon condition of their offering up Masses for the repose of the soul of one Henry Blundell. Sir John Romilly declared the trusts to be void saying: "I expressed my difficulty in the case of *re* Michel, as to whether gifts for religious ceremonies practised by a dissenting class of religionists might not be permitted, if not opposed to public morality; but I think the decided cases too strong, and that the House of Lords alone can alter the settled Law. It is clear that I must act on *West* v. *Shuttleworth* which I cannot overrule."

The position, so far as England is concerned, remains unchanged to the present day. *West* v. *Shuttleworth* reigns supreme, and "the House of Lords alone can alter the settled Law." No case involving this question has ever been argued or decided there.

As to Ireland, the Law is entirely different. A long series of cases has established that in Ireland bequests for Masses are valid and effectual. The Statute of Chantries, be it observed, did not apply to Ireland, and that no doubt is the explanation of the more favourable and reasonable attitude of the Law in that country. The earlier cases which established the validity of such bequests (*Read* v. *Hodgens*, 7 Ir. Eq. Rep., 17, and *Commissioners of Charitable Donations* v. *Walsh*, 7 Ir. Eq. Rep. 34 a.) do not satisfactorily state the grounds of the decisions; but in the more recent case, *A. G.* v. *Hall* (1897, 2 Ir., at p. 447), Lord Justice Fitz-Gibbon uses these words: "It seems to me that the Statute . . . (*i.e.*, the Statute of Chantries) . . . must be the sole ground of the difference between the decisions in England and in Ireland. That which the . . . Statute . . . in England describes as the cause of a great part of the superstitions and errors in Christian Religion, and as 'resting on vain opinions of purgatory and Masses satisfactory . . . to be done for them which be departed,' is in

Ireland a vital part of the religion professed by the majority of the subjects of the Crown."

Does not this explanation of the reason for the difference place the whole question in an astonishing light? There is nothing (apart from disputed doctrine) which any one can suggest as improper or contrary to public morality in offering up prayers for the dead. Indeed (quite apart from Ireland) bequests for this purpose are valid in other parts of the Empire. Why then should they be branded as "superstitious" and invalid here in England in these days of religious toleration? Boyle (whom I have quoted before) says (at p. 242) that a superstitious use is "one which has for its object the propagation or (*sic*) the rites of a religion not tolerated by law." The Catholic religion is the religion of the greater number of Christians, and is the religion of a very large and influential number of the inhabitants of England. In these days certainly it can no longer be described as a religion not tolerated by Law. One would expect that in the altered circumstances the attitude of the Law towards these bequests would have altered also, and that it would have ceased to dub them "superstitious" or hold them invalid.

Unfortunately, however, the present condition must prevail, unless changed either by Act of Parliament or by judicial decision of the House of Lords. I much fear that alteration by legislation is at present outside the pale of practical politics, and it would not make an attractive item in any political programme in this country. As to the other alternative I would say, Put not your trust in the House of Lords. The roots of *West* v. *Shuttleworth* have been growing deep ever since 1835, and countless decisions have been based upon that case. A judicial tribunal does not lightly, or unless compelled by overwhelming necessity, reverse a decision which has stood and been acted upon for a large number of years.

Let me tender in conclusion a word of advice. So long as the present legal position continues, do not try to evade the Law by any complicated process of secret trusts: they inevitably lead to disaster and shipwreck. In my view, the safest form for such a bequest to take is a bequest of the legacy to the legatee absolutely, with the addition of some such words as the

following: "And I request him (but not so as in any way to impose or create any trust or obligation or to interfere with his absolute beneficial enjoyment of the legacy) to procure Masses to be said for the repose of my soul."

Your legatee will get his legacy and keep it, and if he is an honest man with a conscience, you may rely upon your wishes being carried out. If he is not an honest man and has no conscience, no means which I can suggest will supply these moral defects, or secure for you the prayers which you desire.

The DUKE OF NORFOLK said Lord Llandaff had read the Declaration, and hearing that most blasphemous and outrageous collection of words and phrases, which would shock the ear of any decent man, knowing the practically universal repudiation of them, and how painful it must be to our beloved Sovereigns to subscribe such words, the thought must pass their minds—Why was the Declaration allowed to survive a single session? One difficulty was the Protestant mind of the country, which clung to the belief that something of the kind was necessary to safeguard the Protestant throne of England. The Catholic peers were met with kind words and a strong desire to obliterate offensive expressions, but still there was an insistence on some declaration, which, by its mere existence, must hold up indirectly to obloquy the most sacred principles of their religion. It was very difficult to frame a set of words which would be approved by this public opinion and which would not include something to which Catholics could not be godfathers. His own feeling was that while the present Declaration was odious, they, as Catholics, had no share in it; and if there was to be substituted any other declaration for which the Catholic body was responsible, it must be very far-reaching. But he urged them to regard the Declaration as a cruel blot upon the honour of the nation, and to fight with determination till it was removed.

The ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE bore testimony to the desire of the peoples of Australia to have the Coronation Declaration removed or so modified as to render it no longer

offensive to the Catholics of this country, and to the millions of Catholics who, all over the world, are loyal subjects of the King of England.

The Archbishop of Montreal spoke as the representative of the Dominion, which the Pope recently called one of the most progressive countries of the day. He referred to the late visit of the Prince of Wales, when the Duke of Norfolk represented the Catholics of England. His Royal Highness could witness that our belief in the Sacrament of the Altar was not incompatible with the strongest and most devoted loyalty. In Canada there is the most perfect religious liberty! The most perfect equality is shown towards the schools, primary and secondary, and Catholics have all the exercises of their religion in public freely observed under the protection of the State. In 1910 the Eucharistic Congress is to meet in Montreal, and the Archbishop promised a great festival on the occasion.

Mr Guy Ellis pointed out that while the creation of an honorary trust, as recommended by Mr Russell, was scarcely liable to voluntary abuse, it was only satisfactory where the trust was one which could be executed within a comparatively short time, *e.g.* the expenditure of a specific sum for a specific object. Where a prolonged trust was contemplated, the honorary form was not very desirable, as it left the property subject to Estate and Succession Duties in the hands of those to whom it was entrusted, for they would be and remain legally its absolute owners. While foundations for masses for the dead in Great Britain are illegal, foundations for the education or maintenance of the priesthood, or for votive masses of the Blessed Sacrament are valid. The speaker also referred to the existence of the official trustee of charitable funds, in whose favour a bequest had recently been made which constituted such official trustee the custodian of the capital of the fund, but gave the bishop of the diocese the usufruct according to the terms of the bequest. No fees for the trusteeship are demanded so that for charitable foundations his appointment is preferable to that of the lately constituted public trustee in cases where an official trusteeship may be preferred to that of individuals. Benefactors must, however, take care to define the objects of the trust, the powers of investment, and directions as to payment

of the income of the fund with the greatest possible care, or difficulties might arise with an official trustee, who presumably would not be a Catholic.

The meeting closed with a few words of thanks to the readers of the papers by the BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK.

SECTION B (ENGLISH)

(MEETING AT THE HALL, BUCKINGHAM GATE)

MORNING SESSION

There were very few present in the Hall at the hour when the session should have begun. The Mass at the Cathedral was scarcely over by 10.30, the hour fixed for the opening of the session, and the chairman and other expected dignitaries had been delayed at the close of the service. The chair was taken by the BISHOP OF NEWPORT, and there were also present on the platform the BISHOPS OF BIRMINGHAM and of NORTHAMPTON, Mgr. WARD, Mgr. FITZPATRICK (Dublin), Abbot GEUDENS, Mgr. LARDEA (Bourges), Rev. J. H. POLLEN, S.J., Rev. H. LUCAS, S.J., Rev. PHILIP FLETCHER, and others.

THE PRACTICE OF FREQUENT COMMUNION IN IRELAND, BEFORE AND AFTER THE DECREE *SACRÁ TRIDENTINA SYNODUS.*

By THE VERY REV. CANON ARTHUR RYAN, P.P., V.G.

IN the case of a Catholic nation that through centuries of persecution has held on to the Catholic faith, the practice of her children regarding the *Mysterium Fidei* must have a very

special interest and significance. Sharing with the Holy Mass of the Irish priest in its illegality, the Holy Communion of the Irish layman was made for many generations in the face of penalties, and under circumstances of difficulty and danger, that naturally reduced its frequency to the minimum required by the Ecclesiastical law. Cardinal Newman has written of the Irish as "a Catholic people whose ecclesiastical sentiments are the more keen and delicate because they are seldom brought into play." We may hope that this holds true of the Irish Communions in the past, and that the keenness and delicacy of the Irish faith in the Most Blessed Eucharist was all the greater because the opportunities of communicating were so few. But, however that may be, it is certain that Ireland, through her centuries of trial, held on to the Catholic faith with the maximum of tenacity and the mimimum of sacramental aids. Her children were sadly used to hunger for their bodily food: they became more sadly accustomed to hunger for the food of the soul. The fasting that St Patrick handed down to them as a characteristic observance of his children was supplemented by the involuntary fastings of poverty and famine, and by the yet more mysterious dispensation that deprived them, save at rare and uncertain intervals, of the Bread of Life. Thanks be to God those days are past! but the customs that had taken root in the hearts of the people during them were not so easily eradicated. I remember at Oscott, some forty years ago, hearing Father Bridgett complain that we Irish Catholics lived on the traditions of persecution. It was perhaps natural that a conservative race like ours should be slow to change religious observances that had stood the brunt of those dark and evil days; and this I hold to be the chief reason why up to comparatively recent years we find that the frequent reception of the Sacraments did not, as a rule, prevail in Catholic Ireland. Yet, as I have said, we may hope that the keenness and delicacy of which Cardinal Newman wrote remained in our sentiments towards the august Sacrament of the Altar, and I shall try to show that under the happier circumstances of these times the Irish faithful have not been slow in responding to the Eucharistic invitations of the Holy See. Throughout

the land the lamps of the sanctuaries have been relighted and the Communion rails are thronged.

Addressing, as I am, not only the learned Fathers of this Congress, but also the pious laity, it may be well briefly to survey the general teaching and practice of the Church regarding frequent Communion. In a passage from the Catechism of the Council of Trent the early teaching and practice of Catholics are sufficiently set forth. Commenting on the decree of the Lateran Council, the Catechism says:—

"Let not the faithful, however, consider it enough to receive the body of the Lord once a year only, in obedience to the authority of this decree: they should approach more frequently, but whether monthly, weekly, or daily, cannot be decided by any fixed universal rule. Saint Augustine, however, lays down a very clear standard: 'Live in such a manner,' says he, 'as to be able to receive every day.' It will, therefore, be incumbent on the pastor often to admonish the faithful, that as they think it necessary to nurture the body every day, they should also not neglect every day to feed and nourish the soul with this Sacrament; for it is clear that the soul does not stand less in need of spiritual food than the body does of corporal. . . . 'Thou sinnest daily, receive daily'—'*Quotidie peccas, quotidie sume*'—is not the opinion of Saint Augustine only, but also, as careful research will easily discover, the opinion of all the Fathers who have written on this subject. We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that there was a time when the faithful received the Blessed Eucharist every day; for then all who professed the faith of Christ were inflamed with such true and sincere charity that, devoting themselves, as they did without ceasing, to prayer and other pious works, they were found prepared to receive daily the sacred mysteries of the Lord's body. . . . It was also for a long time a practice in the Church, that as soon as the Sacrifice was concluded, the priest turned to the congregation and invited the faithful to the holy table in these words, 'Come, brothers, to Communion'—'*Venite fratres ad Communionem*'—and such as were prepared then received the sacred mysteries with the utmost devotion. But later on, when charity and devotion had grown so cold that the faithful very seldom approached

the holy table, it was decreed by Pope Fabian that all should communicate three times every year, at Christmas, at Easter, and at Pentecost, a decree that was confirmed by many Councils after, particularly by the first of Agatho. When at length the decay of piety was such that not only was this holy and salutary ordinance not observed, but Communion was deferred even for years, it was decreed by the Council of Lateran that all the faithful should communicate at least once a year, at Easter, and that those who might have neglected to do so should be forbidden access to the Church."

Saint Alphonsus Liguori, who lived so near our own times that some of us may have known his contemporaries, allows those who commit even deliberate venial sins, or who do not endeavour to correct their faults, to go to Communion once a week, in order to receive strength to avoid mortal sin. "If a soul," he writes, "has no affection for any venial sin, if she abstains from deliberate venial sins, and attends to prayer and the mortification of her passions and senses, the confessor may allow her to communicate three, four, or even five times a week, and when a soul has reached a considerable degree of perfection, when she spends several hours in the day at prayer, and has, moreover, conquered the greater part of her evil inclinations, she may, according to St Francis de Sales, be allowed Communion every day."

But these words of the great Saint and Doctor, while they have their value as history, have ceased to be directions as to the present practice of the Church. They have been superseded by the Decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* of December 1905, a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, copies of which, by the special mandate of His Holiness Pope Pius the Tenth, have been sent to all the bishops, and to all superiors of religious orders in the Church, to be by them communicated to all under their charge and to the faithful in general. The older inhibitions have been swept away. Frequent, even daily, Communion is allowed to all the faithful who are not in mortal sin, and who approach the Holy Table not from habit, or vanity, or any worldly motives, but from a desire to please God, to be united to Him in closer bonds of charity, and by means of this sacred medicine to overcome

their weaknesses and shortcomings. Deliberate venial sins are, of course, to be abstained from and all affection for them renounced; but even these are not now to be held as obstacles to frequent and even daily Communion, but only mortal sin; the Sacred Congregation declaring that those who communicate daily are certain by degrees to overcome their venial sins and all affection for them. Stress is laid by the Sacred Congregation on the desirability of previous preparation and subsequent thanksgiving, on the advantages of seeking the advice of a Confessor, and on the duty of such Confessors not to deter from frequent or from daily Communion those who are in the state of grace and who approach the Sacrament with a right intention.

Such is the ecclesiastical ordinance, ancient in its spirit, new in its definite instructions, that, in the early spring of 1906, came as a happy surprise to the Catholic world and to the faithful Catholics of Ireland.

It found, as I have said, sacramental customs and traditions which had rooted and grown up amongst my countrymen in times of adversity, but it also found amongst them a keen and delicate love for the Most Blessed Eucharist and a loyal devotion to the Holy See. Half a century ago the sacramental opportunities of which the pious laity of Ireland largely and to a very great extent exclusively availed were the Christmas and Easter "stations"; outside those "stations" there were, of course, many Communions, and in the larger towns even frequent Communions, but for the majority—the large majority—the Christmas and Easter Communions were the Sacraments of the year. They were received under conditions so impressive and unique that it is necessary for the purpose of this paper to enter into some details.

St Paul in his Epistle to the Romans uses a phrase which seems specially applicable to the "station" house in Ireland. "*Domestica Ecclesia,*" the Church in the home, was the Church round which the heart-strings of the Irish people were twined for many generations, and to which in some parts of the country they still fondly cling. It is true that for the most part the "stations" are now held not in the homes but in the churches. Still, in remoter parts of extended country parishes

it has been found unwise for the sake of religion to break with the ancient custom; and speaking for myself, and, I am sure, for very many of my fellow-priests, I must say that there is no part of a parish priest's ministration more full of consolation, more reverent to the Sacred Mysteries, or more evidently fruitful for simple faithful souls. Twice a year, at Christmas-time and at Easter-time, the country home is prepared for the coming of the Divine Visitor. Within and without the *Domestica Ecclesia* is cleansed and reverently set in order for this greatest of honours and of blessings. The families in the immediate neighbourhood have gathered with their households, and are waiting when the priest arrives. The best room has been prepared for the hearing of Confessions, and there the old and young, master and mistress and servant, enter in turn and receive the Sacrament of Penance. The priest is always the father of his flock, but it would be hard to imagine circumstances more calculated than these to bring home to him and to his spiritual children the sweet realities of his sacerdotal fatherhood. Confessions ended, or, at least, the Mass hour come—for in older days before the drain of emigration the confessions had to be resumed and were often continued far into the day — the priest enters the roomy "kitchen," as the larger chamber is generally called, and there all has been prepared for Holy Mass. The walls and even the roof-beams are snowy white; gleaming metal, sparkling glass and china, tell what loving hands have done to show their simple reverence. The homely table is the "mensa" of this domestic chapel, and altar-stone, and altar-cloths, crucifix, and lighted wax-candles, and all the other rubrical essentials for the Holy Sacrifice are duly arrayed. The priest has vested and begins his *Introibo ad altare Dei.* Reverently grouped around, kneeling on the rude floor — as often as not a floor of clay — the worshippers join with him in the great Act. The time for the Communion comes and the Bread of Life is distributed. Little children whose happy day has not yet come look on with longing eyes. The priest passes them by now, but it will not be always so. In the same places their fathers and grandfathers had knelt as children, knelt and waited. It is Hope

looking on at Faith and Love. The Mass over, priest and people make thanksgiving together, and in another hour the simple house resumes its usual appearance. But the place has been sanctified, and the blessing seems to cling to these homes "unspotted from the world." When at night the household again gathers there for the Rosary the memory of the morning's blessing hangs like incense around the place, and that nightly Rosary goes on until the blessing comes again. What wonder that such homes were loved with a holy love, and that even their ruins, too sadly numerous in the land, should be regarded with veneration, and their demolition resented as a kind of sacrilege!

I have dwelt on this because it explains the reason why the Christmas and Easter Communions in Ireland had such a hold of the people, who were bound to them with cords of Adam. The poor and ill-equipped country chapel had no such warm place in their hearts, and the opportunities of Sacraments there seemed scarcely opportunities at all. My own remembrance of communion days in the parish chapel, more than forty years ago, when we rarely breakfasted before one o'clock, is one of headaches and exhaustion. All that has been long since changed; the *Domestica Ecclesia*, the "station" house is the exception now and not the rule; parish Masses have been multiplied and the Sacraments are easily received; but it may be gathered from what has been said that Christmas and Easter Communions had a hold on the Irish imagination and heart that it was difficult to loosen, and that when the time came for more frequent reception of the Blessed Eucharist, the difficulty was increased by the fact that the Communion had to be made in the parish church and not in the old home.

With the general introduction, first into the towns and then into the country parishes, of sodalities and confraternities, the number of Communions at once increased. A venerated Irish bishop has told me that when he left to study for Holy Orders in Rome, his pious father never went to the Sacraments except at Christmas and Easter. When he returned from Rome a priest, his father was a monthly communicant. A confraternity had been established in the parish and the old man

gladly conformed to its rule. That was a typical case of what occurred all through the land. Confraternities of the Holy Family, Sodalities of the Sacred Heart, and other similar pious associations sprang up in almost every parish, and, finding congenial soil, bore abundant sacramental fruits. Monthly Communion became the rule and not the exception. The rise of new and beautiful churches all over the land, and the renovation and adornment of the old chapels, drew the hearts of the faithful to the sanctuaries of the Lord. The "station house" had done its blessed work, and ecclesiastical legislation led to its gradual disappearance. Missions and retreats came to be held generally in the country parishes as well as in the towns, and left their mark in a vastly increased frequentation of the Sacraments. A younger generation grew up happy in their inheritance of the old faith, and in the new opportunities which made its practice easy and its profession free. They joined the sodalities and confraternities, and communicated as regularly every month as their fathers had done at Easter and Christmas. Evidence has come to hand from every part of Ireland that year by year the number of Communions grew, though at the same time the population steadily decreased. This decrease in the Catholic population, taken with the fact that it has been the younger men and women who have emigrated, leaving behind those who had grown up under the old tradition, must be taken into account when our Irish communicants are numbered. In my own native diocese, since I went to Oscott as a boy, the Catholic population has diminished by nearly one-third, and that in spite of the fact that the Irish birth-rate is one of the highest in the world. It may be devoutly hoped that while Ireland has been the loser, the Eucharistic numbers in other lands have been benefited by her loss.

Some figures, not in any way exhaustive, but fairly representative of variously circumstanced parishes in different parts of Ireland, may serve to show the advance made in the number of Communions under the influence of later years, and also the response made within the last two years to the invitation of the Holy See to return to the primitive Christian practice of frequent and even daily Communion, thus helping Our Holy

Father to realise the aim of his Pontificate "to restore all things in Christ."

To begin with the parish of the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin. The monthly Communions in this church average about 10,000, an increase of more than 20 per cent. since 1905, about 90 communicate daily, and 1800 within each week. In the same parish I take the two great churches of the Jesuits and of the Dominicans. The monthly total of communions in the church of the Society in Gardiner Street exceeds 20,000—21 per cent. higher than in 1905; that in Dominic Street is over 12,000, an increase of 20 per cent. in two years. Thus in this one great parish in the three churches named, no fewer than 42,000 Communions are made every month, an increase of more than 21 per cent. on the years immediately preceding the Decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*. The parish church of Westland Row has 10,000 Communions every month, this total exceeding the numbers of the years previous to the Decree by 30 per cent. Turn from the gay throng of Grafton Street and you find yourself in the Carmelite church of Saint Teresa, where the communion rails are filled, more than 50 communicating daily, and some 600 weekly and oftener. The average number in a month is over 9000, a small percentage, I am told, of those who make their confessions in this church and who communicate elsewhere. The parishes around Dublin have not been out of line with this metropolitan advance, Bray having 3700 Communions in the month, Rathmines 5300, and Booterston 2700.

In the southern capital the numbers are no less encouraging. In the five parishes of the city of Cork the Communions average 20,000 a month, an increase of 11 per cent. in the last two years. In the Cathedral the weekly numbers have increased 10 per cent.; in SS. Peter and Paul's Church the monthly increase has been 25 per cent.; and in the Franciscan Church 72 per cent. In the city of Limerick over 520,000 Communions were made last year, being an increase of more than 100,000 as compared with 1904, and the Communions in the country parishes of the diocese were close on 300,000. It is a most striking fact that while the Catholic population over which the Bishop of Limerick rules is 123,000, the number of

Communions last year was 818,179. At the Redemptorist church in Limerick the numbers have risen in one year by 36 per cent., being over 6500 a month, and at the Franciscan church by 80 per cent., being now 3600.

From the northern province similar evidence has come. In Belfast and Newry, where the mill-workers have swelled the ranks, there has been a large and progressing increase, and the 2700 Communions made every month in Armagh, the "vastly increased" numbers in Strabane, the Redemptorist record of an increase of 55 per cent. in Dundalk and 22 per cent. in their Belfast church, all go to show that the north and south are advancing together in their Eucharistic ranks. From the western seaboard the same glad tidings come. While a parish church in the City of Galway registers an increase of 200 a week as compared with 1906, a religious church hard by has doubled its numbers in the time. A Mayo pastor writes that, with a population of 3500, there are 2000 Communions monthly, and an increasing roll of weekly and daily communicants; and he adds—and who will ever tell what part this has played in Ireland's adherence to the faith—"the Rosary is said in every home." The Cathedral of Thurles, with 30 daily, 50 tri-weekly, 170 weekly Communions, and a general weekly increase of 250; of Carlow, with 40 daily, and an increase of 30 per cent. in monthly Communions; of Waterford, where 200 per cent. have been added since the Decree of 1905 to the daily Communions; and of Tuam, with 20 daily, 35 bi-weekly, and 2000 monthly—these Cathedral records, taken from among many, show that under the Bishops' eyes, the Chief Pastor's wishes are being steadily and prudently carried out. With Nenagh's record of 2800 monthly Communions, made in its glorious church, and the comforting assurance from the Pastor of Maryboro' that the daily Communions there, considerably numerous before, have been doubled since the Decree, I close this list of figures. They are in no way complete, but they may be held to prove that in every part of Ireland the movement in the direction of frequent and daily Communion goes quietly on.

The religious communities of men and women are practically all daily communicants, a wonderful Eucharistic fact

when we remember their numbers in the land, and the purity and fervour of their souls; and in the schools conducted by these Religious the number of Irish boys and girls who communicate frequently and daily is steadily increasing, while the influence of these sacramental graces on their young lives is declared to be most marked. The future lies with them, and we may, without presumption, hope that in those lives advancing now to manhood and to womanhood we may see the wish of our Holy Father realised, and the Catholic population of Ireland "renewed in Christ." *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini Tuo da gloriam!*

THE ENGLISH MARTYRS AND THE HOLY EUCHARIST

By the Right Rev. F. W. Keating, Bishop of Northampton

[For much of the material of this paper the writer is indebted to friends, chiefly to Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.]

From the first, the Anglican Church has asserted a sort of aristocracy of descent over other Protestant bodies by claiming to be the old religion of the country. But on two capital points her authors unmistakably inherited a full measure of the spirit of Luther and Calvin, *i.e.*, hatred of the Pope and hatred of the Mass. On the latter subject she has expressed herself once for all in her notorious Thirty-first Article; and if its frankness could be ingeniously construed so as to cover anything short of a total repudiation of the Mass, an unequivocal commentary is furnished by the relentless persecution, which raged for over two hundred years.

In her first Parliament Elizabeth expressed her purpose unambiguously to both Clergy and Laity. For the clergy it was enacted "that all clergymen shall leave and abandon from this time forward the old Roman use of the Latin Service, Mass, and administration of other Sacraments, and shall betake themselves to say or sing the same in English in all churches and chapels, and to administer the Sacraments after the manner, rites, and

fashion which is set down and prescribed in a new Book of Common Prayer set forth for the purpose." And conformably to this it was forbidden to the laity "to be present at any other sort of service than the aforesaid appointed in the common book of prayer."—(*Condition of Catholics under James I.*, p. 320-1.)

Having thus abolished the Mass as far as an Act of Parliament can abolish anything, the Protestant party took prompt measures to make its public celebration impossible, and its private celebration increasingly costly and perilous to those convicted of the gross offence of saying or hearing it. Wonderful ingenuity was displayed in framing penalties in an ascending scale from more or less endurable fines, on through the ruinous pains of præmunire, to the awful doom of treason.

For the first sixteen years, it is true, though these penal statutes were far from being allowed to remain a dead letter, the Queen was content in the main to replenish her coffers from the estates of recusants, in the firm belief and expectation that the Mass would speedily die a natural death. The bulk of the nation were schismatics or Church Papists, with no love of the new religion, yet with so little zeal for the old that they outwardly conformed to the Sovereign's wish in hope of better times. The few scattered groups of sincere Catholics depended wholly upon the ministrations of the unorganised and ever-dwindling remnant of Queen Mary's priests. Thus Elizabeth's policy seemed assured of success. But Providence had already provided a man to checkmate her purpose. In founding Douay College, Dr Allen had no idea that he was saving the Mass for the English nation. He was a poor man as wealth goes, and, like others, centred his hopes for the re-conversion of England upon possible political changes, which continued to move as a mirage before the eyes of English Catholics for a hundred years and more. It appears from his correspondence with Dr Vendeville, his first friend and ally, that he designed his college as a training school for English priests in readiness for the propitious moment that, in fact, never arrived. But by the time his first priests were ready for ordination his eyes had been opened and he had grasped the only brave and noble principle, that "we have not to wait till things are better, but to make them

better." So in 1574 the first Seminary priests entered the field; and from that date onwards a steady stream of fresh workmen was poured year by year into the country. Available figures suggest that, on the average, about 500 priests, secular and regular, were constantly engaged throughout the persecution among a general population that could never have exceeded the present population of London.

What a noble band they were, those champions of the Mass, those first Seminary priests trained in Allen's school and under his own eye! What knightly bearing, what gallant hearts, what pure souls, what brilliant talent, what unspeakable patience and even cheerfulness under torture! How utterly they enthral our admiration, gratitude, and love, as the white-robed army of Stephens and Laurences passes before the mind! It is easy to believe the accounts that reach us from all quarters of the marvellous Catholic revival that was the first-fruits of their labour. It is easy, too, to realise the relief and joy with which their advent was welcomed by the old priest, John Peel, and such as he, of whom the *Douay Diary* records in 1576 that "he had laboured for sixteen years in England at the peril of his life, reconciling to the Catholic faith those who had gone astray, and animating others to perseverance" (p. lxi.). For now they knew that they had not laboured in vain. Their work was to be taken up by younger and even more competent, though they could not be more faithful, priests.

Very different was the effect produced upon the Court party. With the advent of the Seminary priests they recognised that a fresh crisis had arisen, and hesitated no longer to put forth the full strength of their malice, culminating in "those terrible thundering statutes," as Father Gerard calls them, which made it treason for a priest to breathe in England, and treason for a layman to shelter him. We know the familiar jest of a contemporary French king about the price of a Mass. For our Catholic forefathers it was no jesting matter. For them the penal laws settled the price—beggary at the lowest, and not uncommonly imprisonment, torture, and an appalling death. Spies and pursuivants, egged on by the certainty of rich reward, preyed on rich and poor alike, and took care that the price of the Mass was exacted.

We have now to attempt, by piecing together scraps of information scattered up and down the literature of the age, to fill in the picturesque details of the manner in which the English Martyrs saved the Mass for England.

(1) *Missionary System.*—When a Seminary priest, educated at Douay, in Spain, or at Rome, landed in England, he passed at once from a highly organised ecclesiastical system to chaos. Bishops, parishes, sources of income—all were gone. For the first hundred years of persecution only the merest makeshift of Church government existed for the secular clergy, and for maintenance they were wholly dependent upon the nobility and country gentry, already growing impoverished by the constant payment of fines for recusancy. The laity, however, did their duty well. Lists were kept of families willing to support one or more priests. There the missionaries lived in disguise, sometimes as guests, sometimes as tutors, sometimes even as servants. Yet so little did their hosts forget their priestly character, that in several instances we find priests unwillingly betrayed by the extraordinary reverence shown them. For safety, as well as for meeting the demands of their missionary work, they moved about from house to house. Their travelling and their sick-calls were usually done by night. Faithful guides were always to be had. George Gilbert gathered a band of young Catholic gentlemen for this very purpose; and similar work was done by the Ven. Ralph Milner, the labouring man, whose touching story is one of the gems of our martyrology. Later on, as the years of persecution lengthened, reducing noble houses to ruin, or wearing out the patience of the weaker brethren, or driving others into exile for conscience' sake, humbler shelters and sometimes the strangest had to be sought, known only to the faithful few. Thus B. Nicholas Postgate had his loft chapel at Egton Bridge; and at Holywell both secular and Jesuit priests turned innkeepers, and the poor Catholics of those parts knew that they could obtain refreshment of soul as well as of body at the "Star" and the "Cross Keys." Quite early the device was adopted, which continued almost to modern days, of hanging out sheets on the hedges as a sign to the initiated that Mass would be celebrated at a certain rendezvous.

(2) *Chapels.*—Of public churches there were none. The principle of toleration had already been recognised on the Continent; but to the Emperor Ferdinand's request that Elizabeth would concede at least one church in each town to her Catholic subjects, the Queen returned a blank refusal. In London, however, the Ambassadors of the Catholic powers were allowed to have Mass in their private chapels, and in a very few rare cases of the greatest nobles a similar privilege was winked at by the authorities. An instance of this is found in the *Life of Magdalen, Viscountess of Montague*, by Dr Richard Smith, her chaplain and confessor, afterwards Bishop of Chalcedon. He tells us that this lady's mansion at Battle Abbey, near Hastings, was called "Little Rome." "Three priests administered the word of God and the Sacraments, not only to the Lady Magdalen and her family, but to the Catholics from all parts. She built a chapel in her house (a wonderful thing in such a persecution) and in it she placed a fair altar of stone with steps to go up to it, and a screen about it, and she also made a choir for the singers and even a pulpit for the priest. Here generally every week a sermon was preached to the people, and on solemn feasts Mass was celebrated with singing and instruments of music, sometimes with Deacon and Subdeacon. And so great was the concourse of Catholics that sometimes 120 were present, and 60 at the same time would go to Holy Communion."

This was of course very exceptional. The ordinary place for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries was one of those hidden chapels, with secret staircase and convenient hiding-holes with which we are all more or less familiar. From a multitude of examples that might be quoted, one of the most interesting is the series of three chapels at Harvington Hall, now the property of Sir William Throckmorton, but in Charles II.'s time inhabited by Mary Lady Yates, who sheltered there the Franciscan Martyr, Ven. John Wall. The first chapel is a large room under the roof at the end of a dimly lighted passage. It is still hung with tattered tapestry. Close by are the priest's rooms. Guard could be kept by persons standing in the long passage. The second is thus described by Dom Bede Camm. "A winding staircase is still known as

the Chapel-stair. As you mount it, you come to a small closet opening from a landing, within which a panel communicates with one of the hiding-places. It is very interesting to note the ecclesiastical designs roughly stencilled in black and red on the open rafters of the staircase. They were no doubt intended as a guide to the faithful to the place where Mass was celebrated, and would pass unnoticed by the uninitiated. At the top of the staircase is a large room known as 'Lady Yates's Nursery.' It has windows in every direction, so that those on the watch could see if anyone were approaching the house. Three steps lead up from this ante-room into the little sanctuary where the Martyr was wont to offer up the Adorable Sacrifice. The door is latticed, and beside it is a 'squint' or opening of lattice-work, so that the watchers kneeling in 'Lady Yates's Nursery' could yet assist at the Holy Mysteries within. The walls of the chapel have been decorated at an early date in good Gothic style, with foliage, vine stems, pomegranates, pots of lilies and scrollwork in red. A few steps up through a narrow doorway leads on to the roof." A third chapel, built in 1743, when rather more liberty was possible, stands within the precincts of the moat. Externally it has the appearance of two cottages. Within, the upper chamber served as the chapel. A quaint old altar-step of oak still stands at the further end, and the entrance to the sacristy was behind the altar. The altar itself contained a hiding-place filled with relics of penal days, chalices, vestments, books, registers, etc. This rich store was discovered accidentally in 1823, only to be destroyed by fire within a few hours, before any examination had been made.

Still more interesting is the chapel at Purshall Hall, a few miles from Harvington, another of Father Wall's stations. Hidden away in the roof, with no window or aperture to admit light, it was accidentally discovered a few years ago. There still stands a ruined altar-table, with the remains of its tattered altar-cloth falling to dust. Altar-rails or kneeling benches, still almost perfect, enclose the altar on three sides. No place tells the story of persecution more eloquently than this dark sanctuary, where a handful of the faithful met together, at peril of their lives, to eat that Bread of the Strong which enabled them to do strong deeds.

(3) *Altars.*—In days when pursuivants were active, and false brethren not uncommon, it was necessary to make such a cumbrous and tell-tale object as an altar as easily disguisable as possible. The usual artifice was to construct them in the form of a chest or bureau, so that when closed it would not attract attention, and might also serve to contain vestments and other contraband articles. The altar at Harvington was of this kind, and other most interesting altars have been preserved. One, now at Lancaster, belonged to the Burgess family, and dates from the early years of Elizabeth. On this altar Mass was celebrated by, at least, three martyr priests, B. Edmund Campion, S.J., at Denham Hall at the Easter of 1581, the Ven. Edmund Arrowsmith at Woodend, where the family had taken refuge about 1620, and the Ven. John Woodcock, O.S.F. (in religion, Father Martin of St Felix), who said his last Mass on it on the Feast of the Assumption, 1644. A similar altar is in the possession of Mr Fitzherbert Brockholes at Claughton-on-Brock, and with it a magnificent mediæval chalice. Father Kemble's altar, together with his chalice, missal, and bookstand, is at Monmouth. It consists simply of two wide oak benches placed one on top of the other, so that, when not in use, they could stand inconspicuously along the walls. The missal stand, made most ingeniously out of a single board to close up very small for hiding, is the handiwork of the old Martyr himself.

Many portable altars, or altar-stones, have survived from penal times. They are mostly made of slate, very small, with the five crosses scratched upon them, and few of them contain relics. It will be remembered that permission was granted by the Holy See to enclose relics of the English Martyrs when those of canonised saints could not be obtained; but the privilege was not largely used. A fine collection of these stones is to be seen at Harvington. The portable altar of the Ven. Nicholas Postgate, which he constantly carried with him during his long missionary career, is in actual use.

(4) *Chalices.*—Besides a number of pre-Reformation chalices, a few Martyrs' chalices are still in Catholic hands. Father Postgate's is at Ugthorpe, and is a good example of its type. It is very small and unscrews readily into three pieces for convenience in hiding and carrying about.

(5) *Missals.*—For the same reasons the Missals contained only what was strictly necessary. A specimen, small quarto, dated 1615, is preserved at Oscott. The title-page runs: *Missæ aliquot pro sacerdotibus itinerantibus in Anglia ex Missali Romano reformato.* It contains the Proper of the Mass, the great festivals such as Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi; the Sundays of Advent and from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday; the Blessing of Ashes and of Palms, the Common of the Saints, and the proper masses of the Apostles, Our Lady, St Gregory, St Anne, St Laurence, St Michael and All Saints.

In this connection mention may be made of a manuscript *Manuale* or ritual, which is also a relic, and which was formerly at Weston Underwood but is now at Olney, Bucks. For the most part it is beautifully written in black and red, but being left incomplete, has been finished off less skilfully by another hand. On the front page is the following note, signed R. C.: "This Manual was written by the hand of the Rev. Christopher Buxton, English priest, and was sent by him to R. C., an English priest, as a last pledge in this world of his friendship on the day before he was taken from the Marshalsea prison to suffer martyrdom in Kent, A.D. 1588."

(6) *Altar-breads.*—Father Weston mentions among his minor difficulties the occasional annoyance of being unable to say Mass at a station because no altar-breads were to be had. To avoid such accidents he made it a habit always to carry a supply with him. Once, however, they nearly brought him to grief; for he discovered to his dismay that he had dropped them by threes and fours, like a trail, along half-a-mile of the public road outside a village. By good fortune he was able to recover them unobserved, most of the people being in the harvest, and he actually gathered a heap of twenty or more at the doorstep of the Protestant minister! He comments on the peril such an accident brought with it. Let us, therefore, put on record the name of one of the humbler heroes of the time, one Peter Lester, an apothecary, dwelling near Fleet Bridge, who was denounced to the authorities for making "the hosts for the Jesuits and Massing priests that are in England; his irons

which he uses for that purpose he keeps in a barrel or vessel of beer in his cellar."

(7) *Vestments and Altar Furniture.*—We now come to a feature in the devotion of our persecuted forefathers which is but the outward expression of that intense faith and love that so amazed strangers in their demeanour at Mass. Driven to use cellars and garrets for their chapels, drained of their wealth by continuous fines, yet, in the ways that were open to them, they lavished splendour on the Blessed Sacrament. Their crucifixes, candlesticks, lamps, censers, and especially their vestments were astonishingly beautiful and costly. Of this the evidence is superabundant. The inventories drawn up by greedy spies of what they had seized or hoped to seize are to be found in the State Archives: the poor remainder that has come down to us more than bears out their witness. It would be a long task to resume the catalogue of all the treasures to be found in our college and convent museums and in private houses. Even the Diocese of Northampton, in addition to a large collection of beautiful orphreys, possesses a magnificently embroidered antependium of finest workmanship which formerly adorned the altar of the ancient mission at Oundle. At the Bar Convent, York, on occasion of the annual procession in honour of the English Martyrs, Mr Herbert of Helmsley Hall exhibited two magnificent chasubles, heirlooms in his family, which were worn by the two Fathers Twing, missionaries about the middle of the seventeenth century. Still more magnificent are the Wintour vestments, now preserved at Stonyhurst, but formerly worn in the secret chapel at Purshall Hall, already described. No greater contrast can well be imagined with that dark and hidden sanctuary than these splendid masterpieces of the needle worked by Mistress Helen Wintour of Badge Court, close to Purshall. A chasuble and cope of Pentecostal red are profusely embroidered with cloven tongues of gold; while in the adornment of these and the set of white vestments no less than 471 large pearls have been used. At Stonyhurst also is the chasuble said to have been used at his last Mass by Father Arrowsmith. But most precious of all, not for their art, but for their pathetic association, are the objects which lie in the old oak case which constitutes "the treasure" of the Holden family of Chaigley farm. In

Cromwell's time a priest was slain at the altar, in the presence of his own mother, by a band of soldiers. In spite of her entreaties they hacked off his head and set it on a pike, and then, in brutal derision, flung it into the lap of the agonised woman and departed. Everything used at that Mass was reverently put back into the chest in which the priest himself used to store them—chalice, missal, even the candles of unbleached wax, the amice, alb, and girdle all red with blood, the sacred vestments and the Martyr's head. A German inscription in the Missal records that these were the possessions of Philip Holden "our Martyr"; and this is the treasure of Chaigley farm. Several other priests were seized while saying Mass and hurried away to prison in the sacred vestments. But so far as we know, Philip Holden was the only priest who was slain at the altar itself. Until the evil days were passed, the secret of the treasure was confided only to the eldest son of each generation.

(8) *Reliquaries and Relics.*—The last incident suggests a few lines on the devotion of our forefathers to relics. It was natural that this devotion should be highly developed in them who witnessed so many martyrdoms and perhaps themselves craved for the crown. Reliquaries are the proper ornaments of the altar. Nowadays a passion for flowers has practically banished holy relics from their legitimate post of honour. But it was not so in penal times. Here again the inventories of pursuivants bear interesting though unintentional testimony by the frequent mention of silver reliquaries of beautiful and costly workmanship among their plunder. The relics of our own martyrs were, however, as a rule sent out of England for safe keeping. But a beautiful custom obtained of saturating in their blood the corporals they used at their last Mass, and many of these are known. Several, for instance, are to be found at the Franciscan Convent at Taunton. The palla used by Father Woodcock is at Erdington Abbey. At Stonyhurst is a corporal used by five blessed martyrs in the Tower before their triumph at Tyburn. Their names are embroidered on the corporal in red silk. At Stonyhurst also is a beautiful little reliquary which Father John Gerard had made for the incorrupt thumb of the Stafford martyr, the Ven. Robert

Sutton. We may note in passing that there are several instances of the consecrated index finger and thumb of martyred priests being preserved incorrupt—a beautiful grace granted to those who had so faithfully administered the Divine Gift at the cost of their own life.

(9) *Reservation.*—Mention occurs very rarely and only at a late date of tabernacles or other provision for reserving the Blessed Sacrament. This, and the *prima facie* impossibility of doing so during such a fierce persecution, have usually satisfied modern Catholic writers that reservation was not practised. The following evidence from the *Life of Donna Luisa de Carvajal* throws some light on the subject. When she came to England in 1606 she found that the Blessed Sacrament was not reserved anywhere in London, not even in the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel. This grieved her fervent soul, "It seemed to her," says her biographer, "that there could be no reasonable objection to the reservation of the Adorable Sacrament in the Ambassador's Chapel, and to His Divine Majesty enjoying the immunity of the Catholic King's own residence in a city where, for so many centuries, innumerable temples had been honoured by His presence." Her remonstrances met with success, and the example was soon followed by the Embassies of France, Venice, and the Low Countries. Before long, Donna Luisa ventured on reservation in her own house. Writing to her cousin the Marquesa de Caracena in 1611 she says: "The Ambassador has had in his chapel this year a beautiful sepulchre, and we have had one more remarkable for its devout appearance than its size, but very pretty and nicely arranged. This must not be mentioned on any account, not even to Spaniards, for it would cause us a hundred new difficulties. The houses of Catholics are the Catholic churches in England, but scarcely anyone ventures to keep the Blessed Sacrament except for a short time, and in places which happen to be for some reason or other more secure than the rest" (*Life*, p. 197). These passages go to show that reservation was rare but not unknown. This gives weight to the traditions that exist of an unextinguished sanctuary lamp in out-of-the-way parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Ven. Nicholas Postgate certainly reserved in the secret loft-chapel at Egton Bridge, for he had

a tabernacle made in the wall. The receptacle can still be seen, though the door of the tabernacle, which bears a representation of the Crucifixion, was dishonestly abstracted by a former Protestant vicar of those parts and remains in Protestant hands. At Claughton-on-Brock, too, is a small oak box, elaborately carved, in which the Ven. Thomas Whittaker, who served this district, used to reserve. Ancient monstrances also are to be heard of, *e.g.*, at Everingham, and in the inventory of goods seized at the house of Thomas Higgins in London on 17th September 1716, clear evidence of the same practice. But, as a rule, priests seem to have reserved the Blessed Sacrament on their own person, as missionaries still do in some countries, and as the Irish Clergy did till recent years. The Ven. George Napper was carrying the Blessed Sacrament in this way when he was seized at Kidlington in 1610. He was most strictly searched. Even his shoes were pulled off in the presence of the Justice, and the constable put his hands on the pyx several times without discovering it, to the martyr's intense joy. Indeed in no instance do we read of an actual profanation of the Blessed Sacrament.

(10) *Mass in Prison.*—This paper would be incomplete if we recorded nothing of religious observances in prisons where English Catholics of those days spent no inconsiderable portion of their lives. So overflowing was the Catholic prison population in Elizabeth's reign that the magistrates were at their wits' end where to place them, and the local ratepayers groaned under the burden of having to support so many of the poorer sort. At one assizes in Hampshire no less than 400 Catholics were convicted, and in Lancashire 600. Needless to say, Elizabethan prisons were very different from the highly sanitary buildings, with their strict regulations and supervision of our own day. This had its advantages to counterbalance its disadvantages. When for some reason a prisoner of importance like Father Gerard was specially committed to close confinement, or when the malice of a Topcliff was given free rein, the condition of the victim was horrible indeed. Then spiritual and bodily starvation combined to break his courage, and a "dry Mass" or "spiritual communion" was the only resource. But such conditions were far from being universal

or even common. It is astonishing what freedom could be bought by judicious and constant bribery. Father Worthington, S.J., was confined in the Gatehouse prison from 1615 to 1618. He describes the system in vogue there. "For a more convenient locality in the prison you give so much; for taking fresh air within the bounds, so much; to go out into the suburbs for an hour or two, so much. I therefore purchase each week at a great price suburban circuits of this kind, under the pretext of preserving health, but in fact that I may visit the houses of Catholics, and of Protestants also, if there is any hope of spiritual gain" (Foley, vol. ii.).

Similar laxity prevailed within the prison walls. The confessors were in constant communication with their friends. Altars were fitted up, Mass regularly said, confessions heard, converts instructed and reconciled, sermons preached, even retreats given with such impunity that the prisons might almost be regarded as the first post-Reformation public churches in the cities. No doubt many a hunted priest re-echoed Father Gerard's expression of thankfulness for the peace and religious freedom of prison after months or years of hide-and-seek with spies and informers outside. With that love for "the full service of God" which was so marked in them, the Catholic prisoners were greatly daring in availing themselves of their opportunities. Father Worthington fitted up a little permanent chapel with a Lady Altar hung with silk. There two or three Masses were said daily; sometimes even six or seven according to the number of priests incarcerated. Fifty to sixty persons attended the monthly sermons; and from time to time, though seldom "for fear of the Jews," he ventured "to expose the Blessed Sacrament in a crystal box or case shining with rays," for the purchase-money of which he prays God to bless his good friends in Spain. It is the first recorded instance in England of Exposition with a monstrance.

Special solemnity, as was natural, surrounded a priest's Last Mass previous to execution. The night before their triumph, Ven. Ralph Corby, S.J., and Ven. John Duckett said Mass in Newgate and gave Holy Communion to crowds of Catholics, including the Duchess of Guise, the Catholic

Ambassadors, and many other notabilities. Ven. Stephen Rousham had an intense devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and had risked his life on one occasion to avoid an involuntary irreverence to it. He was saying Mass in prison when the sheriff's officers came to summon him to martyrdom. They consented to wait. The martyr finished his Mass, "read his evensong, blessed, kissed and embraced those present and went down cheerfully to the hurdle." Very touching is the story of another secular priest, Ven. Wm. Davies, executed at Beaumaris, 27th July 1593. He had been seized two years earlier whilst arranging for the passage to Valladolid of three young students whom he loves to call his "children." Harried from prison to prison, each viler than the former, he was separated from his "children" for many months. But the last half-year they spent reunited in bonds in the Castle of Beaumaris. There, to their intense joy they were allowed to live together and occupy themselves as they liked. As usual the prison became a sort of religious house, regular hours being devoted to prayer, study, and spiritual exercises. Father Davies said his daily Mass on a table in his cell. Immediately after his execution the hangman brought his clothing, all dripping with warm blood, and flung it on the table, thus seeming to mingle the blood of the martyr with those Precious and Life-giving Streams which his priestly word had so often caused to flow there. The clothing was divided among Catholics and "the cassock stained with blood was kept in a certain part of the kingdom, that priests might with much devotion wear it under their priestly vestments when they said Mass" (Pollen, *Acts*, p. 142).

So we reach the end of our space, though not of our theme. With far greater accuracy and completeness Father Bede Camm is gathering up these precious fragments "lest they be lost." We English Catholics cannot afford to lose even the least of them. "For the souls of these men are in the hand of God. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure was taken for misery. But they are in peace. Afflicted in few things, in many they shall be well rewarded: because God hath tried them, and found them worthy of Himself. As gold in the furnace He hath proved

them, and as a victim of a holocaust He hath received them, and in time there shall be respect had to them" (Wisd. iii. 1-6). As they lived, so they died. They died to save the Mass for us. And while they lived this was their prayer, composed for them by John of Heigham and constantly recited from childhood's days at Douay: "O Lord, re-establish the Holy Mass in our island, maugre[1] the malice of Thine enemies; and grant that after forty years wherein Thou hast been grieved by this wicked generation, at last this noble sacrifice may be publicly celebrated by us to Thy everlasting and perpetual praise."

The lateness of the hour at the conclusion of the papers left no opportunity for discussion.

AFTERNOON SESSION

His Lordship the BISHOP OF NEWPORT was again in the chair, and was supported by the BISHOPS OF SALFORD, ABERDEEN, and ELPHIN.

MUSIC AT MASS AND AT BENEDICTION

BY THE REV. H. BEWERUNGE, D.D.

AMONG all the forms of the Eucharistic cult, none is grander, richer, more solemn, or more appropriate than that of High Mass. It ought not to be necessary to go into details in order to prove this; the truth of it should be evident to anyone who gives a moment's thought to the matter. But it is significant that it is necessary at all to insist on this truth. If we look around us, we find undoubtedly a tendency to regard Low Mass as the normal form of Mass, or even to give preference to other forms of devotion to the Holy Eucharist, or at least, when solemnity is to be used, to attach it to something else rather than to the Mass, and to have, for instance, a plain private Mass followed by a Benediction adorned with all the pomp of ritual.

[1] Notwithstanding.

It is of importance, therefore, to imbue ourselves with the conviction, first, that Mass, as the celebration of the Eucharistic *Sacrifice* is of transcendent value and importance, and secondly, that High Mass is the proper and most desirable form of Mass.

It is not merely the fittingness of surrounding the august sacrificial act with all possible solemnity that must make us give preference to the form of High Mass; nor is it, I think, the historical fact that the present rite of Low Mass is merely an adaptation of that of High Mass and cannot be fully understood except by reference to its origin. It is rather, it seems to me, the idea that is expressed, made manifest, in the special rites of High Mass, the idea, namely, that the Mass is the common sacrifice of all the faithful, clergy and people, made one with our Lord Jesus Christ. This idea was much cherished in earlier centuries. It found its fullest expression when the Bishop celebrated surrounded by his priests who concelebrated with him, and all the people took an active part in the ritual, joining heartily in the prayers and the chants. In our days, perhaps through the necessary opposition to the errors of Protestantism, we do not lay stress on the fact that we all, all the members of the Church, are a *regale sacerdotium*, a royal priesthood. But it seems of special importance in our days to emphasise again the truth that we are all one body with Christ as our head, and that we ought to worship God as one body in connection with His incarnate Son. The idea of common worship is, indeed, expressed only, as it were, vicariously, since the people ceased to take active part in the performance of the Liturgy. I shall have to say a word on this point later on. But even at present, when a select choir takes the place of the congregation, at least the fact that it acts as representative of the people, indicates the idea sufficiently.

The Liturgy of the Mass represents itself to the appreciative observer as a most wonderful organism. Developed gradually during centuries of lively faith and creative genius, brought to a kind of finality by St Gregory the Great, it has, with but slight additions, served as the spiritual food, as the enduring delight and a continual source of inspiration for the last thirteen centuries. In its grandeur of design, in its richness and variety of forms the Roman Mass Liturgy is unsurpassed by any work of

art. If we confine ourselves to the choral portions, what an inexhaustible store of beautiful thought do we not find in the text of the chants! What poetic charm is there not in the Ordinary of the Mass, from the simple cry of the *Kyrie Eleison* to the ecstatic joy of the *Gloria* or the awful adoration of the *Sanctus!* And if we pass in review before our mental eye the wonderful thoughts expressed in the Introits, Graduals, Alleluia Verses, Tracts, Offertories, and Communions of the whole ecclesiastical year, from the first Sunday of Advent to the last Sunday after Pentecost, as well as those of the numerous Masses of the Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, we must feel that in the Roman Gradual we have an anthology worthy of our highest admiration.

Next we have for these wonderful and numerous texts an equally admirable supply of music. First there is the Gregorian Chant. The more one studies these ancient melodies, the more one is impressed by their variety and rare beauty. Take the distinctiveness of their forms, the characteristic style that distinguishes an Introit from a Gradual, an Offertory from a Communion! Then within each class what variety of expression, what amazing interpretation of the sentiments of the words, and above all what sublime beauty and mystical spirit of prayer! Certainly anyone who has tested the sweetness of these chants must envy the few privileged places where there is High Mass every day, and thus a chance is given of hearing all these divine strains at least once a year.

Secondly, we have the innumerable compositions of classic polyphony, an immense quantity of them being works of art of the very first rank. Many of them are now available for use. But many have not been published at all in modern editions, like those of Vittoria, whose works are only at present in progress of publication, or those of Orlando di Lasso, of whose works a complete edition has not yet been attempted, to mention only a few giants. Others, like those of Palestrina, are published in magnificent complete editions, but are only in part available in handy editions for the use of our choirs. Finally, we have a good array of modern works written with due regard to the spirit of the Liturgy, works valuable particularly in view of the varying needs of our actual present-day choirs.

But the various classes of chants that make up the choral portion of the Mass Liturgy are not all of equal importance, and here, it seems to me, there is, speaking generally, a need for a re-adjustment of our appreciation. There is first the distinction of the Proper and the Ordinary of the Mass. It is not long since choirs generally were satisfied to render the Ordinary of the Mass, and took no account of the variable chants at all. A revival of the spirit of obedience to the laws of the Church has changed this to a large extent. But even where the liturgical requirements are observed with conscientious exactness, there is still, I am afraid, a want of balance in the care bestowed on the Ordinary on the one hand, and the Proper on the other. Choirs will prepare with great trouble a polyphonic "Mass," as it is called, and be satisfied to get through the portions that give individuality to the particular Mass Liturgy, in a perfunctory manner. Yet if we go into the question, we must find that it is just the variable portions that deserve the greatest artistic consideration. If we examine the older repertory of Plain Chant, we find that the Ordinary was originally composed in the simplest possible manner, while all artistic elaboration was reserved for the varying chants. This was in accordance with the practice of having the Ordinary sung by the congregation, and only the Proper by a select choir, the Schola. Only later on, when the Schola took over also the Ordinary, from about the tenth century forward, more elaborate melodies were composed for these portions. Still they were comparatively simple, and even when they had long strings of notes, like some *Kyrie* melodies, they showed a certain straightforwardness quite distinct from the subtle figuration of an Introit or a Gradual. It was not until the polyphonic school neared its perfection that a collection of compositions of the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus,* and *Agnus* became to be called a "Mass," and henceforward composers bestowed the best of their artistic inspiration on the composition of the chants of the Ordinary. This reversal of ideas extends its influence to the present day, and it will take a great amount of instruction to make correct views on this point generally accepted.

Again amongst the various pieces that make up the Proper of the Mass there is a difference of rank, and it so happens that

those that are entitled to pride of place, receive, as a rule, the least attention. I refer to the chants that follow the reading of the Epistle. Two reasons easily suggest themselves for this neglect, though in reality they point to the importance of these chants. The first is that the Gregorian melodies for these chants are particularly elaborate and, therefore, present great difficulties to choirs, and the second, that when performed properly, they delay the progress of the Mass. Before we enter on a short investigation of the true rank of these chants, it will not be amiss to observe that regularly there are between Epistle and Gospel two distinct pieces of choral singing. It has not yet been explained quite satisfactorily how it came about that at this place in the Mass two choral pieces follow one another immediately. But we ought to keep in mind that they are two distinct compositions, more distinct than two movements, say, of a modern sonata. During the larger part of the ecclesiastical year they consist of a Gradual and an Alleluia Verse. From Septuagesima till Easter the Alleluia Verse is replaced by a Tract, while from the Saturday after Easter till the end of Paschal time two Alleluia Verses take the place of Gradual and Alleluia Verse.

Of the three forms the Gradual claims our first attention, and its first title to pre-eminence is its antiquity. As far back as we can trace the history of the growth of the Liturgy, we find as a fundamental principle of liturgical service the alternation of reading from Scripture and singing of psalms. In the Nocturns of the Breviary we recognise this principle in the three lessons being followed by Responsories. In the Mass similarly there were one or more lessons followed by psalm singing. Originally a whole psalm was sung, which was rendered responsorially, that is to say, a chanter sang the different verses, while the people joined in with a refrain repeated after each verse. About the year 500 a great change took place, probably owing to the fact that the whole rendering of this chant was taken over by the Schola. The responsorial part, the refrain, which originally must have been quite simple in its musical composition, received an elaborate melody, and the number of verses was reduced to one. The order of singing then, was thus: first the Schola sang the response proper, then

the soloist sang the verse, and finally the Schola repeated the response. From about the twelfth century forward the repetition of the response fell into desuetude, and it is not prescribed according to the present legislation. It is highly desirable, however, that this repetition should be introduced again, as is suggested by the directions of the Vatican Gradual, for only thus the essential character of the Gradual as a responsorial chant is maintained.

The second title the Gradual has to special consideration is that it alone of the proper chants holds its place for its own sake. The other chants merely accompany some other function, the Introit, the procession of the celebrant and the sacred ministers to the Altar, the Offertory, the collection of the offerings, the Communion, the distribution of Holy Communion to the faithful. But while the Gradual was being sung, nothing else took place. All sat down and listened to the singing. It, therefore, forms an essential part of the Liturgy. It *is* the Liturgy while it lasts.

The other two forms of chant that are met with after the Epistle, the Alleluia Verse and the Tract, share in a degree the dignity of the Gradual. The Alleluia Verse is of somewhat late introduction in the Western Liturgy, its extension to all Masses outside the period from Septuagesima till Easter being due to Gregory the Great. In its form it is a responsorial chant like the Gradual, the Alleluia itself forming the refrain. The Tract is a strange formation, being neither responsorial nor antiphonal. It is not improbable that it is in reality a Gradual with a number of Verses, but without the repetitions of the Response.

It must, then, be one of our principal objects to restore to the chants after the Epistle their rightful position. Let it not be urged that the proper rendering of them prolongs the Mass; for they are an essential part of the Liturgy, and one might as well complain that the Epistle or the Preface prolong the Mass. A more serious objection, for a considerable number of our choirs, is their difficulty, and I think it desirable that a method of rendering them should be found which would bring them within the power of the average choir, and, at the same time, would give them more dignity than a mere

recitation or an ordinary psalm tone can give. For a capable choir, however, it should be a matter of pride to render them in the most artistic fashion, be it according to the glorious melodies of the Gregorian repertory, or be it in elaborate polyphonic composition.

I must add a few words about congregational singing. Since Pius X. has called attention to the desirability of the active participation of the faithful in the Liturgy, some efforts have been made in this direction. But it seems to me that the question has not received the amount of consideration it deserves. In the earlier centuries the share of the people in the performance of the Liturgy was considerable. They joined in the prayers of the celebrant by answering Amen, and in the psalm singing, at the Gradual in particular, by inserting the refrains. Then they sang the whole Ordinary alternately with the clergy, the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* from the earliest times, the *Agnus* since the seventh century; also the *Gloria* and *Credo*, though these did not become regular parts of the Mass in the Roman Rite until after the year 1000. The Introit, Offertory, and Communion belonged to the Schola from their origin. The people could scarcely join in them now, except perhaps in the Psalm verse of the Introit. The Gradual and Tract are now also beyond the reach of the congregation, and even the Alleluias could scarcely be rendered by them except under particularly favourable circumstances. The Ordinary of the Mass, too, as I have remarked already, has long since passed from the people. There is not, however, any insurmountable difficulty to prevent them from resuming it again. The proper way to introduce the custom would naturally be to teach the melodies in the schools. At the same time I can understand a choir being anxious to render the Ordinary, or part of it, in polyphonic composition, and personally I should be sorry if the magnificent Masses of a Palestrina and others were altogether excluded from liturgical use.

But there remains one portion of the music of the Mass which should be given to the people at once and everywhere; that is the short responses. When the Celebrant turns round and salutes the people: *Dominus vobiscum*, it must seem strange that they do not all answer with one voice: *Et cum spiritu*

tuo. And when he has offered to God prayers in his own name and theirs, ought they not to express their agreement, manifest their communion with him, by crying out *Amen?* It is similar with the short responses before the Preface and in connection with the *Pater noster.* Even such moderate participation in the singing would give the people a new interest in the solemn Liturgy, and make them realise that Holy Mass is a common prayer, the public worship of priest and people united.

Time will allow only a very short consideration of the second part of my theme: Music at Benediction. Nor is there much to be said. If we consider the wonderful musical organisation of the Mass, the variety of liturgical forms and texts, its superabundant supply of musical compositions, the music of the Benediction service must strike us as poor. According to the general law of the Church, the whole Benediction service is made up of the last two stanzas of the hymn *Pange lingua,* together with the versicle and prayer. Nothing else is prescribed. In a way this is an advantage. For it leaves room for liberty and enables us, if we would, to make free use of the abundant store of the Mass and Office Liturgy. But unfortunately in many places a stereotyped Benediction service has been introduced, consisting, in addition to the prescribed pieces, of the *O Salutaris,* the Litany of the B. V. M., and the Psalm *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.* Naturally the constant repetition of the same texts must become tedious, but there are some other awkward circumstances besides. First there is a limited supply of musical compositions. The selections that may be used of Plain Chant and classic polyphony are soon exhausted, and we are forced to rely on modern compositions. But taking these in the bulk, we cannot, I am afraid, say that we have much reason to be proud of them. What is worse, however, is that the form of the pieces does not lend itself to much variety of treatment. This holds particularly of the Litany. It is essentially a responsorial chant—that is to say, the various invocations *Sancta Maria, Sancta Dei genitrix,* etc., should be sung by a chanter, and after each of them the whole body should repeat the response *Ora pro nobis.* The only satisfactory musical treatment, then, is to have some very simple melodies,

such as those of the Plain Chant Litany of the Saints, melodies that will not pall from frequent repetition.

It is obvious that possibilities here will become exhausted very soon, and it is intelligible that other ways have been sought. But all these other methods of rendering suffer from one very serious drawback, the want of truth. They are not musical forms derived from the structure of the thing to be rendered musically, but a strait-jacket forced on the helpless text. There is no way out of this difficulty, I fear, except to give up the Litany altogether and to substitute for it hymns, antiphons, responsories, motets, or any other variety of form.

In these few remarks on the music at Mass and at Benediction, I have not touched much on specifically musical questions. I have dealt mainly with the liturgical aspect. I have done so with full deliberation. For I feel convinced that our musical discussions are to a large extent wasteful talk, that we are merely beating the air, as long as liturgical ideas have not become common property again. If, therefore, we wish to improve our Church music — and an immense amount of work is to be done there still—we should first try to secure that the Liturgy of the Church may once more become a living reality.

THE NEGLECT OF SUNDAY MASS

By the Right Rev. Abbot F. M. Geudens, C.R.P.

Whatever may be said of other countries in Europe, it is a general complaint, based on well-known facts and statistics, that far too many Catholics neglect Sunday Mass in England. Numerous facts might be appealed to in justification of this complaint. Let the following instance suffice, because it concerns a typical case, and because it comes with all the authority of the lamented Cardinal Vaughan.

Cardinal Vaughan on the Neglect of Sunday Mass

As reported by various Catholic papers at the time, His Eminence, in a pastoral charge, referred to the neglect

of Sunday Mass in one of the parishes of his Archdiocese where he was making the canonical visitation. His Eminence is reported to have said: "The number of Catholics in that mission was returned at 2634, and deducting 634 for young children and people who were away from Mass with a lawful excuse, there would be 2000 who might reasonably be expected to hear Mass on Sunday. But what was the fact? He grieved to tell them that there were scarcely 800 who did attend Mass on Sunday, and this 800 included the children. He was sure those present would grieve to hear this, because there was a large number of the Catholics of that mission who belonged to the true Church of God, who ought to be faithful followers of our Lord Jesus Christ, who were living in the neglect of their religious duties, who despised our Lord and His invitations, and who refused to come and receive the gifts He had ready to offer to them in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. They could not expect any great blessing in the mission, and they could not look to Almighty God to pour forth on the multitude His favours and gifts, if He perceived that a vast portion of that flock despised His invitations and refused to hear Mass on Sunday."

What his Eminence has said of that particular parish may be said of scores of parishes in England, for it is an ascertained fact that the number of Catholics who neglect Sunday Mass is lamentably large in this country.

What are the causes of this neglect? Can any remedies be suggested whereby they may be removed, or, at least, whereby their baneful influence may be greatly neutralised or reduced to a minimum? Before suggesting a solution to these questions I beg leave to offer a few preliminary considerations on the dignity of Holy Mass and on the place it should occupy in Christian Society.

The Dignity of Holy Mass

St Paul says (Col. iii. 11.): "Christ is all and in all" because He communicates to all His holiness, His justice, and every blessing. A deep thinker, famous for his eloquence, (Bossuet) says: "There is nothing greater in the universe than Christ; there is nothing greater in Christ than His Sacrifice;

there is nothing greater in that sacrifice than His death, than the moment in which His soul was separated from His Body." Indeed His death puts the seal on His works. It is the beginning of the New Testament. It puts us in possession of His inheritance. His Heart has broken all barriers and has poured out on us the grace of His holy Redemption. The Altar keeps the deposit and Holy Mass is the identical and living renewal of the Sacrifice of the Cross. It is an enduring and universal Sacrifice. It belongs to all ages, to all nations. It has at all times and in all places the same virtue, the same Victim, the same High Priest. The same Blood flows from the same Wounds not only for all of us in general but for each in particular. Holy Mass is the basis of our salvation, the foundation of all our devotions towards the Holy Eucharist. It is "Emmanuel"—"God with us"—God poured out on us, for what is the Church but Christ poured out on and communicated to her and her members? Once more, Christ is all and in all. He is all and in all through Holy Mass.

Duties of Man towards God

St Thomas Aquinas thus defines man's duties towards God: "Man is bound to render homage to God for these four reasons: because of God's supreme Majesty, of blessings received, of sins committed, of benefits hoped for." When dying on the Cross, Christ rendered this fourfold homage to His Eternal Father. This homage, being the homage of God to God, is of infinite value, but man's homage, the homage of limited, sinful man, is by itself insufficient to render to God what is due to Him. Man's only hope of making his homage acceptable to God, is in the merits of the Cross, and so of Holy Mass; it is in the union of his homage to the homage of the God-Man to the Eternal Father. A Christian is by baptism a member of the Church, but the Church is the Spouse of Jesus, the Royal Prince: *Regina formosissima Christo jugata Principi.*

Christ and His Church always act together. Whatever is done by the Church, it is Christ who does it; whatever Christ does in the faithful, He does through the instrumentality of His Church. Christ is one with the Church by bearing her sins; the Church is one with Christ by bearing His Cross. Every-

thing in the Church points to the Altar, to the Sacrifice of the Mass. Holy Mass is the great action of the Church, and through Holy Mass, man is able to pay his fourfold duty to God, to pay full homage to God. These duties, defined by St Thomas, are summed up in these four words: "Adoration, Thanksgiving, Propitiation, Supplication." These are also the four ends as well as the four fruits of Mass.

Holy Mass on Sunday

Can we, then, wonder at the law of the Church which binds the faithful to hear Mass on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation? This law is based on the Divine Law, for Christ has commanded that the Sacrifice of the Mass should be offered up in remembrance of His holy Passion and Death. It is likewise based on the natural law, for man must in some manner acknowledge the supreme dominion of his Creator. The Church has only determined what Christ has left undefined—the time and the manner of fulfilling certain duties which God Himself commands. But let us not forget that this law is binding in conscience, for Christ has said, "He that heareth you, heareth Me; he that despiseth you, despiseth Me."

A Covenant with God

Holy Mass on the Lord's Day is a renewal of the covenant made with Christ and His Church. In Baptism we renounced the devil and all his works and pomps. We then became Christians, that is, children of God, disciples of Christ, members of His Church. Those who are present at Mass manifest by this personal, outward, and public act that they are faithful lieges of Christ their king and faithful children of the Church their mother. But what of those who through their own fault neglect Holy Mass on Sunday? Is not this neglect a practical denial of the covenant with Christ and His Church? So much for the individual. But Jesus Christ came on earth to redeem and regenerate not the individual only, but also society as it is found in the family, in the township, in the nation. Society, as a moral entity, comes from God and depends on God, and hence, like the individual, it has a fourfold duty to fulfil

towards God his Creator and towards Christ our Redeemer. Has Christ no right over society? Or is society independent of Christ and of Christ's doctrine and legislation as certain modern theories will have it? Jesus Christ is King in the absolute sense of this word. He has all the titles for the full possession of His royal rights—titles of origin, conquest, and inheritance. In the words of St Paul: "He is King of kings, Lord of lords who only has immortality . . . to whom be honour and empire everlasting" (Tim. vi. 16). Both for the individual and for society is Christ a true Emmanuel—God with us—daily immolated on our altars and for ever abiding with us on His throne in the tabernacle. Christ is the way, the truth, and the life for society. These titles may be explained almost in the words of Thomas à Kempis: without Christ the *way* there is no going for society; without Christ the *truth* there is no knowing for society; without Christ the *life* there is no living for society.

Holy Mass the Great Act of Christian Society

Modern society no longer acknowledges the supreme sovereignty of Christ. There was a time when it did—a time when kings and princes received their crowns, sceptres, and swords from the altar as from the hands of Jesus in the Holy Eucharist. There was a time when laws were made in the name of Jesus, justice administered in the name of Jesus, aye, and battles fought in the name of Jesus. There was a time when society in its public acts proclaimed the sovereignty of Jesus and lived as it were under the sceptre of Jesus. Holy Mass was everywhere the central devotion, the great act of social life. The day's work commenced with Holy Mass. Meetings took place after Mass. Various days of the year were known by the Holy Mass and still bear the suffix of "Mass," as Christmas, Michaelmas, Lammas, etc. All this speaks of the true place Holy Mass had in Christian society.

But all this is changed. A time has come when kings and peoples have deserted the altars of Jesus, and, anxious for so-called freedom, they have proclaimed by their deeds, if not in words: *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos;* "We will not have this man to reign over us" (Luke xix. 14). Yes, kings have

governed in antagonism to Christ and His Church in countries nominally Christian; laws have been made and justice administered, and battles fought against Christ and His Church. Holy Mass has been called a fable, churches have been desecrated, altars broken, chalices melted, priests hanged and quartered for offering up Holy Mass. Such was the case in England. The great criminals belonged to the mighty ones of the land, for the nation in general was unwilling to follow them. The northern counties rose up and commenced the "Pilgrimage of Grace" under a standard which bore the image of the Sacred Host and of a chalice. But force and cunning prevailed, and little by little the nation was robbed of the faith, because there were none to offer up the Sacrifice of the Mass, to break the Bread of Life. It was the hour of darkness. Jesus hid Himself. Here and there, however, Holy Mass was offered up in some hiding-place, and if certain Catholic families persevered in the faith, we may well find the true reason for the grace of constancy in the fact that Holy Mass was offered up in their houses. Gradually better times returned, and full freedom is once more given for public worship. Churches and cathedrals are built and Holy Mass is once more celebrated with the full splendour of our Catholic liturgy. We are all grateful for this blessing, but if so many did not neglect Holy Mass on Sunday our joy would be much greater.

Neglect of Sunday Mass

And who are those that neglect Sunday Mass? They are, alas! the children of the faithful remnant in time of persecution; the childen of those who bled and were robbed for hearing Holy Mass: the childen of those who walked miles and miles, always in danger of death, to hear Holy Mass: the children of those who, in the Pilgrimage of Grace, had the Sacred Host and a chalice figured on their standard. This neglect is one of the saddest signs of the present times. Think of the thousands and thousands of mortal sins committed on each Sunday through this neglect of Mass in one single town, let us say London, Liverpool, or Manchester! How are we to convert England? How are we to Christianise society?

The Evils of Modern Society

Yes, indeed, let us look at modern society, at that society which has broken the covenant with Christ and His Church, which has thrown off the yoke of Christ and His Church. Society has become pagan, unchristian, frequently, anti-christian, in some places satanical. "By their fruits you shall know them"—these false prophets who come in the clothing of sheep, preaching freedom, equality, aye, and fraternity. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? The evil tree of modern society without Christ has brought forth evil fruit, very bitter fruit. Modern society—high and low—is punished by that in which it has sinned. The rebellion of kings and princes against God and His Church has called forth rebellion of the lower classes against their rulers. Why blame the socialist alone? Blame those who robbed the working man of his religion, of his God, of his hope. Society is sick. Who shall cure it? Legislators and economists, like quack doctors, puff their quack medicines for the cure of sick society. All have some theory for the solutions of social problems, but no true solution is found. Philanthropy! What is philanthropy without the God of charity?

Let the modern legislator and economist rather study the history of Christianity, the annals of sociology. What will he see? He will see that Holy Mass has been the truest, firmest, strongest element of civilisation, the real means of its triumphs. He will see that it civilised our ancestors, disciplined their fierce passions, brought despots to a sense of justice, made the people obedient to the laws, broke the barriers between rich and poor. Holy Mass was the symbol and bond of charity and union. God's temple was open to all. Holy Mass brought together the lord and the peasant, the master and the servant. All conditions of men met before God's altar. The same Bread of Life was given to all. Admission to Holy Mass was considered the greatest honour; excommunication from Mass the most dreaded moral punishment. The most glorious epochs of European history are those when people publicly acknowledged the sovereignty of Christ and . . . went to Mass. Let sick society return to Christ and to Christ on His throne on the

altar, for there is no other cure for the evils of modern society. Let Christ be the model Legislator. Let His Sermon on the Mount be the great constitution, and let Pope Pius X., whose motto or watchword is: *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, "to restore all things in Christ," be our guide in our endeavour to regenerate society through Holy Mass.

Summing Up

What has been said above may be summed up in the following propositions:—

(1) God the Creator is the beginning and end of man, and hence also of society.

(2) Jesus Christ came on earth to redeem and regenerate, not the individual only, but also society.

(3) Man as an individual and a unit of society must render an inward and outward, a public and social homage to God his Creator, and to Jesus Christ his Redeemer.

(4) In the Old Testament God appointed the seventh day for man to rest from servile work and to give public and social homage to God his Creator.

(5) The Church of Christ has appointed the Sunday for these acts of worship.

(6) Holy Mass, the Renewal of the Sacrifice of the Crucified Redeemer, is the most solemn, the most important act, the central point of this public and social form of worship.

(7) Hearing Mass on Sunday may be considered as the minimum of public and social worship.

Causes and Remedies

The object of the Eucharistic Congress being to discuss all that appertains to the *cultus* of the Holy Eucharist, and so to find out or improve the best means to promote an intelligent devotion to the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrament and a Sacrifice, I beg to point out some of the causes of the neglect of Sunday Mass, and also to suggest certain remedies whereby these causes may be removed or their evil influence be greatly neutralised.

The chief causes of this neglect must be sought in the sinner himself. External influences may make these causes more

effective and harmful. They are (1) ignorance in his mind; (2) indifference in his heart; (3) the threefold concupiscence acting on his will.

(1) *Ignorance.*—Ignorance in his mind concerning the Sacrifice of the Holy Mass is nearly always the result of the neglect of Catechetical instruction in the school. Catholic children brought up in municipal or Protestant schools know nothing of Holy Mass. In the young, and even in the grown-up, the neglect of reading Catholic books or hearing sermons, the excessive love of sports, unrestrained passions, worldly affairs, make both soon forget what they have been taught in the Catholic schools.

Remedy.—Catechise the child, catechise the youth, catechise the adult. Catechise in the school, catechise in the church, in the house, wherever you have an opportunity. Organise the parish, form guilds for the young, sodalities for the women, confraternities and clubs for the men. In catechising, preaching, house-visiting, always insist on the hearing of Sunday Mass as the central and most important act of worship.[1]

As to instructions on the Sacrifice of the Mass let us be guided by the Encyclical letter *Amantissimi* of 3rd May 1858, in which Pope Pius IX. exhorts the bishops to see that their priests "fidelibus populis tam admirabilis sacrificii necessitatem, præstantiam, magnitudinem, finem, fructus, studiosissime et accuratissime, exponant, explicent," etc.

(2) *Indifference* in the heart.—This indifference results frequently from ignorance. *Ignoti nulla cupido* "one does not love what one does not know." It grows through the neglect of prayer and the neglect of good reading. It is fed by the reading of bad books and bad newspapers, through bad associations, but especially through sins which harden the heart and cloud the mind. *With desolation is all the land made desolate, because there is none that considereth in the heart* (Jer. xii. 11).

The indifference of parents and their bad example are the cause why their children, while going to school, or when they have left it, neglect Sunday Mass. *Exempla trahunt.* As to

[1] All this shows the necessity of having every Catholic child educated in a Catholic school. It also explains the reason of our resistance to the pernicious Education Bills during the last three years.

grown-up people, Saturday's drinking, late shopping, theatres, going to bed after midnight, long sleep in the morning, Sunday excursions, are other causes. Then the evil surroundings. Consider the state of some of our large towns. The atmosphere is Protestant, worldly, sensual, materialistic, with all kinds of dangerous attractions, whereby little by little all religious life is killed. Add to all this the evil of mixed marriages.

Remedy.—The action of the priest, while visiting the homes of Catholics in his parish. Let him organise his parish, and by means of the laity reach his people, and so bring them to Mass. The wisely directed apostolate of the laity has done, and will do wonders.

(3) The threefold *concupiscence* acting on the will. We know the parable of the great supper, and the excuses made by some, who, though invited, would not come: "I have bought a farm; I have bought five yoke of oxen; I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come." The pride of life, the love of riches, and sensuality keep many from Mass on Sunday.

Remedy.—Such persons should be made to understand the *unum necessarium* the one thing necessary in this life in the words of St Paul, "You cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils" (1 Cor. x. 26). Let them understand the treasures of Holy Mass, the consolations of a good life, the fallacies of this world. Much good may be done by short articles in newspapers and reviews, by leaflets distributed through school children and other agencies.

The remedies for these three causes of mischief may be summed up in two words: "catechise, organise."

The Remedy of Reparation

But there is yet another remedy—the remedy of reparation to God for the injury done to Him through the neglect of Sunday Mass. This, from its motive, is the most important of all the remedies, and, if added to the other remedies already described, will make these more powerful and efficacious. We should never forget that through this neglect of Sunday Mass God is offended, and that He is deprived of the homage to which He has a right, and, consequently, of the accidental glory which He should receive from Holy Mass. A Catholic, whose great

desire is to see God better known, loved, and served, suffers in his heart when he sees so many empty benches in church on a Sunday. Why does he suffer? He suffers because God, so worthy of honour, is deprived of the honour which He would have received, if more Catholics had been present at Mass. Such a Catholic feels in his heart that he should make reparation for the injury done to God by this neglect of Sunday Mass. He also understands that he is able to make some reparation for this injury by hearing a second Mass on Sunday or during the week in the place of one or more, who through their absence from Sunday Mass refuse to pay their fourfold debt to God. These acts of reparation through Holy Mass will undoubtedly touch the tender Heart of our Lord, and, by disarming the Divine Justice, they will open the door to Divine Mercy and, as it were, put the offended God under obligation to grant the grace of conversion to the sinner. Now it is precisely in this act of reparation for the neglect of Sunday Mass through Holy Mass that the spirit of the Archconfraternity of the Mass of Reparation consists.

This Archconfraternity, which is canonically erected in Corpus Christi Votive Basilica of Reparation, Varley Street, Manchester, for Great Britain and Ireland, offers thus the means of united reparation in an organised and canonically instituted association or league, counting thousands of members all over the world, all united in mind and heart in the common purpose and desire to make reparation to God for the neglect of Sunday Mass.

This Archconfraternity, I am gratified to state, continues to make good progress amongst all classes and conditions of English-speaking Catholics. It is gradually becoming better known and much of the prejudice against it, such as frequently falls to the lot of a new work of devotion, is consequently disappearing. Its object is so sublime, its practice so easy, its opportuneness so manifest that it needs only to be better known to be loved and embraced. Printed notices on the Mass of Reparation will be sent on application to the Director.

A General Movement

Since the evil of the neglect of Sunday Mass is so lamentably great and widespread, and since the causes of this neglect

are so numerous and deep-rooted, there ought to be a great movement, a general movement in England to neutralise the evil effects of these causes and to apply the true remedies. We all rejoice at the Eucharistic Congress, which is international, being now held in London. This is indeed a great blessing for which we are grateful, for by means of this Congress much honour is given to Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist and an intelligent devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be produced in the faithful.

Would it not then be advisable in order to perpetuate these good results, to do in England what is done on the continent, where regional or diocesan or even parish congresses are held? At such congresses all Eucharistic works might come in for discussion, for instance, the causes of the neglect of Sunday Mass—the great sin and the terrible cause of numerous sins and miseries might be examined, and better remedies be suggested to bring people to Mass on Sunday.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of the papers.

The Bishop of Salford, speaking on Dr Bewerunge's paper, expressed himself as greatly pleased with the writer's desire that the responses in the liturgy should be taken up by the congregation. The responses are so easy and so well known, that were the wish expressed by authority that the people should take their part in the *Et cum spiritu tuo*, the *Amen*, etc., they would surely do so. "And," said his Lordship, "I promise that I will endeavour to introduce the custom in my diocese; it might lead the congregation to join in the singing of the Common of the Mass." Then referring to the last paper, his Lordship lamented the comparatively large number of those who neglected Sunday Mass, and he further recommended the Arch-Confraternity of the Mass of Reparation as an efficacious means of counteracting the evil.

SECTION C (FRENCH)

(MEETINGS IN THE CAXTON HALL)

MORNING SESSION

The large hall, known as the Caxton Hall, was all too small for the dense assemblage which crowded floor and galleries, both on this and the succeeding days—an audience in which priests and men greatly predominated. The hall was beautifully decorated—as were also the other halls—thanks to the energy and good taste of the Ladies' Committee.

Cardinal FERRARI presided, and on his right sat Cardinal SANCHA Y HERVAS, the representative of Spain. Abbot CABROL (the official president of this section) directed the proceedings, assisted by the Secretary of the section, Canon CARTON DE WIART. There were also present on the platform the ARCHBISHOP OF MONTREAL, the BISHOPS OF ANGERS, ARRAS, AUTUN, LANGRES, LUGO, POZZUOLI, S. BRIEUC, SAN CARLOS (Chile), SOISSONS, several abbots, and many laymen of distinction, most of whom were of foreign nationality and represented many different countries.

DISCOURS DE MGR. L'ÉVÊQUE DE METZ

ÉMINENCE, MESSEIGNEURS, MESSIEURS,

Ayant à entretenir cette noble assemblée de l'opportunité et de l'importance des Congrès Eucharistiques internationaux, j'ai naturellement compulsé les Archives de notre Congrès de Metz, et j'ai cru trouver une indication dans son plus auguste document, à savoir la Lettre Apostolique par laquelle Sa Sainteté Pie X. donnait à l'Éminentissime Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli mission de le présider en son nom. Voici les propres paroles de Sa Sainteté: "Parmi toutes les entreprises religieuses qui sont entrées dans les habitudes des Catholiques, il faut regarder comme particulièrement salutaire et fécond en résultats, l'usage de se réunir en grand nombre, à des époques déterminées, dans le but de délibérer sur les

moyens à prendre pour enflammer et exciter de plus en plus les cœurs au culte, à la vénération et à la dévotion pratique envers l'auguste sacrement."

Il me semble que j'entrerais dans l'esprit de Sa Sainteté en définissant d'abord, en préconisant ensuite ces solennelles assises dont la divine Providence a placé le théâtre cette année dans l'illustre capitale de l'Angleterre. Comme S. Léon le disait autrefois de l'ancienne Rome, le monde peut-il ignorer ce qui se passe à Londres; et le branle eucharistique qui partirait d'ici ne serait il pas destiné à remuer l'univers?

Et d'abord, qu'est-ce qu'un Congrès Eucharistique international? Il est superflu d'observer qu'un Congrès Eucharistique n'est ni un Concile ni un Synode; ni les fidèles, ni même les Évêques congressistes ne sont réunis pour prendre des décisions doctrinales, mais simplement pour mieux comprendre l'esprit de l'Église dans la question de l'auguste sacrement. Il s'agit, non de faire ni même de provoquer l'enseignement de l'Église, mais de l'étudier, tel qu'il existe, dans toute son étendue.

Un Congrès Eucharistique, qui n'est pas un Concile, n'est pas davantage une Université ou une Faculté où on s'arrête avec complaisance et compétence aux discussions théoriques. Le Congrès cependant envisage aussi ces questions familières aux hautes écoles pour donner des bases d'autant plus solides à la pratique de la piété eucharistique: Scruter respectueusement le dogme, n'est-ce pas, par voie de conséquence, promouvoir les moyens d'exécuter les enseignements du Saint Père, de faire aimer davantage le Tabernacle, le saint autel, la sainte table?

Le Congrès, c'est la contention d'amour pour le saint sacrement, où tous, pères du peuple chrétien et humbles fidèles, ne formant qu'un cœur et qu'une âme, cherchent les moyens de traduire dans le sens qui répondra le plus exactement aux intentions du divin Cœur, la doctrine, la pensée, le simple désir de l'Église. Et dans ce but, la forme qui est entrée dans les habitudes chrétiennes est la réunion non pas simplement des diocèses d'un seul pays, mais de tous les Évêques, des prêtres, des fidèles qui sont sous le ciel et qui sont convoqués de tous les points de l'horizon; c'est la catholicité de l'Église en réduction.

S'il m'est permis d'évoquer des souvenirs tout prochains et

particulièrement chers, le Congrès Eucharistique c'est la voix de l'Espagne faisant écho à celle de la Pologne, ce sont les voix de l'Extrême-Orient fusionnant avec celles de l'Occident, et faïsant toucher du doigt, à propos du saint sacrement et en son honneur, la vérité de cette parole de S. Paul, je dirai, de ce désir réalisé: "ut idipsum dicatis omnes." A travers les distances, les différences de dialectes et même de couleurs, c'est l'Unité Catholique, l'Unité du respect, l'Unité de l'Amour proclamée autour du saint sacrement.

Et, en effet, avoir avec l'Église une même manière de croire, de parler, de pratiquer, qu'il s'agisse du saint sacrement ou qu'il s'agisse d'autre chose, c'est l'esprit proprement catholique. Et qui ne sait qu'à ce prix seulement les âmes demeurent inébranlables dans la vérité évangélique? Rien de si clair, par exemple, que ces paroles: "ceci est mon corps, ceci est mon sang"; mais faute de les avoir lues sur les genoux de l'Église, il est notoire que les hommes d'il y a trois siècles ont donné de ces évidences mêmes jusqu'à deux cents interprétations différentes! Que si une autorité indiscutable et divine doit nécessairement intervenir pour fixer des choses de prime abord si claires, à combien plus forte raison pour régler les multiples détails des conséquences pratiques du grand Mystère, pour déterminer le culte qui lui est dû, et toute la discipline relative aux communications de la sainte table. Or, c'est Rome qui préside dans l'univers entier à cette dispensation du Mystère du Christ; c'est par elle que tous les rachetés du Christ, que tous les convives de l'Eucharistie, "en disent la même chose," et pratiquent par rapport à elle, le même culte. Et il est fortifiant d'entendre proclamer cette unité des croyances par des témoins oculaires venus de partout, et se disant: "Nous croyons comme vous, nous honorons comme vous, nous recevons comme vous le sacrement du Christ, et s'il y a quelque chose à faire pour avancer dans ce sens la gloire de Dieu et le bien des âmes, nous voici réunis pour aviser ensemble et dans un concert mis et tenu soigneusement à l'unisson de Rome."

Cette simple définition du Congrès Eucharistique international a commencé déjà à en dire les avantages: ils se résument autour de ces deux termes: la gloire de Dieu avancée, et la piété des fidèles accrue.

La gloire de Dieu, sa plus grande gloire, c'est que le saint sacrement soit le centre de la pensée humaine, de l'amour des cœurs, de l'activité qui cherche, pour l'exalter, et le bien et le mieux. La gloire de Dieu, c'est en action, cet admirable tableau de la dispute du saint sacrement, où autour de l'ostensoir vient se grouper tout le mouvement du génie et de la sainteté, tableau qui semble traduire dans les faits cette strophe du Lauda Sion: "Laudis thema specialis, panis vivus et vitalis hodie proponitur."

Dans cette Fête-Dieu qu'est le Congrès Eucharistique international, Jésus au Sacrement est le tout de nos pensées, de nos louanges, de nos pieuses recherches qui se tiennent, je le répète, dans la zone tracée par la doctrine et les directions de l'Église. Nous nous ingénions ainsi à trouver les louanges théoriques et pratiques que provoque le Docteur Angélique: "Quantum potes, tantum aude." Du matin au soir, même pendant la nuit, la louange Eucharistique ne se tait pas, et c'est un peu comme dans la Jérusalem céleste où retentit l'éternel Sanctus, et où le silence même continue l'adoration. Y a-t-il une gloire plus grande pour le Dieu caché au Sacrement que d'être au moins pendant quelques jours "omnia in omnibus," tout en tous, non seulement dans la pensée et dans le cœur des prêtres et des religieux, mais dans la pensée, dans le cœur du peuple, et des peuples catholiques accourus ici dans la personne de leurs plus nobles et autorisés représentants. Le Congrès Eucharistique international, c'est le Seigneur vraiment loué par toutes les nations: Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, laudate Eum omnes populi!"

La gloire de Dieu, c'est, quelquefois au moins, de sortir de son temple, et de recevoir sous l'ombre aimante et anéantie où Il cache sa présence, les hommages de ses fidèles. Jésus encore mortel a voulu l'ovation du dimanche des rameaux; Jésus immortel veut l'ovation, l'Hosanna des processions. Et honneur aux autorités qui n'entravent pas ce désir, je dirai qui le comprennent et le secondent. Le triomphe de la procession eucharistique! il sera permis à l'Evêque de Metz de le redire en se reportant à une histoire toute récente, et qui vivra toujours dans son cœur. C'était le 11 août 1907. Quand le Cardinal-Légat portant le saint sacrement parut sur le parvis de la

cathédrale, précédé de vingt-neuf Évêques et abbés mitrés, escorté tout à l'heure de 100,000 âmes, quand du haut de notre esplanade il donna la bénédiction eucharistique à tout un peuple prosterné dans la vallée de la Moselle, quand tout ce peuple se relevant dans un enthousiasme qui ne faisait que croître, chantait "Nous voulons Dieu" quand, ramenant le triomphateur dans ses tabernacles, il proclamait sa victoire, son commandement et son règne, "Christus vincit, Christus imperat, Christus regnat, alleluia," c'était vraiment un alleluia, une louange qui pénétrait jusqu'au ciel, et agrandissait, peut-on dire, la gloire extérieure de Dieu. "In omnibus glorificetur Deus! sanctificetur Nomen tuum!"

Maintenant les âmes bénéficient-elles de ces grands mouvements, et serait-ce un feu de paille que ce brasier d'amour et d'ovation Eucharistique? Non! et il faut le dire hardiment: l'Œuvre des Congrès est une œuvre de bienfaisance spirituelle, une promotion de la piété, un élan chaque fois nouveau de la fidélité à l'Église, au Pape montrant l'Eucharistie, et disant par rapport à Elle la parole du moment, de la direction contemporaine. Ainsi le 20 décembre 1905 Pie X., montrant à l'univers catholique tout entier l'Hostie Sainte, disait: "Jésus-Hostie désire se donner fréquemment, journellement même, aux âmes." Sans doute, il n'était pas dans les espoirs du Pape lui-même que toute la Catholicité dès le lendemain communierait tous les jours; mais qui ne sait qu'au lendemain des Congrès tenus depuis lors, un mouvement s'est produit, et que de consolantes statistiques ont révélé un progrès constant dans le sens des directions de l'Église. Tout n'est pas fait encore, mais par l'action régulière des Congrès Eucharistiques internationaux concourant à ce mouvement comme un facteur puissant et bienfaisant, tout se fera, et l'idéal montré par le Père commun se rapprochera de plus en plus.

Ne peut-on même pas dire que le Congrès, quoique sans prétention officielle, prépare le mouvement que l'Église ensuite sanctionne? Et il est consolant autant qu'édifiant d'observer que, à la veille du célèbre décret, dans le diocèse où s'était tenu le Congrès, à Namur, le chiffre des communions annuelles dans le peuple fidèle s'est accru de 600,000. Je n'ai pas, et ne puis pas avoir encore entre les mains les chiffres d'une

statistique précise sur les résultats du Congrès de Metz; mais les renseignements qui me viennent de toutes parts me font légitimement espérer que notre diocèse sera fidèle lui aussi à l'impulsion reçue en son mémorable Congrès.

Le Congrès international, c'est enfin un bienfait pour le peuple chrétien; parcequ'il est l'unité des sujets autour du Maître, la présence du Roi au milieu de ses sujets, présence qui ne se confine plus dans l'ombre et le mystère du Tabernacle, mais qui s'affirme au grand soleil, au grand jour: "Christus regnat, Alleluia!" Se sentir les coudes, dirais-je, dans l'enthousiasme qu'excite la présence de l'Emmanuel, c'est aujourd'hui la joie, ce sera demain la force du peuple catholique: "Emmanuel, nobiscum Deus!"

Emmanuel, nobiscum Deus! Oh! ce cri d'exultation sur nos lèvres ne se propose d'effrayer personne. Au contraire, il voudrait grouper dans une même foi et dans un même bonheur toutes les âmes qui croient sincèrement au Christ. En attendant, il est l'expression de notre joie catholique exultant autour de l'Arche sainte, et mieux que l'Arche sainte, puisque c'est Dieu substantiellement présent. A son peuple venu de tous les horizons, Jésus dit encore: "C'est moi, ne craignez pas: Ego sum, nolite timere."

A son Église naissante Il disait déjà: "Nolite timere, pusillus grex; ne craignez pas, petit troupeau." Et voici que le troupeau est devenu immense, veritablement catholique: qu'aurait-il à craindre autour de son Pasteur. Nous n'aurions à craindre que nos faiblesses, et voici la force:—que nos incertitudes, et voici le roc:—que nos froideurs, et voici le feu: ignem veni mittere in terram!

La prophétie d'Ezéchiel décrivant le nouveau temple et la nouvelle Jérusalem, donne de celle-ci le nom nouveau: "Et nomen civitatis: Dominus ibidem": "Et voici le nom de la cité: Dieu est là!"—O cité de Londres, tu es grande, car les foules qui se pressent dans ton enceinte ont fait de toi la plus populeuse des villes. Les influences qui rayonnent de ton centre ont fait de toi la dominatrice des mers. Et cependant, ce que j'admire en toi aujourd'hui, c'est moins l'abondance des richesses, moins les colonnes de tes monuments, moins la beauté de n'importe laquelle de tes splendeurs, que cette pierre

fondamentale de l'Église catholique, mise aujourd'hui en si belle évidence et en si grand honneur: la présence Eucharistique de ton Dieu, je dirai de ton Dieu d'autrefois! "Magnus in medio tui, sanctus Israël!"

Ne semblent-ils pas revenus ces jours où il n'y avait dans l'ile des Saints qu'une langue chrétienne, celle que lui avaient apprise le Pape Grégoire, et cet autre fils de S. Benoit, le grand moine Augustin? Nous sera-t-il permis d'augurer que retournant à ses glorieuses archives et à son vrai passé, un grand peuple y retrouvera cette vérité intégrale que lui ont préchée ses premiers Apôtres, et cette langue qui chantait sous les voûtes des vieilles cathédrales la présence réelle du Christ-Roi: Christus vincit, Christus imperat, Christus regnat! Alleluia!

Canon Lamérand, Cambrai, read a paper on "Les Congrès Régionaux et Locaux."

LA DOCTRINE DE S. JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, SUR LA DIVINE EUCHARISTIE [1]

Par S. A. R. le Prince Max de Saxe.

Notre congrès eucharistique se terminera précisément le 13 septembre. Le même jour finira une année de jubilé. Nous avons commencé le 14 septembre de l'année dernière le quinzième centenaire de la mort du plus célèbre des anciens prédicateurs chrétiens, S. Jean, appelé Chrysostome. Il est mort, étant exilé, le 14 septembre 407. Je ne voudrais donc point laisser passer cette occasion, sans parler des témoignages tellement clairs et convaincants que cet homme à la bouche d'or a rendu à la divine eucharistie. Si sa bouche était d'or comme le peuple aimait à le dire, si son éloquence était un fleuve qui arrosait les pays d'orient et plus tard l'église universelle, d'où a-t-il rempli sa bouche d'or? C'est par le moyen de la divine eucharistie, qu'il a doré sa bouche et qu'il l'a remplie de sagesse

[1] Save for some slight literal corrections this paper has been printed as written by the author. See the "Editorial Note" at the beginning of the volume.

céleste. On a parfois nommé Chrysostome "le docteur de l'eucharistie." Il est vrai qu'en dehors de S. Cyrille de Jérusalem, qui a précédé de quelque temps notre Jean, il n'y a eu aucun docteur de l'ancienne église, qui a parlé avec tant de clarté et de précision sur ce mystère que notre saint. Si je voulais vous représenter toute l'étendue de la doctrine de ce grand docteur sur ce mystère central de notre religion, cet ouvrage deviendrait un livre et non un travail de congrès. Je ne veux pas non plus vous parler du côté dogmatique ou théorique de la question, car il a paru dernièrement une étude assez détaillée de M. le docteur Naegle sur la théologie de S. Chrysostome quant à ce point-là. Et je n'ai pas l'intention de répéter, ce qui a déjà été dit. Je voudrais donc plutôt envisager la question au point de vue pratique—c'est-à-dire, je veux vous démontrer ce que S. Chrysostome nous enseigne sur les effets, que l'eucharistie doit produire en notre vie, sur les obligations morales qu'elle nous impose.

Je me bornerai donc à dire, que les vérités dogmatiques concernant le sacrement de l'autel sont bien connues de notre Chrysostome. Il présuppose partout la présence réelle de Notre Seigneur, et le caractère de sacrifice dont le mystère est revêtu. Il en parle toujours en se servant des termes les plus sublimes et en traite avec beaucoup de respect. Pour vous démontrer sa croyance en la présence réelle, il suffira de vous citer ce texte vraiment classique, vraiment admirable, qui se trouve dans les sermons de notre saint sur la première épître de S. Paul aux Corinthiens. C'est alors, qu'il explique dans la vingt-quatrième homélie le célèbre passage, où S. Paul raconte la dernière cène et l'institution du sacrement. Il dit à cette occasion: "Si quelqu'un n'osait à peine toucher le vêtement de pourpre du roi, quand même celui-ci n'est qu'un homme, comment oserait-on recevoir d'une manière aussi peu digne le corps de Jésus, ce corps immaculé, ce corps qui est uni à cette nature divine, par laquelle nous vivons et nous existons, ce corps, par lequel les portes de la mort ont été brisées et les palais du ciel nous ont été ouverts? . . . Lorsque vous verrez ce corps placé sur l'autel, vous direz: C'est à cause de ce corps, que je ne suis plus cendre et poussière, ni prisonnier mais libre! C'est à cause de ce corps, que j'espère obtenir le ciel et les biens,

qui se trouvent là-haut: la vie éternelle, le sort des anges, la conversation avec le Christ. C'est le même corps, que la mort n'a pas pu supporter en le voyant sur la croix et flagellé, le même corps que le soleil a vu crucifié et qui lui a fait cacher ses rayons! C'est le même corps, par lequel le voile du temple a été déchiré, les rochers brisés, et toute la terre remuée! C'est le même corps, qui a été couvert de sang, qui a été frappé, et qui a répandu les sources de salut, le sang et l'eau, pour arroser tout l'univers. Si vous voulez d'autre part encore apprendre la force de ce même corps, demandez à la femme hémorroïsse: elle n'a pas même touché le corps, mais seulement les vêtements de Jésus, pas même le vêtement entier, mais seulement la frange du vêtement! Et tout de même elle a été guérie.

"Demandez à la mer qui a porté sur son dos ce corps! Demandez au diable même: D'où avez-vous remporté cette plaie inguérissable? pourquoi avez-vous perdu votre force? pourquoi êtes-vous captif? qui s'est emparé de vous, lorsque vous vous êtes enfui? Et il vous répondra, que tout celà n'a été causé par rien d'autre, sinon par ce corps crucifié! C'est par ce corps que l'aiguillon de Satan a été brisé, que sa tête a été écrasée! C'est par ce corps que les puissances et les principautés des ténèbres ont été vaincues, car il est dit de lui, qu'il a dépouillé les principautés et les puissances et les a frappées et a triomphé sur elles en sa propre personne! (épître aux Colossiens ii. 15). Demandez encore à la mort elle-même, et dites lui: Qui vous a enlevé votre aiguillon? qui a renversé votre victoire? qui a brisé la force de vos nerfs? qui a fait, que vous soyez devenue un objet de rire, même pour les filles et les petits enfants, vous qui étiez auparavant redoutable aux rois et à tous les justes? Et la mort vous dira encore, que ce même corps de Jésus en a été la cause! Lorsque ce corps a été crucifié, c'est alors que les morts ont été ressuscités, que la prison a été ouverte par force, et que les gardiens des portes de l'enfer ont tous tremblé! . . . Ce corps du Christ a brisé les entrailles du dragon et est sorti des entrailles de la terre en sa résurrection avec beaucoup de splendeur et a répandu ses rayons jusqu'au trône suprême du Père, car c'est là-haut qu'il a été placé! Mais ce même corps le Seigneur nous le donne, pour le toucher de nos mains et le

manger, ce qui est une preuve de son amour immense envers nous. Car ceux que nous aimons beaucoup, nous les mordons souvent par amour. Job, lorsqu'il veut nous montrer l'attachement de ses serviteurs à sa personne, nous raconte ceci: Ils m'ont souvent dit, parce qu'ils m'aimaient beaucoup: qui nous donnera sa chair, pour nous en rassasier? (Job xxxi. 31). De la même manière le Christ nous a donné ce bienfait, que nous puissions être rassasiés de sa propre chair, afin que par là il nous attire plus fortement à son amitié!" Où trouvera-t-on un témoignage aussi triomphal et aussi beau de la vérité?

De la dignité du sacrifice de la messe S. Chrysostome parle continuellement. Pour n'en citer que quelques passages, je m'en référerais aux célèbres livres "Sur le Sacerdoce." Dans le troisième de ces livres, nous rencontrons ces paroles: "Le service de l'ancien testament avant le temps de la grâce était déjà redoutable et pour ainsi dire effroyable, comme par exemple les petites cloches, que le grand-prêtre portait, les grenades, les pierres précieuses qu'il portait sur sa poitrine, le vêtement des épaules, la mitre sur sa tête, l'aube, le diadème d'or sur sa tête, le saint des saints du temple, et la profonde solitude qui y régnait. Mais si quelqu'un comparait avec tout cela le culte qui s'exerce dans le temps de la grâce, il verrait que ce qui paraissait anciennement redoutable et effroyable n'est maintenant que petit. Il verra accomplie cette parole, qui a été dite de l'ancienne loi: ce qui brillait anciennement de ce côté-là, n'a point de splendeur à cause de la gloire de la nouvelle alliance, qui dépasse toutes choses. (Ep. ii. aux Corinthiens iii. 10). Car lorsque vous voyez le Sauveur immolé comme victime et placé sur l'autel et le prêtre qui se tient debout et qui prie, lorsque vous voyez que tout le peuple est coloré de pourpre par le sang précieux, est-ce que vous croyez encore Vous trouver au milieu des hommes ou être debout sur la terre, est-ce que vous n'êtes pas plutôt transplanté au ciel? Vous chassez loin de vous toute pensée charnelle et vous contemplez avec votre âme et un cœur pur les choses du ciel! O la grandeur du miracle! O l'amour ineffable de Dieu envers les hommes! Celui, qui est assis là-haut auprès du Père, il se trouve dans cette heure dans les mains de tous et il permet à tous ceux qui veulent s'approcher de lui, de le baiser et

de l'embrasser! . . . Si vous voulez encore voir l'excellence de ce sacrifice par comparaison à un autre miracle, représentez-vous le prophète Élie sur le mont Carmel, entouré d'une foule innombrable de peuple! La victime est placée devant lui sur les pierres! Tous les autres sont complètement tranquilles et se taisent! Le prophète seul prie. Voilà que soudainement par sa prière la flamme du ciel descend sur la victime! Certes c'étaient là des choses admirables et très étonnantes! Mais maintenant, quittez ce spectacle et approchez-vous du mystère qui s'accomplit auprès de nous! C'est alors, que vous verrez des miracles qui sont non seulement grands, mais qui surpassent même toute notre faculté d'étonnement! C'est là que le prêtre se trouve debout et il fait descendre du ciel non le feu, mais l'Esprit saint! Il répand de longues prières, non afin que, comme là-bas une flamme descende du ciel et consume la victime, mais que la grâce descende sur ce sacrifice, et touche par le sacrifice l'âme de chacun de ceux qui sont présents et les rende plus brillantes que l'argent purifié par le feu! Quel homme, à moins qu'il ne soit fou et hors de sens, osera jamais mépriser cette action, la plus redoutable de toutes? Ne savez-vous pas, que jamais une âme humaine ne serait capable de porter le feu de ce sacrifice et que tous les hommes en seraient consumés, si la grâce de Dieu et son aide puissante n'était pas là, pour secourir l'homme?"

S. Chrysostome compare ici le saint sacrifice de la messe au sacrifice du prophète Élie sur le mont Carmel. C'était après le temps, où l'idolâtrie avait régné en Israel, qu'il devait être décidé quel dieu on voulait servir. Le dieu, qui ferait descendre le feu sur l'autel et la victime, devait être celui, que le peuple suivrait. Les prophètes de Baal invoquèrent en vain leur dieu du matin jusqu'au soir. Le prophète Élie invoqua à la fin le Dieu d'Israel et le feu consuma véritablement la victime.—De même notre S. Jean enseigne une doctrine bien claire sur les relations entre le sacrifice de l'eucharistie et celui de la croix. C'est dans ses homélies sur l'épître aux Hébreux qu'il en parle. Comme on le sait, cette lettre parle continuellement du caractère tout-à-fait unique du sacrifice du Christ, et répète, que les sacrifices de l'ancien testament étaient multiples et se ré-

pétaient tous les jours et qu'au contraire dans la nouvelle loi il n'y a qu'un sacrifice. Les protestants se servent de cette doctrine avec prédilection comme argument contre la doctrine de l'église catholique sur le sacrifice eucharistique. Ils disent, que selon cet enseignement si clair, une autre victime en dehors de celle de la croix ne peut trouver place. Saint Chrysostome connaît déjà cette objection et sait la résoudre en disant, que ce ne sont point deux différentes victimes qui sont offertes sur la croix et dans l'eucharistie, mais une seule victime, qui se répète. Il dit dans la dix-septième de ses homélies sur cette épître: "Dieu avait donc ordonné d'offrir tous les jours les sacrifices de la loi à cause de leur insuffisance et pour rappeler tous les jours la mémoire des péchés commis. Mais comment en est-il maintenant? Est-ce que nous n'offrons pas aussi tous les jours le sacrifice? Oui, nous l'offrons! Mais alors nous célébrons seulement la commémoraison de la mort du Seigneur. Ce sacrifice est unique. Ce n'est pas une multitude de victimes. Mais comment est-il possible que ce soit un sacrifice et que ce ne soient point plusieurs? Parce que cette victime de l'autel a été portée une fois pour toutes dans le sanctuaire céleste comme celle de la croix. Le sacrifice de l'autel est la figure de celui de la croix et de même celui de la croix l'image de l'autre, car c'est toujours le même Christ que nous offrons. Nous n'offrons pas aujourd'hui une brebis et demain une autre, mais toujours la même! Donc le sacrifice n'est qu'un seul! Dira-t-on que parce que le Christ est immolé en beaucoup d'endroits, qu'il y ait plusieurs Christs? Non, du tout! mais il n'y a qu'un seul Christ dans tout l'univers, qui se trouve complètement ici et complètement là, et qui n'a qu'un seul corps! Comme donc le Christ, sacrifié en beaucoup d'endroits, n'a qu'un seul corps, de même il n'y a qu'un seul sacrifice. C'est lui-même le Christ, notre grand prêtre, qui a offert sur la croix ce sacrifice, qui nous a purifié des péchés! Le même sacrifice nous l'offrons encore, sans qu'il soit jamais consumé. Nous célébrons l'eucharistie en mémoire de ce qui a été accompli sur la croix, car il est dit: faites ceci en mémoire de moi! Nous n'offrons pas une autre victime, que le Christ, le grand prêtre, mais toujours la même, ou plutôt nous accomplissons la mémoire de son sacrifice."

Mais passons donc, comme je l'ai dit, aux considérations pratiques, puisque nous voyons que la théorie est bien établie et ne peut être révoquée en doute. Il n'y aura guère personne, du moins de nos jours, qui osera sérieusement se servir de S. Chrysostome, pour attaquer les doctrines de l'église, quant à cette vérité de la foi. En outre, notre saint docteur n'est pas seulement un homme de théorie, mais beaucoup plus de pratique. Il a rarement songé à écrire des ouvrages théologiques. Nous ne possédons que peu de livres de ce genre de sa main. Il était avant tout prédicateur, et comme tel, son principal but était, de sanctifier le peuple, de le délivrer de ses vices, et de le porter à la vertu. A côté de cela il voulait avant tout expliquer les écritures saintes. Son grand amour, c'était la Bible. La plupart de ses sermons sont de caractère exégétique. Il explique des livres et des passages bibliques. C'est pour cela qu'il parle quand même très fréquemment, mais seulement occasionellement de l'eucharistie.

Il en parle, pour enseigner au peuple, de quelle manière il faut s'approcher de ce mystère et comment il faut se comporter vis-à-vis de lui. Quelquefois aussi le texte de l'écriture, qu'il doit expliquer, lui fournit l'occasion de parler du mystère, comme nous l'avons vu par les explications sur l'épître aux Corinthiens. Il y a d'abord des devoirs, qui s'imposent au clergé et au peuple par la célébration du saint sacrifice et par la participation à ces mystères. Le prêtre avant tout, qui célèbre, doit être dans une très bonne disposition de l'âme; il doit être très bien préparé et rempli de sainteté. Entendons ce que S. Chrysostome dit dans les mêmes livres sur le sacerdoce, que nous avons déjà cités, sur les devoirs du prêtre! Dans le sixième livre de cet ouvrage se trouvent ces paroles: D'abord le saint dit que le prêtre prie à la messe pour tout l'univers, pour toutes les classes du peuple. Ensuite il ajoute: "Celui qui prie pour tous, doit se distinguer par sa vertu de tous comme le chef est élevé en dignité sur ses sujets! Car lorsque le prêtre invoque l'Esprit saint et lorsqu'il accomplit ce sacrifice redoutable, lorsqu'il touche de ses mains le maître de l'univers, où le placerons-nous selon sa dignité? dites-moi! Quelle pureté lui, demanderons-nous, quelle piété? Pensez donc, combien ses mains doivent être pures et combien

cette langue, qui prononce de pareilles paroles doit être bien gardée? Et son âme, qui reçoit le saint Esprit, ne doit-elle pas être plus pure et sainte, que celle de tous les autres? Car dans cette heure les anges sont placés à côté du prêtre et tous les ordres célestes s'écrient à haute voix et le sanctuaire est rempli de leur présence, puisqu'ils sont là, pour honorer celui qui repose sur l'autel! . . . Et vous ne tremblez pas," dit-il de sa propre personne, "de vouloir introduire à un sacrifice aussi saint et à la dignité du prêtre une âme comme la mienne, qui est revêtue de vêtements sales, et que le Christ rejettera du repas nuptial? Car l'âme du prêtre doit briller comme une lumière, qui illumine le monde entier! Mais notre âme est couverte de ténèbres, parce que nous avons une mauvaise conscience!" En somme, les six livres entiers sur le sacerdoce sont une preuve de cette vérité. Car S. Chrysostome avait fui l'ordination sacerdotale par humilité, et pour se défendre il écrivit ces livres, pour dire combien le ministère sacerdotal était redoutable et combien il en craignait la responsabilité. Tout cela nous dit donc que le prêtre doit être tout-à-fait saint! Un homme d'une telle pureté de vie, de telles vues entièrement surnaturelles, rempli d'une telle connaissance des écritures, le plus grand homme de son temps, redoutait de n'être pas assez digne et de n'être pas suffisamment préparé pour s'approcher de l'autel.

Le diacre à côté du prêtre distribuait d'après l'ancienne coutume la sainte communion. Lui aussi doit être rempli de vertu à cause d'un office aussi élevé, qui lui est confié. Dans l'homélie 82 (83) sur S. Matthieu, qui parle de la dernière cène et de l'institution du Saint Sacrement, S. Chrysostome adresse une exhortation bien grave aux diacres, et il leur dit: "C'est en cela (dans la distribution du S. Sacrement) que vous devez chercher votre dignité! C'est par là que vous vous trouverez rassurés! C'est ceci qui vous procure votre couronne, non que vous vous promeniez dans l'église revêtus d'un vêtement blanc et resplendissant!" Il leur dit donc bien clairement qu'il ne suffit pas de porter le vêtement qui les distingue, mais qu'il faut se distinguer par la vertu. En outre ceux qui distribuent le saint mystère au peuple doivent accomplir ce ministère avec beaucoup de précaution et surtout

bien faire attention de ne jamais donner la sainte communion à ceux qui ne sont point dignes. Leur responsabilité sur ce point-là est bien grande. S. Chrysostome dit donc aux diacres dans cette exhortation déjà citée: "J'ai parlé au peuple qui reçoit la communion! Mais voici que je vous adresse la parole à vous, diacres, qui la distribuez! Car il est bien nécessaire, que je vous parle, afin que vous distribuiez ces dons avec beaucoup de précaution! Une peine, qui n'est pas petite, vous attend: si vous savez que quelqu'un est méchant et vous lui donnez tout de même la sainte communion, Dieu demandera le sang de cette âme de vos mains! Si celui qui s'approche de la sainte communion est un chef d'armée, si c'est un préfet, si c'est même l'empereur, qui ceint son front du diadème, et que vous voyez qu'il s'approche indignement, empêchez-le, car en ce moment vous possédez une puissance qui est plus grande que la sienne! Si on vous avait ordonné de garder une source d'eau pure et sans tache, afin qu'un troupeau de brebis puisse en boire, et que vous voyiez ensuite une brebis s'approcher dont la bouche est remplie de boue, vous ne permettriez pas qu'elle vienne et qu'elle salisse la source! Mais maintenant on ne vous a pas confié une source d'eau, mais la source du sang du Christ et des grâces du saint Esprit, et vous voyez des hommes s'approcher qui sont souillés du péché, qui est plus laid que la boue, et vous n'êtes pas rempli de colère et ne voulez pas les empêcher de venir. Si vous agissez ainsi, quelle excuse trouverez-vous? Dieu vous a honoré par ce ministère, afin que vous sachiez distinguer les gens, qui sont dignes, de ceux qui ne le sont pas! Mais vous dites pour vous excuser: comment puis-je connaître celui qui est digne et celui qui n'est pas digne? Mais je ne vous parle donc pas des hommes que vous ne connaissez pas, mais de ceux qui vous sont déjà connus! Je vous dirai donc une chose très effrayante: Ce n'est pas un aussi grand mal de voir des gens possédés du démon dans l'église, que de voir les pécheurs communier indignement et, ainsi comme le dit Paul, de fouler le Christ aux pieds et de considérer le sang de l'alliance comme une chose ordinaire, et de se moquer de l'esprit de la grâce! (épître aux Hébreux, x. 29). Car, celui qui a péché et s'approche tout de même de la communion est pire que celui qui est possédé du démon!

. . . . Faites donc bien attention, vous qui distribuez ces mystères, de ne pas provoquer la colère du Seigneur, parce que vous ne savez pas purifier le corps du Christ, qui est l'église! Ne donnez pas le glaive au lieu de la nourriture, en donnant la communion à quelqu'un qui est indigne! Si un homme qui est en état de péché s'approche par ignorance, empêchez-le, ne craignez point! craignez Dieu, mais pas l'homme! Si vous craignez l'homme, il se moquera de vous! si vous craignez Dieu, vous serez vénérable, même aux hommes! Si vous n'osez pas vous-même, vous diacre, rejeter celui, qui veut communier indignement, conduisez-le auprès de moi, qui suis prêtre! Je ne lui permettrai pas de commettre une chose aussi audacieuse! Je perdrai plutôt ma vie, que de lui donner le sang de notre Seigneur, s'il en est indigne! Plutôt je répandrais mon propre sang, que de donner le sang de notre Seigneur d'une manière qui ne convient pas!"

Si c'est le clergé et principalement le prêtre qui accomplissent le mystère de l'Eucharistie, c'est le peuple qui se trouve présent pendant le saint sacrifice. Il a donc le devoir de venir à la sainte messe et d'y assister avec respect. Combien de fois S. Chrysostome se plaint-il des fidèles, parce qu'ils se tiennent absents de l'église! Il est vrai qu'alors il parle ordinairement de la prédication. Etant prédicateur, il désire beaucoup voir le peuple assemblé à ses pieds, non pour être honoré, mais pour instruire le peuple et le conduire au salut. En même temps il se plaint qu'on ne vienne pas à la célébration de l'eucharistie. Dans la septième homélie sur S. Matthieu, par exemple, il parle de la vertu des mages, qui se rendirent à Béthléem pour adorer l'enfant Jésus. Il invite de même les fidèles à venir auprès de l'autel où le saint sacrifice se célèbre et qui devient par là même une crèche mystique. "Abandonnez donc, comme les mages, le peuple juif et cette ville de Jérusalem, qui est troublée à cause de l'arrivée du Seigneur, et le roi Hérode, qui veut tuer l'enfant divin, et les pompes de ce monde, et dépêchez-vous de vous rendre à Béthléem, car c'est là que se trouve la maison du pain spirituel![1] Si vous êtes un pasteur comme ceux de Béthléem et que vous venez là, vous verrez l'enfant dans sa crèche! Si vous êtes un roi, comme Hérode, et que vous ne venez pas là,

[1] Le nom Hébreux de Beth-lachem désigne "la maison du pain."

votre pourpre royale ne vous apporte aucun fruit! Si vous êtes semblable aux mages, personne ne vous empêche de venir! Seulement il faut venir, pour adorer et vénérer, et non pour fouler aux pieds le Fils de Dieu! Il faut le faire avec tremblement et joie en même temps! . . . Qui d'entre vous a entrepris à cause du Christ un aussi long voyage que ces mages, qui étaient des barbares et pourtant plus philosophes que tous les philosophes de ce monde, vous qui avez reçu de lui des bienfaits sans nombre? Mais que dis-je, que vous ne voulez pas entreprendre un aussi long voyage, pour arriver auprès du Christ? Il y a bien des femmes, qui sont tellement relâchées, qu'elle ne veulent pas même traverser une seule rue pour trouver le Christ reposant dans cette crèche mystique, sans monter sur des mulets! D'autres gens préfèrent se précipiter dans les soucis de ce monde, ou aller au théâtre, au lieu de se rendre à l'église! Vous abandonnez le Christ, que vous voyez reposer ici dans sa crèche, pour admirer des actrices au théâtre. Combien de foudres ne méritez vous pas, en agissant de la sorte! Dites moi donc: si quelqu'un vous promettait de vous conduire au palais impérial, et de vous montrer l'empereur lui-même, assis sur son trône, est-ce que vous préféreriez aller au théâtre au lieu de voir ce spectacle? Et cependant vous n'en rapportez aucun fruit lorsque vous avez vu l'empereur! Mais ici de la table de l'autel une source mystique de feu jaillit, et vous abandonnez cette table pour courir au théâtre! Vous abandonnez la source du sang du Christ et ce calice redoutable, et vous vous rendez auprès de la source du diable!"

S. Chrysostome demande de même qu'on assiste complétement et non seulement en partie au saint sacrifice. Il y avait des gens à Antioche, qui se contentaient d'assister au sermon et quittaient l'église après cela, sans participer aux mystères. Ils entendaient donc la messe des catéchumènes, mais ils ne prenaient pas part au sacrifice proprement dit. Notre prédicateur les en reprend fortement dans sa troisième homélie "Sur la nature de Dieu, qui est incompréhensible": "Puisque j'ai parlé maintenant de ce qu'il faut prier pour ceux qui sont possédés du démon, je veux encore vous dire une autre chose, mes bien-aimés, et je veux chercher à chasser de l'église

une maladie bien grave. Il ne serait pas convenable si nous cherchions à guérir avec beaucoup de soin ceux qui sont en dehors de l'église, et si nous ne nous occupions point des fidèles, qui sont les membres de notre corps. Quelle est donc cette maladie, dont je veux parler? C'est celle-ci. Je vois une multitude innombrable, qui est assemblée ici et écoute avec attention la prédication! Mais ensuite à cette heure du sacrifice, qui est la plus redoutable, je cherche à découvrir la même multitude, et je ne la trouve plus! En voyant cela, je dois profondément gémir, de ce que les fidèles montrent un pareil soin lorsque un simple homme qui est leur collègue dans le service de Dieu, parle, et que le désir d'entendre est tellement grand qu'on se presse mutuellement et qu'on attend jusqu'à la fin du sermon, mais que l'église devient vide et solitaire, lorsque le Christ lui-même doit apparaître dans les saints mystères! Une pareille conduite, comment peut-elle mériter le pardon? A cause de cette légèreté vous perdez même le mérite que vous aviez acquis par votre soin et votre attention en écoutant la prédication. Car qui ne blâmera et vous et moi, lorsqu'il verra que le fruit de la prédication est tout de suite perdu? Si vous écoutiez le sermon de la manière qui devrait être, alors vous montreriez ensuite par vos œuvres le même soin à accomplir, ce qui a été dit! Mais cette circonstance que vous vous enfuyez, après avoir écouté, est une preuve que la parole n'est pas entrée dans votre cœur! Si elle avait pénétré votre âme, vous le garderiez et elle vous conduirait à l'assistance de ces mystères redoutables et elle vous remplirait de piété! Maintenant vous entendez simplement le prédicateur comme on prête l'oreille à un joueur de harpe! Et lorsqu'il a cessé de parler, vous allez dans vos maisons, sans en avoir rapporté aucun fruit! Mais quelle est l'excuse vaine, dont beaucoup se servent pour justifier une pareille conduite? Ils disent: Je peux prier à la maison comme à l'église! Mais je ne peux point écouter des homélies et des instructions chez moi! Vous vous trompez bien, mon cher! Il est possible de prier à la maison, mais il est impossible d'y prier de la même manière qu'à l'église, où se trouve une telle multitude de pères (de prêtres ou d'évêques), où tous envoient leurs cris vers Dieu!"

Il y en avait d'autres, à ce qu'il parait, à Constantinople, qui abandonnaient l'église avant les prières d'actions de grâces, qui s'accomplissaient après la communion. Dans une des homélies sur l'épître aux Hébreux (je ne trouve plus dans ce moment l'endroit, qui m'est connu), S. Chrysostome compare ces gens à Judas et à sa conduite à la dernière cène du jeudi saint. Il s'excuse à l'avance et leur dit des paroles qui sont à peu près semblables à celles-ci: "Je vous proposerai une comparaison qui vous paraîtra dure et qui cependant correspond à la vérité. Judas sortit du cénacle, avant que l'hymne d'action de grâce fût prononcé! Et qu'est ce qu'il devint en dehors du cénacle? Un traître. De même certaines gens abandonnent la maison de Dieu et n'attendent pas les prières qui correspondent à cet hymne d'action de grâces!" La même chose à ce qu'il paraît, arrivait à Antioche! Et dans l'homélie sur l'institution du saint sacrement (82 sur S. Matthieu) le prédicateur commente les paroles de l'évangile. "Ils chantèrent l'hymne et se rendirent au mont des oliviers!" Il reprimande d'abord ceux qui ne disent point d'action de grâce après leur repas quotidien. Mais ensuite il parle de la sainte messe et dit: "Notez bien ces paroles, vous, qui pendant la célébration des mystères n'attendez pas que la dernière prière soit dite, car elle correspond à cet hymne d'action de grâces, qui fut dite dans le cénacle. Le Christ a remercié son Père avant de donner le sacrement à ses disciples, afin que nous apprenions de même, à le célébrer avec actions de grâces! Il l'a remercié une seconde fois et a chanté l'hymne après la célébration du mystère, afin que nous fassions encore la même chose!"

Mais il ne suffit point d'être présent de corps à la célébration des mystères et d'en attendre la fin; il faut encore avoir un maintien respectueux, et être rempli de religion et de piété. Dans la quatrième homélie "Sur la nature de Dieu, qui est incompréhensible," le saint docteur reproche au peuple d'Antioche le manque de respect dans son attitude. Il en référe d'abord à l'homélie précédente, dans laquelle il a reprimandé ceux, qui s'en vont, lorsque la prière pour des énergumènes (ceux qui sont possédés du démon) est dite. Il se sert de ces termes: "Cette autre fois j'ai grondé ceux, qui sont

absents pendant cette prière! Maintenant je veux blâmer ceux, qui se trouvent dans l'église même et qui y restent, pas parce qu'ils restent, mais parce que, lors même qu'ils restent, ils ne se conduisent pas mieux que ceux qui se trouvent en dehors, et tiennent des discours entre eux dans cette heure si redoutable! Que faites-vous là, mon ami! Vous voyez tant d'hommes qui sont les prisonniers du diable et qui sont vos frères debout dans votre voisinage, et vous parlez de choses qui ne vous regardent pas? . . . Ne craignez-vous point que, puisque vous êtes tellement négligent et léger, un de ces démons sorte des énergumènes et se précipite sur vous et trouvant votre âme vide et nettoyée, entre en toute sûreté, parce qu'il a vu, que la porte de la maison n'est pas fermée?"

Il est vrai que ces paroles se rapportent spécialement à la prière pour les énergumènes, qui se dit pendant la messe. Chrysostome explique ensuite les paroles que le diacre prononce dans la liturgie orientale: "Tenez-vous debout avec ordre!" et il dit: "Ces paroles n'ont pas été ordonnées sans raison, ni en vain! Mais nous devons élever nos pensées, qui se traînent à terre! Nous devons rejeter loin de nous cette négligence, qui provient des affaires de ce monde et élever notre âme tout droit envers Dieu!" Il dit ensuite de la prière pendant les mystères: "Pensez donc, où vous vous trouvez debout et avec quelles personnes vous allez invoquer Dieu! Ce sont les chérubins qui prient avec vous! Pensez donc à ceux qui chantent avec vous, et cette seule pensée suffira pour vous réveiller, si vous considérez que vous, qui vivez entouré de chair, avez l'honneur de chanter le Seigneur de toutes les créatures avec les puissances célestes, qui existent sans corps! Personne donc ne doit prendre part à ces hymnes mystiques et saintes, en étant dissolu! Que personne en ce temps là ne pense aux choses de ce monde! Mais qu'il se transporte entièrement au ciel, comme s'il se trouvait déjà dans le voisinage de ce trône de gloire, comme s'il volait avec les chérubins! C'est ainsi, qu'il doit prononcer cette hymne très sainte en l'honneur du Dieu de gloire et de majesté! C'est pour cela qu'on dit qu'il faut se tenir debout avec ordre, car cela ne veut dire rien d'autre, sinon de se tenir ainsi debout de la manière dont l'homme doit se tenir

debout devant Dieu, c'est-à-dire, avec crainte et tremblement, ayant l'âme sobre et éveillée!"

S. Chrysostome demande encore que le peuple soit non seulement libre de distraction et attentif, mais il veut encore qu'il prenne une part active aux mystères. Dans les anciens temps de l'église le peuple avait une connaissance plus complète de la liturgie et des formules de prières. On répondait donc directement aux paroles du prêtre; on chantait les cantiques sacrés. Notre prédicateur ne veut nullement, que le peuple soit passif ou se tienne dans une léthargie complète, mais il lui attribue un rôle très élevé dans la célébration du culte. Il dit dans la dix-huitième homélie sur la deuxième épître aux Corinthiens: "Il y a des moments, où il n'existe aucune différence entre le prêtre et les fidèles, qui lui sont soumis, comme par exemple, lorsqu'il s'agit de recevoir la communion des mystères redoutables! Ce n'est pas comme dans l'ancienne loi, où le prêtre mange une nourriture sacrée et que le peuple n'a pas le droit de prendre ce que le prêtre prend! Un seul corps et un seul calice nous sont offerts à tous. Mais dans les prières du sacrifice même on peut voir que le peuple doit beaucoup y contribuer. Lorsqu'on prie pour les énergumènes et pour les pénitents, les prières se font en commun de la part du prêtre et de la part des fidèles. Tous disent ensemble une seule prière, qui est remplie de piété! Lorsqu'ensuite nous avons chassé de l'enceinte sacrée tous ceux qui ne sont pas capables de participer à la table sainte, il faut dire une autre prière et pour cela tous nous nous prosternons et tous nous nous levons en même temps! Lorsqu'il s'agit de donner et de recevoir le baiser de la paix, tous nous nous baisons de la même manière! Et lors même que les mystères redoutables s'accomplissent, le prêtre prie pour le peuple, et le peuple de son côté pour le prêtre, car la réponse que les fidèles disent: 'avec votre esprit,' ne signifie rien d'autre que cela. Lorsqu'on prononce la prière d'action de grâce (préface) on agit de nouveau en commun. Car le prêtre ne remercie pas Dieu pour lui seul, mais tout le peuple le fait avec lui. Seulement lorsque le prêtre a entendu les paroles du peuple, qu'il est convenable et juste de remercier Dieu, il commence ses actions de grâces! Et pourquoi vous étonnez-vous, si le peuple parle avec le prêtre, puisqu'il envoie

ses prières vers Dieu, en chantant avec les chérubins mêmes et les puissances célestes? Tout cela je l'ai dit, afin que chacun des laïques se réveille et que nous apprenions par là, que tous nous ne formons qu'un seul corps, et qu'il y a seulement une différence entre nous, comme un membre du corps se distingue de l'autre et que nous ne laissions point tout au prêtre, mais que nous aussi, nous ayons des soucis pour l'église entière, puisqu'elle n'est qu'un corps commun!"

Je ne veux pas parler en détail des rites de la sainte messe, et des formules de prières que l'on peut rencontrer dans les sermons de S. Chrysostome. Si on voulait étudier cette question à fond, on verrait combien la forme de messe, qui s'exerçait du temps de ce saint docteur, est semblable à la liturgie de l'église grecque, comme elle s'accomplit encore de nos jours. Je ne veux non plus parler de cette liturgie de la messe, qui porte le nom de notre docteur, et que la tradition lui attribue comme auteur. Vous savez bien qu'à Rome on a honoré la mémoire de S. Chrysostome en présence du S. Père par ce rite de messe, qui a été accompli par le patriarche Grec-Melchite. Dans les jours de notre congrès on célèbre de même à la cathédrale de Westminster une fois la sainte messe selon ce même rite. Mais si je voulais parler de cette liturgie, il faudrait encore examiner la question historique et critique, si ce formulaire spécial de prière a vraiment quelque chose à faire avec S. Chrysostome. Mais, si notre prédicateur veut que les fidèles soient présents à la sainte messe, la participation au saint sacrifice consiste surtout pour lui en la sainte communion. C'est tellement la règle, qu'on doit communier, que S. Chrysostome considère presque l'assistance à la messe sans la communion comme inutile. Dans sa troisième homélie sur l'épître aux Ephésiens, il s'exprime en ces termes: "C'est en vain que nous célébrons tous les jours le sacrifice, c'est en vain que nous nous plaçons à l'autel, car il n'y a personne qui prenne part pàr à la communion! Vous dites que vous n'êtes pas digne de communier. Mais alors vous n'êtes pas non plus digne d'assister aux prières communes! Vous entendez, comme le héraut (le diacre) s'écrie: 'vous tous, qui êtes pénitents, éloignez-vous!' Mais tous ceux qui ne communient pas, sont dans l'état de pénitence! Et si vous

êtes en état de pénitence, vous ne devez pas communier! Pourquoi dit-on, que tous ceux-là s'en aillent, qui ne sont pas capables de prier, et pourquoi restez vous tout de même audacieusement debout? Mais peut-être n'êtes vous pas du nombre de ceux qui ne sont pas capables de communier, mais qui peuvent le faire, mais qui n'y pensent pas? Alors vous considérez la communion comme une chose de rien." On voit bien par ces paroles que S. Chrysostome pense que c'est une espèce de désordre d'assister à la messe si on est en état de communier sans le faire.

Pour ce qui concerne la fréquence des communions, notre docteur combat surtout fréquemment l'habitude de communier à certaines fêtes, non pas parce qu'il pense qu'il ne faut pas honorer les fêtes, mais parce que la communion ne doit pas dépendre du temps, mais de l'état de l'âme et de la bonne préparation. Celui donc qui est indigne de communier, le sera de même aux fêtes de Pâques ou de l'Épiphanie, où tout le monde a la coutume de communier. Mais celui qui est bien disposé, le sera de même en dehors des fêtes. Si donc quelqu'un mène une mauvaise vie, il ne doit jamais communier, car il commet un sacrilège à Pâques, comme aux autres jours de l'année. Dans sa cinquième homélie sur la première épître à Timothée, Saint Jean parle d'abord de la communion indigne, ensuite il ajoute: "Mais vous dites: Comment puis-je communier indignement ou être châtié à cause de cela, si je ne m'approche qu'une fois par an! Justement ceci est le mal, que vous mesurez la dignité de vos communions d'après des espaces de temps et non d'après l'état du cœur! Vous croyez que c'est un acte de piété de ne pas communier fréquemment, et vous ne savez pas que la communion indigne souille votre âme, même si elle n'arrive qu'une seule fois, et que la communion digne vous sauve, même si elle s'accomplit souvent! Ce n'est pas une audace de s'approcher souvent, mais de s'approcher indignement, même si l'on ne vient qu'une fois par an. . . . La fête pascale se célèbre toute l'année. Vous qui êtes déjà initiés aux mystères,[1] vous savez ce que je veux dire. Le sacrifice s'accomplit le vendredi, le samedi, le dimanche, et les jours des martyrs, car il est dit: Chaque fois que vous mangerez

[1] C'est-à-dire: ceux qui sont déjà baptisés.

ce pain et que vous boirez ce calice, vous annoncerez la mort du Seigneur! Donc le Seigneur n'a pas limité le sacrifice à des périodes de temps! Mais pourquoi donc appelle-t-on cette fête spéciale Pâques, s'il en est ainsi? C'est parce que le Christ a souffert à cette occasion pour nous! Que personne donc ne s'approche d'une manière de la communion le jour de Pâques et d'une autre manière à d'autres jours. C'est toujours la même force, la même dignité, la même grâce, un seul et même corps qui sont présents. Le mystère n'est pas plus saint le jour de Pâques et pas moins saint un autre jour! . . . Le jour de Pâques a seulement cette prérogative, que le jour de la grâce a pris son commencement en lui et que le Christ a été immolé en lui, mais quant à la célébration des mystères il n'a aucune prérogative pour soi!" De même, dit-il, pour combattre les observations judaïques, dans sa troisième homélie contre ceux qui observent le jeûne avec les Juifs: "Le Christ ne nous a pas commandé d'observer des jours, mais au contraire il nous a délivré de cette obligation! Entendez ce que Paul dit! Mais, lorsque je parle de Paul, je veux dire le Christ, car c'est le Christ qui a enseigné l'apôtre à parler ainsi. Donc que dit Paul? 'Vous voulez de nouveau observer des jours, des mois, des périodes de temps et des années! Alors je crains d'avoir travaillé en vain parmi vous' (Épître aux Galates iv. 10 et 11). A un autre endroit le même apôtre dit: 'Chaque fois que vous mangerez ce pain et que vous boirez ce calice, vous annoncerez la mort du Seigneur' (Épître aux Corinthiens xi. 26). En disant ces paroles "chaque fois" l'apôtre a donné le libre choix des jours à celui qui veut communier et nous a délivrés de toute observation de certaines dates. Car la fête de Pâques et le Carême ne sont pas la même chose. Le Carême ne s'accomplit qu'une fois par an, mais la fête de Pâques se célèbre trois fois par semaine, et parfois même quatre fois, ou plutôt autant de fois que nous le voulons, car la Pâque ce n'est pas le jeûne, mais l'oblation et le sacrifice qui s'accomplissent à chaque réunion des fidèles! Pour vous prouver qu'il en soit ainsi entendez Paul dire: 'Le Christ a été immolé comme notre agneau pascal' (Épître aux Corinthiens v. 7), et 'chaque fois que vous mangerez ce pain et que vous boirez ce calice, vous annoncerez la mort du Seigneur.'

Donc chaque fois que vous vous approchez de la communion avec une conscience pure, vous accomplissez la fête pascale, non lorsque vous jeûnez, mais lorsque vous prenez part à ce sacrifice!"

Dans sa magnifique homélie pour le jour de l'Épiphanie ou sur le baptême du Christ, le prédicateur se plaint de nouveau de ceux qui par une pure habitude viennent à cause de la fête, et il dit: "Je sais bien que beaucoup d'entre nous accouront aujourd'hui à cette table sainte à cause de l'habitude qui enseigne de venir pour la fête. Mais, comme j'ai déjà dit bien des fois, il ne faut point observer les fêtes, lorsqu'on veut communier, mais il faut purifier la conscience, car celui qui est souillé et impur, n'a plus le droit de recevoir la communion le jour de fête. Au contraire celui qui est pur et a lavé ses souillures par une pénitence sincère a le droit de recevoir la communion des mystères divins et de se rassasier du don divin, les jours de fête et toujours. Mais je ne sais pas comment il arrive que quelques-uns ne font pas attention à ceci. Ils sont remplis de péchés sans nombre! Mais ils voient la fête s'approcher, et, comme si l'habitude qui s'attache à ces jours les forçait, ils touchent les mystères saints! Et ils sont dans un état d'âme qui ne leur permettrait pas même de les regarder! Ceux d'entre eux qui nous sont connus, nous les repousserons à tout prix! Mais ceux qui ne nous sont pas connus, nous laisserons à Dieu, qui connaît les secrets de chacun, le droit de les juger!"

Quoique S. Chrysostome combatte cette habitude, de s'approcher par pure coutume, certains jours de l'année, de la sainte communion, lors même qu'on ne se trouve pas dans un état d'âme convenable, il adresse tout de même avec prédilection aux fidèles des instructions sur la sainte communion les grands jours de fête. Il parle ainsi de l'eucharistie dans son homélie pour la fête de Noël, qui commençait alors à s'introduire en orient, dans son homélie pour le jour de Pâques, dans celle même du vendredi saint, car il paraît que de ce temps-là on communiait le soir de ce jour. Le prédicateur s'exprime de cette manière: "Puisque nous allons voir ce soir celui qui a été cloué à la croix, immolé et sacrifié comme un agneau, approchons-nous de lui en tremblant, avec grand respect et piété!" On peut dire que S.

Chrysostome était favorable à la communion fréquente, et la désirait. Même lorsqu'il gronde de la manière la plus terrible ceux qui communient indignement, il a bien soin de dire qu'il désire en soi qu'on communie fréquemment, mais dignement! Sa doctrine sur ce point pourrait se résumer en ces paroles: "N'osez jamais communier, aussi longtemps que vous vous trouvez en état de péché mortel! Mais lorsque vous vous trouverez libre du péché et bien préparé, communiez tres souvent; plusieurs fois par semaine, même peut-être tous les jours!"

La grandeur du péché de la communion indigne est un des sujets de prédilection traités par ce grand prédicateur. Il en parle en des termes qui font frémir et qui doivent inspirer la crainte. Il a étudié profondément la doctrine de S. Paul! Il a médité cette parole de l'épître aux Corinthiens, que quiconque mange et boit indignement s'attire la sentence de la condamnation. En expliquant dans ses homélies sur cette épître ces paroles de S. Paul, dans la vingt-huitième homélie, il dit: "Celui qui mange et boit indignement, mange et boit son propre jugement! Que dites vous donc, Paul, par ces paroles? Cette table, qui est la cause de tant de bonnes choses et qui répand la vie, doit être cause du jugement? Paul nous répond: Ce n'est pas par suite de la nature de cette table, mais de la mauvaise conscience de celui qui s'en approche, qu'il en est ainsi. Comme l'arrivée même de notre Seigneur, qui nous a apporté tant de dons, a condamné ceux qui n'ont pas voulu recevoir le Seigneur, de même ce mystère devient l'occasion d'une condamnation plus terrible pour ceux qui le reçoivent indignement. Pourquoi mange-t-il son propre jugement, celui qui agit ainsi? Parce qu'il ne sait pas distinguer le corps du Seigneur d'autre chose! C'est-à-dire, il n'examine pas, comme il convient, il ne considère pas la grandeur des dons que nous sont proposés. Si vous saviez bien qui est celui qui se trouve sur l'autel, qu'elle est sa dignité et à quelle pauvre personne il se donne, vous n'auriez besoin d'aucune autre exhortation, mais cette seule considération suffirait pour vous réveiller complétement, si vous n'êtes pas tombé dans un état d'âme désesperé!"

Dans la septième homélie sur S. Matthieu, notre docteur compare ceux qui communient indignement à Hérode, qui veut

tuer le Christ: "Faites bien attention que vous ne soyez pas semblables à Hérode et que vous ne disiez point que vous venez pour adorer le Seigneur, lors même que vous venez, en vérité, pour le tuer! Car ceux qui reçoivent les mystères indignement sont semblables à Hérode, car il est dit qu'un tel soit coupable du corps et du sang du Seigneur (première épître aux Corinthiens xi. 27). Ces gens portent dans leur cœur un tyran, qui afflige le royaume du Christ et qui est plus impie qu'Hérode, c'est Mammon!"

Dans l'homélie sur l'institution du saint sacrement, 82 (al. 83) sur Matthieu, il parle surtout de ce crime de la communion indigne, parce qu'il voit Judas présent à la cène et au cénacle. Il dit donc: "C'est pour cela que nous devons toujours être sobres, car ce n'est pas une petite peine qui menace ceux qui communient indignement! Considérez bien, quelle colère vous enflamme contre Judas le traître et le peuple Juif, qui crucifia le Seigneur! Mais faites bien attention que vous ne soyez non plus coupable du corps du Christ! Ceux-là ont massacré son corps très saint, mais vous le recevez dans une âme souillée, après avoir reçu tant de bienfaits. Que donc aucun Judas ne soit présent, qu'aucun avare se trouve ici, que seul celui qui est un disciple du Christ ose s'approcher, car les autres ne sont pas admis à cette table, puisque le Christ dit: "C'est avec mes disciples que je veux célébrer la fête pascale" (Matt. xxvi. 18). S. Chrysostome avait même une fois fortement troublé et effrayé le peuple par une prédication sur la communion indigne, en traitant des paroles connues de S. Paul. Il dut se défendre dans une autre homélie et expliquer pourquoi il avait parlé ainsi. C'est cette homélie qui porte comme titre: "Qu'il ne faut pas prêcher pour plaire aux oreilles des auditeurs." Il commence de suite par cette parole! "La dernière fois, à ce que je crois, je vous ai suffisamment frappé et je vous ai infligé une plaie assez profonde! Cette fois il faut que je vous guérisse et que j'emploie des remèdes qui soient plus doux! Car c'est la meilleure manière d'exercer l'art médical, de ne pas seulement exercer les opérations chirurgicales, mais aussi de soigner les plaies!" Il dit ensuite: "La dernière fois nous vous avions fait entendre la loi que Paul a donnée à tous ceux qui sont déjà initiés au christianisme sur la communion des mystères. Rien

ne nous empêche de la répéter encore une fois. Les termes de cette loi sont donc ceux-ci: 'Que chacun s'examine soi-même et qu'ensuite seulement il mange de ce pain et il boive de ce calice.' Ceux qui sont initiés aux mystères comprennent ce que je dis, et quel est ce pain et quel ce calice. Ensuite il est dit dans cette loi: 'Celui qui mange et boit indignement, sera coupable du corps et du sang du Seigneur.' Nous vous avions cité cette loi et nous l'avions interprétée selon le sens même des paroles. Nous avions dit ce que ces mots signifient, c'est-à-dire l'homme qui communie indignement souffrira la même peine que ceux qui ont crucifié le Christ! Comme ceux qui ont tué le Seigneur étaient coupables de son sang répandu, de même ceux qui reçoivent indignement la communion des mystères.' Mais cette parole vous semblait très exagérée et cette menace insupportable. Pour mieux expliquer l'affaire, nous avions encore ajouté une comparaison, qui paraissait bien correspondre à la chose. Nous avions dit: 'Si quelqu'un déchirait la pourpre du roi et la couvrait de souillures, il aurait commis un crime contre le roi même, qui en est revêtu. De même en est il de la communion indigne. Ceux qui ont tué le corps du Seigneur et ceux qui le reçoivent avec un cœur impur se moquent de la même manière du vêtement royal! Les Juifs ont déchiré ce vêtement sur la croix, et celui qui le reçoit avec une âme impure le couvre de souillures. Si donc la manière d'agir des deux est différent, tout de même l'injure est au fond la même.' Cette parole avait blessé beaucoup de monde et troublé plusieurs d'entre vous! Cette parole mordait la conscience de mes auditeurs, mais encore plus la conscience du prédicateur, car l'instruction s'adresse communément à nous deux, et les plaies sont communes à nous deux! C'est pour cela que je rechercherai des remèdes communs pour nous deux!" Dans sa modestie, S. Chrysostome craint lui-même d'avoir communié indignement. Ensuite toute l'homélie traite, à cause de cela, de l'office du prédicateur, "qui doit dire la vérité et ne pas cacher les plaies et les fautes et qui doit dire ce qui est nécessaire, mais non ce qui fait plaisir."

Parmi les différents péchés qui empêchent la communion ou la rendent indigne, un des principaux est celui des hostilités. Il faut donc absolument se réconcilier avec son ennemi et vivre

en paix avec lui, pour être en état de communier dignement. D'une manière très solennelle notre docteur en parle dans la vingtième homélie adressée au peuple d'Antioche. Elle fait partie des vingt-et-une homélies dites "Des Statues." Le peuple d'Antioche avait renversé les statues de l'empereur Théodose le Grand et de son épouse défunte. La ville était menacée de périr par la colère impériale. Dans ces circonstances le prédicateur chercha à consoler le peuple et à lui enseigner ce qui était utile, par ces homélies, qui appartiennent aux ouvrages les plus célèbres de Chrysostome. Il dit: "Voici que je vous annonce et que je vous rends témoignage et que je m'écrie à haute voix: que nul ayant un ennemi, ne s'approche de cette sainte table, ni ne reçoive le corps du Seigneur! Que personne ne s'approche, qui a un ennemi! Vous avez un ennemi? Ne venez point! Voulez vous venir, réconciliez vous avec lui et ensuite vous pouvez venir et toucher les mystères. Plutôt ce n'est pas moi, qui vous le dis, mais le Seigneur, qui a été crucifié à cause de nous. Il n'a pas hésité à se laisser immoler et à répandre son sang, afin de vous réconcilier avec son Père, et vous ne voulez pas vous réconcilier avec celui, qui est votre collègue dans le service de Dieu, lui dire une seule parole! Vous ne voulez pas courir le premier auprès de lui! Entendez donc ce que le Seigneur dit de ceux qui pensent ainsi:—"Lorsque vous présenterez votre offrande sur l'autel, et que vous vous souviendrez que votre frère a une rancune contre vous, allez d'abord vous réconcilier avec votre frère!" (Matt. v. 23). Il n'a pas dit: "Attendez jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne chez vous, appelez quelqu'un d'autre!" mais il a dit: "Courez vous-même auprès de lui." Le saint docteur traite ensuite longuement de la réconciliation. De même parle-t-il de ce sujet à la fin de la vingt-septième homélie sur la Genèse ou le premier livre de Moïse. Il dit: "Lorsque vous aurez accompli tout cela (lorsque vous vous serez réconcilié avec votre ennemi), alors vous pourrez vous approcher de cette table sainte et redoutable avec une conscience pure et vous pourrez dire les paroles de la prière en toute confiance! Ceux qui sont initiés aux mystères savent ce que je veux dire!"

Mais S. Chrysostome ne demande pas seulement l'exemption du péché, pour bien recevoir l'eucharistie. Afin que la communion soit fructueuse, il demande en outre de très bonnes

dispositions spirituelles. Aucune sainteté, aucune vertu, aucune piété n'est assez grande pour bien se disposer à recevoir d'aussi grands mystères. Notre prédicateur, qui a dit d'aussi belles paroles au prêtre qui doit célébrer le sacrifice, dit de même aux fidèles dans la même homélie sur l'institution du saint sacrement: "Celui qui veut participer à ce sacrifice, ne doit-il pas être plus pur que tous? La main qui divise cette chair ne doit-elle pas être plus brillante que chaque rayon du soleil, et de même la bouche, qui est remplie de ce feu mystique, et la langue qui est empourprée de ce sang redoutable? Pensez donc, quel honneur vous a été donné. A quelle table vous devez prendre part! Nous sommes nourris par ce corps, devant lequel les anges tremblent et sur lequel ils n'osent pas porter leurs regards sans crainte, à cause des éclairs de splendeur qui en sortent! Et nous sommes unis à lui et nous devenons avec le Christ un seul corps et une seule chair!"

Dans la liturgie orientale le prêtre montre avant la communion le sacrement aux fidèles et s'écrie: "Les saintes choses appartiennent à ceux qui sont saints!" Ces paroles donnent à notre docteur l'occasion de parler de nouveau de la sainteté qui est nécessaire, lorsqu'on veut bien communier. Dans les homélies sur S. Matthieu (je ne trouve pas le passage en ce moment) il parle une fois de la soif, que le Christ éprouvait, lorsqu'il était assis auprès du puits de Sichem et lorsqu'il parla à la Samaritaine. Il dit ensuite que le Christ a soif de nous voir saints. C'est pour cela qu'il est dit à ceux qui veulent s'approcher des mystères que les saintes choses appartiennent à ceux qui sont saints. C'est cette chose unique que le Christ désire avant tout. Dans la dix-septième homélie sur l'épître aux Hébreux, le saint docteur explique cette même exclamation de la liturgie de la manière la plus belle. "Le prêtre s'écrie à haute voix, en criant d'une manière qui inspire la crainte, il élève ses mains vers le ciel, comme un héraut qui veut annoncer une chose, il se trouve en un lieu élevé, tout le monde peut le voir! Un silence redoutable règne alors dans l'assemblée! Et lorsqu'il s'écrie ainsi, il appelle les uns à la sainte communion et il renvoie les autres. Il ne les chasse pas de ses mains, mais par les paroles de sa langue, qui sont plus puissantes que les mouvements des mains! Cette parole

touche nos oreilles comme une main! Elle repousse ceux qui ne sont pas saints et invite les autres qui sont saints. . . . Lorsqu'il dit: 'Les saintes choses appartiennent à ceux qui sont saints,' alors il veut dire, 'si quelqu'un n'est pas saint, qu'il n'ose pas s'approcher!' Il ne dit pas seulement 'Celui qui est pur et libre du péché,' mais 'Celui qui est saint,' car ce n'est pas seulement l'exemption du péché qui nous rend saints, mais la présence du Saint-Esprit en nous et la richesse des bonnes œuvres! Le prêtre dit avec ces paroles: 'Je ne veux pas seulement que vous soyez libres de souillures, mais que vous soyez blancs et beaux.' Si même Nabuchodonosor, le roi de Babel, lorsqu'il a choisi pour son service des jeunes gens prisonniers parmi les Hébreux, n'a pris que ceux qui étaient beaux et gracieux d'aspect, d'autant plus devons-nous, en nous approchant de la table royale, être beaux selon l'âme, avoir un ornement d'or, une robe pure, des sandales royales et une belle figure, et la ceinture de la vérité autour de nos reins! Si quelqu'un se trouve dans ces conditions qu'il s'approche et qu'il touche ce calice royal."

Celui qui veut communier doit donc se préparer soigneusement par la pénitence, s'il en a besoin, et par des exercices pieux. Les quarante jours du Carême avant Pâques sont surtout considerés par le saint prédicateur comme un temps de préparation à la communion pascale. Mais il dit de nouveau à ceux qui ne communient que par habitude le jour de Pâques, que puisqu'ils mènent une mauvaise vie, ces quarante jours ne leurs suffiront pas non plus à se purifier des crimes qu'ils ont accumulés pendant le reste de l'année. Le moment où le fidèle s'approche des mystères mêmes est un moment redoutable et saint! Il faut donc avant tout que dans ce moment-là on édifie le prochain, on se conduise très bien et que tous les désordres soient éloignés de cette action importante. C'est un sujet sur lequel S. Chrysostome parle bien des fois. Ainsi dit-il dans l'homélie sur le cimetière et la croix, prononcée le vendredi saint: "Ne voyez-vous pas les anges, avec quel respect ils se sont placés auprès du sépulcre du Sauveur, qui était vide, dans lequel le corps de Jésus ne se trouvait plus! Et tout de même, parce que ce sépulcre avait auparavant hébergé le corps du Rédempteur, ils l'ont entouré de respect! Donc les anges, qui surpassent

notre nature en dignité, se tiennent debout avec respect et piété à côté du sépulcre! Mais nous nous ne voulons pas nous approcher d'un sépulcre vide, mais de cette table qui porte l'agneau! Et nous nous approchons avec désordre et pas avec tranquillité! Quel pardon trouverons-nous si nous agissons de la sorte? Je dis cela non sans raison, parce que j'en vois beaucoup s'approcher ce soir de la communion, qui font du tapage, qui crient, qui se poussent les uns les autres, qui sautent, qui disent des injures, et qui, par tout cela, s'attirent plutôt le châtiment que le salut. C'est à cause de ceux-là que je vous adresse cette exhortation. Que faites-vous donc, O homme, qui agissez ainsi? Aussi longtemps que le prêtre se trouve debout devant la table sainte, qu'il élève les yeux vers le ciel, qu'il invoque l'Esprit saint, afin qu'il vienne et touche les offrandes, alors la paix et la tranquillité règnent dans l'église! Mais lorsque l'Esprit-saint a accordé cette grâce, lorsqu'il est descendu, lorsqu'il a touché les offrandes, lorsque vous voyez l'agneau immolé et le sacrifice accompli, alors commencent le tapage et le trouble! Alors vous introduisez des disputes dans l'église! Comment pouvez vous donc goûter ce sacrifice, si vous vous approchez de la table dans un pareil désordre? Il ne nous suffit pas que nous nous approchions de la communion, ayant des péchés sur la conscience, mais nous ne permettons pas même que le moment où nous nous approchons se passe sans faute! Lorsque nous nous disputons et causons du trouble, lorsque nous nous mordons les uns les autres, comment serons nous libres de péché? Pourquoi vous dépêchez-vous tellement en vous approchant, dites-moi! Pourquoi vous hâtez-vous tellement, lorsque vous voyez que l'agneau est immolé! Si vous deviez regarder ce sacrifice pendant toute une nuit, est-ce que cela devrait jamais vous impatienter? Dites-moi! Maintenant vous avez attendu toute la journée et une bonne partie de la nuit, et vous voulez perdre le fruit de toute cette fatigue en un clin-d'-œil! Pensez donc, quelle est cette offrande et d'où elle a tiré son origine! Le Christ a été immolé à cause de vous et vous l'abandonnez lorsque vous le voyez immolé sur l'autel! Le Christ dit: 'Où le corps se trouve, là les aigles s'assemblent!' (Matt. xxiv. 28). Mais nous ne nous approchons pas comme des aigles du corps, mais comme des chiens!"

S. Chrysostome parle de la même manière dans l'homélie pour le jour de Noël, probablement parce que ces désordres arrivaient surtout les jours de fête, où le nombre des communiants était très grand: " Lorsque vous allez vous approcher de cette table redoutable et divine et de ce saint mystère, faites-le avec crainte et tremblement, avec une conscience pure, avec jeûne et prière, sans désordre, sans excès, sans pousser votre prochain, car ces choses-là proviennent de la fierté et d'un mépris extraordinaire! Cette conduite attirera à ceux qui agissent ainsi, beaucoup de peines et de châtiments! Considérez donc, o homme, quel sacrifice vous voulez toucher, de quelle table vous voulez vous approcher! Songez bien que vous n'êtes que terre et poussière et que vous devez recevoir la chair et le sang de Christ. Si un roi vous invitait à sa table, vous prendriez place avec grand respect, et vous goûteriez les mets qui vous sont offerts avec modestie et silence! Mais lorsque Dieu vous appelle à sa table et vous propose son propre fils comme nourriture et que les puissances angéliques se tiennent debout avec crainte et tremblement, lorsque les chérubins cachent leur figure et les séraphins s'écrient avec respect: 'Saint, saint, saint est le Seigneur,' alors vous voulez crier et faire du vacarme autour de ce repas mystique. Ne savez-vous pas, qu'à ce temps là, l'âme doit être remplie de tranquillité, qu'on a besoin de silence, mais pas de tumulte et de colère et de désordre. Voilà les choses qui rendent l'âme qui s'approche de la communion impure! . . . Ne provoquons donc pas, je vous en prie, je vous supplie, la colère de Dieu contre nous! Cette offrande est un remède salutaire pour nos plaies, est un trésor inépuisable et le gage du royaume céleste! Tremblons donc, en nous en approchant! Remercions Dieu! Prosternons-nous devant lui! Confessons nos fautes! Répandons des larmes sur nos égarements! Offrons à Dieu des prières tout-à-fait humbles! Et, après nous être ainsi peu à peu purifiés, alors approchons-nous avec l'ordre qui convient, du mystère, en songeant, que nous nous approchons du royaume des cieux!"

Mais avant tout la foi vive est nécessaire pour communier dignement. Dans la cinquantième homélie sur S. Matthieu, S. Chrysostome dit ces paroles: " Touchons-nous aussi la frange du

vêtement de Jésus comme cette femme hémorroïsse! Ou plutôt, si nous le voulons, prenons possession du Christ entier, car son corps nous est présent, encore aujourd'hui, de sorte que nous puissions en manger et nous en rassasier? Approchons donc avec foi, nous tous qui sommes malades! Si ceux qui ont touché avec foi la frange du vêtement du Seigneur ont senti la force divine, combien plus ceux qui s'emparent du Christ entier! Mais s'approcher avec foi ne signifie pas seulement prendre l'offrande en nos mains, mais encore la toucher d'un cœur pur et penser qu'on s'approche du Christ lui-même. Qu'importe, si vous n'entendez point sa voix? Mais vous le voyez couché sur l'autel, ou plutôt vous entendez même sa parole, car il vous parle par les évangélistes lorsque les écritures sont lues pendant la célébration des mystères. Croyez donc que notre repas est le même que celui que le Christ a célébré! Il n'y a aucune différence entre les deux!"

Outre la foi il faut avoir un grand désir de recevoir le Christ et d'être uni à lui. Dans l'homélie sur l'institution du saint sacrement, déjà citée, le saint nous dit encore: "Que personne ne s'approche avec dégoût et personne avec paresse! Mais que tous soient enflammés, brûlants de feu et remplis d'ardeur! Car si les Juifs, lorsqu'ils mangeaient l'agneau pascal se tenaient debout, ayant des souliers à leurs pieds et des bâtons en leurs mains, et mangeaient en toute hâte, pour exprimer leur vif désir, vous devez encore être remplis de beaucoup plus de ferveur envers notre repas sacré! Car les Juifs avaient seulement l'intention de voyager dans la terre sainte, mais vous voulez voyager au ciel, lorsque vous aurez reçu l'eucharistie!"

Auprès de la table sainte toute distinction entre les hommes doit disparaître, tous deviennent frères, les différences sociales qui divisent les hommes ne jouent plus ce rôle là. C'est ce que S. Chrysostome nous dit de la manière la plus touchante dans son homélie du jour de la résurrection! Le jour pascal était toujours celui, qui unissait le plus les chrétiens. Ce jour-là tout le monde apparaît à la table sainte. Le saint docteur nous dit: "Qu'aujourd'hui aucun pauvre ne soit affligé à cause de sa pauvreté, car il s'agit de célébrer une fête mystique! Qu'aujourd'hui aucun riche ne s'élève dans ses pensées au dessus des pauvres, car il ne peut contribuer en rien par ses

richesses à augmenter la gloire de cette fête. Dans les fêtes mondaines, où l'on sert beaucoup de vin, où la table est remplie, où l'on mange beaucoup, où des choses honteuses se passent, où l'on rit, où toute la pompe de satan se déploie, le pauvre doit naturellement être affligé et le riche est joyeux. Pourquoi? Parce que le riche est assis à une table bien remplie et qu'il se réjouit des délices, et parce que le pauvre est empêché par sa pauvreté de déployer la même largesse. Mais il n'en est pas ainsi dans l'église! Il n'y a qu'une seule table pour le riche et pour le pauvre! Si quelqu'un est riche, il ne peut rien ajouter aux richesses de cette table! Si quelqu'un est pauvre, il ne reçoit pas moins que le riche dans la communion à cause de sa pauvreté, car c'est la grâce divine qui est ici présente! Et pourquoi vous étonnez-vous, si la même table est préparée pour les riches et pour les pauvres? Pour l'empereur même qui a ceint son front du diadème, qui porte la pourpre, auquel la direction du monde entier est confiée, la même table est préparée qu'au mendiant qui est assis pour demander l'aumône. C'est ainsi, que les dons du Seigneur sont distribués. Le Christ ne distribue pas la communion en ayant égard aux dignités mondaines, mais à la volonté et l'état de la conscience! Lorsque vous verrez donc dans l'église le pauvre debout à côté du riche, le particulier à côté du prince, celui qui est méprisé à côté de celui qui se réjouit de recevoir de grands honneurs, celui qui en dehors de l'église tremble devant ceux qui sont revêtus du pouvoir, là dedans sans crainte debout à côté d'eux, alors pensez ce que signifie la parole de l'écriture: 'Le loup paît avec l'agneau' (Isaïe xi. 6). L'écriture appelle ici le riche 'loup' et le pauvre 'agneau.' Comment-doit on comprendre ceçi, que le loup sera avec l'agneau, comme le riche avec le pauvre? Faites bien attention! Le riche et le pauvre se trouvent souvent ensemble dans l'église! L'heure de la communion des mystères divins arrive! Le riche est chassé de l'église, parce qu'il n'est pas encore initié aux mystères, mais le pauvre reste dans le tabernacle céleste! Et le riche ne s'en plaint pas, parce qu'il sait qu'il n'a pas encore le droit de s'approcher des mystères divins! O grandeur de la grâce divine! Il n'y a pas seulement égalité d'honneur dans l'église

entre le riche et le pauvre! Mais souvent le pauvre dépasse le riche en piété et le riche se trouve en dehors de la grâce, parce qu'il n'a point de piété. . . . Pensez, mon bien-aimé, comme il arrive souvent que le maître doit quitter l'église et que son serviteur assiste aux mystères. La maîtresse doit s'en aller et la servante reste, car Dieu ne regarde point la personne de l'homme. Il n'y a dans l'église ni esclave ni homme libre, mais l'écriture ne connaît qu'un seul esclave, celui qui sert le péché . . . L'empereur et le pauvre s'approchent avec la même confiance de la sainte table, en recevant le même honneur, et même le pauvre reçoit souvent plus d'honneur que l'empereur. Pourquoi? Parce que l'empereur est adonné à mille et mille affaires! Il est comme un navire qui est jeté de tous les côtés et il commet beaucoup de péchés! Mais le pauvre ne pense qu'à se procurer la nourriture nécessaire et il mène une vie tranquille et sans soucis et il se trouve comme dans un port, et c'est pour cela qu'il s'approche de la sainte table en grande sûreté!"

Lorsqu'on a reçu la sainte communion on doit de même se comporter avec grand respect. D'après la coutume des anciens temps les fidèles recevaient le saint corps dans leurs mains. C'est pour cela que S. Chrysostome parle toujours de ce que les fidèles "touchent" la sainte eucharistie, non seulement qu'ils la mangent. Dans son homélie pour le jour de Noël il exhorte les fidèles à agir de cette manière, lorsqu'ils auront reçu la communion: "Lorsque nous aurons reçu ce sacrifice immaculé et saint, baisons-le! touchons nos yeux avec lui! enflammons notre cœur d'amour, afin que nous ne nous soyons pas assemblés pour le jugement ou pour la condamnation, mais pour apprendre à notre âme à pratiquer l'abstinence, la charité, la vertu, pour nous réconcilier à Dieu, pour obtenir une paix profonde, pour hériter des biens sans nombre, pour nous sanctifier nous-mêmes et édifier notre prochain!"

La communion ainsi dignement reçue produit dans les âmes des fruits sans nombre. Toute bonne chose rejaillit de cette source. D'abord nous sommes complètement unis au Christ. Combien d'expressions fortes et énergiques notre prédicateur n'emploie-t-il pas, pour nous décrire l'intimité de cette union, laquelle n'a rien de pareille au monde! Il nous dit, que nous sommes unis au Christ, comme la flamme s'unit

à la cire. Le péché est chassé de l'âme, les vertus entrent par la communion bien faite. De la manière la plus sublime, S. Chrysostome parle des effets que le sang de Jésus-Christ produit dans nos âmes, dans la quarante-sixième homélie sur l'évangile de S. Jean. Lorsqu'il a expliqué le sixième chapitre de S. Jean, où l'institution du sacrement est annoncée d'avance par Notre Seigneur, il dit alors: "Ce sang du Seigneur fera refleurir en nous l'image royale de Dieu, il fera naître une beauté qu'il est impossible de décrire, il ne permettra pas que la noblesse de l'âme disparaisse jamais, puisqu'il l'arrose et la nourrit continuellement. . . . Ce sang féconde notre âme et la remplit de grandes forces! Lorsqu'on reçoit ce sang dignement, il chasse les démons et les éloigne de nous. Ce sang invite les anges et même le Seigneur des anges à venir auprès de nous! En voyant le sang du Seigneur, les démons s'enfuient devant nous, les anges accourent auprès de nous. Car ce sang a été répandu et a lavé tout l'univers de ses souillures! Le bienheureux Paul a dit beaucoup de choses sur ce sang dans son épître aux Hébreux. Le sang qui était la figure du sang du Christ a sanctifié dans l'ancienne alliance les lieux impénétrables du temple et le saint des saints! Mais si l'image même du sang du Seigneur possédait une telle force pour purifier le temple des Hébreux et même pour chasser en Egypte l'ange destructeur, lorsque les seuils des portes furent marqués du sang de l'agneau pascal, d'autant plus le sang du Seigneur, que est la vérité même doit être remplie de force. La figure de ce sang a sanctifié dans l'ancienne loi l'autel d'or. Le grand prêtre n'osait pas entrer dans le sanctuaire sans porter du sang avec lui. Les prêtres étaient ordonnés avec du sang. Les péchés étaient lavés par la figure du sang de notre Seigneur. Si donc les figures mêmes possédaient une telle force, si la mort tremblait devant ce qui n'était qu'une ombre, comment n'aurait-elle pas peur de la vérité elle-même, dites-moi? Ce sang du Seigneur est donc le salut de nos âmes! C'est par lui, que l'âme est lavée, qu'elle est enflammée de feu! Ce sang rend notre esprit plus brillant que le feu et notre âme plus resplendissante que l'or, car il a été répandu un jour et il a rendu libre l'accès au ciel! En vérité donc les mystères de l'église sont quelque chose de redoutable! En vérité notre autel est quelque chose de redoutable! Une

source jaillissait du paradis, qui se répandait en quatre fleuves. Mais de cette table sainte jaillit une source qui fait naître des fleuves mystiques. Auprès de cette source sont plantés non des saules peu fertiles mais des arbres, qui montent jusqu'au ciel et qui portent des fruits toujours mûrs, qui ne pourrissent jamais! Si donc quelqu'un est brûlé de la chaleur des passions, qu'il s'approche de cette source, et la chaleur sera apaisée, car cette source nous rafraîchit lorsque nous sommes brûlés, non par le soleil, mais par les flèches enflammées de satan. Car cette source a son origine et sa racine là-haut au ciel, c'est pour cela qu'elle est remplie d'eau. Beaucoup de canaux d'eau jaillissent de cette source, que le Paraclet divin fait naître. Le Fils en est le médiateur. . . . Cette source est une source de lumière, qui fait rejaillir les rayons de la vérité! Les puissances angéliques se trouvent debout à côté de cette source et contemplent la beauté de ses fleuves, car elles connaissent mieux que nous la force de ces offrandes et ces rayons de lumière impénétrable! Si quelqu'un met sa main ou sa langue dans de l'or fondu, si cela est possible, il rend de suite ses membres dorés. La même chose, et quelque chose de bien plus grand que cela, les offrandes sacrées causent en notre âme. Car le fleuve jaillit avec beaucoup plus de véhémence qu'un feu, mais il ne brûle point. Il lave seulement ce qu'il touche. Ce sang a été figuré continuellement dans les anciens temps par les autels, par les martyres des justes. Ce sang est le prix du monde entier! Le Christ a acheté l'église par ce sang, il l'a ornée par ce même sang! Si un homme achète des esclaves, il donne de l'or pour les avoir, et lorsqu'il veut les orner, il les entoure d'or!

"De même le Christ nous a achetés et nous a ornés de son sang. Ceux donc qui ont reçu la communion du sang précieux se trouvent debout parmi les anges et les archanges et les puissances célestes. Ils sont vêtus du vêtement du Christ, ils sont armés des armes du salut! Mais je n'ai pas encore dit quelque chose de grand par ces paroles. Il y a quelque chose de plus grand que cela; ils sont revêtus du roi lui-même! Tout cela est grand et admirable, mais seulement lorsque vous vous approchez en pureté, car c'est alors que vous vous approchez pour votre salut!" Jamais peut-être dans aucune langue humaine quelque chose d'aussi beau n'a été dit ou écrit sur ce

sujet-là. Je dois bien dire que ces paroles perdent beaucoup de leur valeur lorsqu'elles sont traduites dans une autre langue. Il est presque impossible de rendre complètement les pensées de l'auteur sacré sur cette matière.

Mais l'homme doit aussi correspondre à la grâce divine. Celle-ci ne produit point ses effets sans sa coopération. S. Chrysostome sera le dernier de ceux qui nous diront qu'il faut s'appuyer uniquement sur la grâce divine. Esprit très énergique, il a toujours fortement accentué les efforts moraux que l'homme doit accomplir pour son salut. S'il a excédé d'un côté, il n'a certainement pas excédé du côté de la grâce divine, en lui attribuant trop de choses, mais plutôt du côté de la libre volonté humaine, qu'il aime à faire fortement ressortir. L'eucharistie reçue dans la communion impose donc à l'homme les obligations les plus graves. Il est obligé de devenir saint, parce qu'il a été rendu digne de recevoir d'aussi saints mystères. Celui donc, qui a déjà communié est obligé à être bien meilleur que celui qui n'a pas encore eu ce bonheur. Puisque la communion est non seulement une union avec Dieu, mais encore une union mutuelle entre les hommes, elle doit avant tout produire le lien de la charité. De cette manière la communion devient même le fondement de la vie sociale chrétienne, comme elle a été dans les temps des apôtres. Dans la trente-deuxième homélie sur S. Matthieu le saint docteur dit, pour exhorter les fidèles à la concorde mutuelle: "Il y a beaucoup de liens qui doivent nous unir, car il y a une seule table préparée pour tous, un seul Père nous a engendrés, nous sommes nés d'une même mère, la sainte Église, le même breuvage est donné à nous tous! Ou plutôt nous ne prenons pas seulement le même breuvage, mais nous le buvons du même calice! Le Père voulait nous inviter à pratiquer la bienveillance mutuelle, et c'est pour cela qu'il a inventé ce moyen de nous faire boire tous du même calice, ce qui est un signe de grande charité." Dans la même homélie il dit encore: "Nous avons pris part ensemble à la table mystique! Soyons donc de même unis ensembles par la charité de l'âme. Les brigands même, qui mangent à la même table, ne se conduisent pas comme brigands envers leurs compagnons à cause de cela! Quelle excuse aurons nous donc, nous qui recevons continuelle-

ment le même corps du Seigneur et qui ne nous comportons pas même les uns envers les autres, comme des brigands envers leurs compagnons. Beaucoup d'hommes deviennent amis, parce qu'ils habitent la même ville! Ils ne demandent pas même d'être assis à la même table pour s'aimer! Mais nous Chrétiens, nous n'avons pas seulement une ville qui nous est commune à tous, mais la même maison, la même table, le même chemin, la même porte de salut, la même racine du salut, la même vie, le même chef, le même pasteur, le même roi, le même docteur, le même juge, le même Créateur, le même père, et enfin toutes choses noussont communes. Quel pardon mériterons-nous, si nous sommes tout de même divisés!" Les péchés contre le prochain deviennent donc d'autant plus grands, lorsque nous avons communié. Dans la cinquantième homélie sur S. Matthieu, notre prédicateur dit avec emphase: "Entendons ces paroles, nous prêtres et nous laïques. Quel mystère avons-nous reçu? Ecoutons-le et tremblons! Le Christ nous a donné sa chair sainte, pour nous en rassasier! Il s'est présenté à nous en état d'immolation! Quelle excuse avons-nous si nous avons été nourris d'une telle viande et si nous commettons de tels péchés, si nous avons mangé l'agneau et si nous devenons des loups, si nous avons mangé la brebis et nous pillons comme des lions? Ce mystère nous ordonne d'être libres, non seulement de tout péché d'avarice, mais encore de chaque hostilité envers le prochain, car c'est le mystère de la paix!" Jésus-Christ est entré par la bouche dans l'intérieur de l'homme. C'est donc avant tout la bouche, qui doit être sanctifiée par ce mystère. Les péchés de la langue sont d'autant plus grands lorsqu'ils se commettent après la communion. La même bouche a reçu le corps saint, a été empourprée par le sang divin et la même bouche prononce des blasphèmes et dit toutes sortes de mauvaises paroles. Quelle contradiction! S. Chrysostome l'a bien senti. Il dit dans la soixante-dix-huitième homélie sur S. Matthieu, en parlant des vices de la langue et des mauvaises paroles: "C'est une chose affreuse d'avoir une bouche qui ressemble à celle du diable, et d'avoir une langue qui parle comme le démon lui-même, surtout lorsqu'on a pris part aux mystères divins et qu'on a reçu la chair du Sauveur!" Dans la trentième homélie sur la deuxième épître

aux Corinthiens le saint docteur dit que la bouche de l'homme est la porte du temple de Dieu, car c'est par cette porte que le Christ est entré dans la communion. C'est à cause de cela que les fidèles se baisent mutuellement sur la bouche en se donnant le baiser de paix. Mais ensuite il dit: "Que ceux qui prononcent de mauvaises paroles, qui font sortir des malédictions de leur bouche, notent bien ces paroles et tremblent! Qu'ils sachent, quelle bouche ils déshonorent! Que ceux encore qui donnent des baisers voluptueux entendent bien ces paroles!" En somme, tous les autres péchés et désordres moraux deviennent plus grands lorsqu'ils sont commis par celui qui a reçu la sainte communion. On trouvera bien des textes de notre Chrysostome pour prouver ceci.

A la fin, la communion nous impose l'obligation d'exercer toutes vertus, de combattre le démon de toutes nos forces. "Comme des lions, dont la bouche respire le feu, nous devons retourner de cette table sainte et devenir redoutables aux démons eux-mêmes," nous dit S. Chrysostome. En outre, "Nous devons exercer l'aumône après avoir communié, car," dit S. Chrysostome, dans la quatre-vingt-deuxième homélie sur Matthieu, "le Christ se rendit après l'institution du sacrement sur le mont des Oliviers! Et nous, après avoir reçu le Christ, nous devons nous approcher des pauvres, qui étendent leurs mains vers nous, car ceux-là sont des oliviers plantés dans la maison de Dieu, et l'huile désigne la vertu de la miséricorde."

En somme, notre grand docteur a bien reconnu, que la sainte eucharistie est le centre de la vie chrétienne et ecclésiastique, que c'est d'elle que toute vertu et sainteté doivent tirer leur origine. C'est pour lui le mystère fondamental et central de la religion.

On pourrait peut-être à la fin s'occuper encore de bien des questions de détail, qui regardent l'eucharistie et son honneur. On pourrait se demander ce que notre prédicateur enseigne sur les édifices religieux qu'il faut élever pour y célébrer l'eucharistie, ce qu'il pense des vases sacrés, et de la pompe qu'on emploie pour célébrer ce mystère.

Quant aux églises, il enseigne dans une homélie quelle œuvre méritoire c'est de fonder une église et combien le fondateur en retirera de bienfaits spirituels.

Quant aux vases sacrés et à la pompe extérieure, S. Chrysostome n'y attache pas une très grande valeur. Il sait bien que Dieu demande avant tout la sainteté du cœur et de l'âme de l'homme, et que cela vaut mieux que de déployer une grande pompe devant les yeux des hommes. Il dit clairement que c'est une meilleure œuvre de nourrir les pauvres que de faire de grandes offrandes pour avoir dans les églises des objets riches et beaux. Il dit, par exemple, dans la cinquantième homélie sur S. Matthieu: "Ne croyons donc point qu'il suffit pour le salut, si nous avons d'abord pillé les veuves et les orphelins, d'offrir ensuite à l'autel un calice d'or orné de pierres précieuses! Si vous voulez honorer ce sacrifice, offrez au Christ votre âme, car c'est à cause d'elle qu'il a été immolé. Il faut donc que l'âme soit d'or! Si elle est pire que le plomb et l'argile, et les vases sacrés sont d'or, quelle utilité est-ce que cela apporte? L'église n'est point une usine d'orfèvres ou d'argentiers, mais elle est une assemblée d'anges. La table du cénacle n'était pas d'argent, ni le calice, dans lequel le Christ donna son sang à ses disciples, d'or, et tout de même tout était précieux et redoutable, parce que c'était rempli de l'Esprit saint."

Mais lors même que S. Chrysostome attache à ces choses une valeur très secondaire, on ne doit pas penser, qu'il les rejette complètement. Il veut seulement combattre cette religion superficielle des riches de son temps, qui commettaient des injustices sans nombre et qui se croyaient être saints, lorsqu'ils avaient enrichi l'église d'un cadeau ou d'un objet précieux.

Ce que nous avons dit et cité des discours de S. Chrysostome sur l'eucharistie est peu de chose, car les écrits de ce docteur sont un trésor inépuisable. Mais du moins, ce que nous avons considéré, pourra suffire, pour nous démontrer comment d'après ce saint l'eucharistie doit être le centre de notre vie et comme elle doit produire de grands fruits pour le service de Dieu, pour la vertu, pour la sainteté. Comme ce grand prédicateur est une source inépuisable quant à la doctrine sur l'eucharistie, ainsi est-il sous tous les rapports une mine d'or, qu'on ne saurait jamais assez étudier et approfondir. Il faut donc bien espérer que cette année jubilaire de sa mort contribuera à ce but, qui est le plus important de tous, que le saint ne soit pas

seulement vénéré et honoré,—car il ne recherche pas les honneurs,—mais que l'attention des fidèles et surtout du clergé soit dirigée sur cet homme incomparable et sur ses œuvres remplies de sa sagesse, qui resteront fertiles pour le royaume du ciel jusqu'au dernier jour. Voilà donc un témoignage bien ancien, bien solennel, et bien majestueux pour la vérité de l'eucharistie divine! Ce témoignage est beaucoup plus ancien que l'église en Angleterre. Des siècles après la mort de S. Chrysostome le moine S. Augustin navigua en Angleterre, pour apporter la lumière de l'évangile aux Anglo-Saxons, et l'église d'Angleterre fut fondée sur la même doctrine de l'eucharistie, car ce mystère est la pierre angulaire et le rocher qui porte l'église. Cette doctrine de l'église sur l'eucharistie divine que S. Chrysostome nous représente existait donc longtemps avant que la première pierre de cette ville de Londres fut posée.[1] On ne pensait pas même à l'existence de cette ville, qui assemble aujourd'hui dans ses murs et sur son pavé presque le monde entier, et l'Église possédait déjà ce mystère sans lequel elle ne pourra exister. Et s'il y avait un avenir, ce que Dieu veuille empêcher, où cette Europe n'existerait plus avec ses royaumes et ses pays, où personne ne connaîtrait quelque chose de toutes ces grandes villes l'Église resterait toujours triomphante et possèderait cette même doctrine et cette même eucharistie que son roi, son époux, et son maître lui a confiées. Nous avons entendu dans les paroles de S. Chrysostome, le témoignage de l'église d'Antioche, de cette ville illustre, qui d'après l'écriture peut se glorifier que là-bas les disciples du Seigneur furent la première fois appelés Chrétiens. Nous avons entendu de même le témoignage de l'église de Constantinople par la parole de son évêque. Ses paroles ont retenti dans les églises les plus célèbres de l'univers de ce temps-là. C'est le témoignage de l'église de la ville régnante et impériale, de la ville, qu'on appelait la reine des villes. Des bords du Bosphore ce témoignage nous parvint par le chemin de la mer jusqu'à ces plages lointaines des îles britanniques. Ces deux villes ont été, hélas, privées de leur gloire; comme toute grandeur humaine passe, Antioche, une des grandes métropoles de l'univers, est tombée en poussière. Il n'y a

[1] Mais il existait au moins un village de Londres dans le premier siècle.—Éd.

guère plus qu'un village sur son emplacement. Constantinople a été enlevée aux Chrétiens et est devenue le centre de la religion musulmane. Mais la verité n'est pas tombée en poussière avec ces deux villes. Elle n'a pas disparu avec Antioche. Elle n'a pas été faite prisonnière et esclave avec Constantinople. Elle reste toujours libre et triomphante. Le grand Chrysostome doit bien s'affliger, s'il est possible de s'attrister dans les régions de l'éternité, en voyant les lieux où il a deployé son activité, si abîmés et humiliés. Mais sa doctrine et ce qu'il a enseigné a survécu à tout cela, parce que c'est une chose spirituelle et non matérielle, et elle ne mourra jamais. S. Ambroise en parlant du martyre de S. Jean Baptiste dit: "Cette bouche d'or, qui ne contient plus de sang, elle est devenue muette, et tout de même elle parle encore!" De même cette bouche d'or, qu'était S. Chrysostome, elle est devenue silencieuse dans la mort et les lieux où elle a parlé sont devenus morts et silencieux avec elle. Mais sa langue ne se taît point et sa bouche restera une bouche d'or et elle prêchera la vérité jusqu'à la fin des temps. S. Chrysostome nous démontre le culte de Dieu dans sa perfection, car il sait unir en même temps la célébration de l'eucharistie et de la parole de Dieu. Ces deux pains ne doivent pas être separés l'un de l'autre. Ces deux sœurs jumelles ne doivent jamais exister l'une sans l'autre. Personne n'a attaché autant de valeur à la parole de Dieu, à la prédication, à l'explication des écritures saintes, que Chrysostome. On croirait quelquefois, que c'est pour lui toute la religion et tout le culte de Dieu. Et cependant personne encore n'attache autant de valeur au mystère central de la religion, à la vénération de Dieu par la célébration de la divine eucharistie. Voilà donc les deux parties du culte, qui doivent toujours régner en même temps. L'eucharistie sans la prédication n'apportera point tous les fruits que l'on désire aux âmes, et la parole de Dieu sans le pain vivant qui est descendu du ciel et qui donne la vie au monde, deviendra facilement une parole morte, et elle ne sera pas aidée par la grâce de Dieu. Apprenons donc de S. Chrysostome à méditer, à étudier, à prêcher les écritures saintes et la parole de Dieu, apprenons de lui, que l'âme ne peut pas vivre sans ce pain spirituel. Mais apprenons aussi de lui, à estimer, à vénérer le bienfait inestim-

able de la divine eucharistie et à accomplir envers elle tous les devoirs que ce docteur nous enseigne. On peut donc exagérer d'un côté ou de l'autre. Le protestantisme a exagéré d'un côté, en abolissant la liturgie et la vraie célébration du sacrement de l'eucharistie et en laissant la prédication presque comme élément unique du culte. L'église grecque, dont S. Chrysostome est le plus grand personnage qu'elle a fait naître et qui repose sous beaucoup de rapports encore maintenant sur les traditions que ce docteur a enseignées, a, au contraire, abandonné dans les temps postérieurs en grande partie la prédication de la parole de Dieu, pour faire de la liturgie le moyen presque unique de glorifier Dieu et de chanter ses louanges. L'idéal de la religion consiste donc toujours à savoir bien unir ces deux choses et à laisser leurs droits à chacun de ces éléments du culte. C'est alors que nous rendons à Dieu l'hommage, qui lui convient. C'est alors que nous l'adorons, comme le Christ nous l'a enseigné, en esprit et en vérité. Espérons que cette vérité sera de plus en plus reconnue dans les droits souverains qu'elle possède, et qu'elle occupera l'empire sur le monde entier, que la chrétienté s'unira comme dans les anciens temps, dans ce culte de Dieu par le moyen du sacrifice redoutable et de la prédication de la parole divine dans l'esprit de S. Chrysostome. Espérons que le Congrès Eucharistique contribuera un peu à la réalisation de ce but et servira ainsi à la gloire de Dieu, à l'extension de son royaume, et au salut de l'Angleterre et du monde entier!

The Archbishop of Montreal rose to say a few words in support of the address of the Bishop of Metz. He then stated that next year the Eucharistic Congress would meet in Cologne, and in 1910 it would cross the ocean to Canada—"la Nouvelle France"—the land which loves France as its mother, and England to which it owes its freedom. He hoped that many of those present would come to Canada in 1910, and would see for themselves what the Church is doing on the shores of the St Lawrence.

The Bishop of Angers said that Angers was a great centre of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. The government had

tried in vain to suppress processions there. 70,000 men had gathered together to render public honour to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and the government had to give way. He also spoke of the growth of frequent and even daily Communion as a proof of the vitality of religion in France.

CARDINAL FERRARI acknowledged the splendid welcome that England was giving to the foreign members of the Congress. He dwelt on its importance. It used to be said that what happened at Rome was known to all the world. It was still more true that all the world knows what happens in London. Surely this would be a time of blessing to the great city. We might say to London as was said to Jerusalem, *Surge, illuminare:* "Rise up, and let the light shine upon thee." He dwelt on the change between past and present in England. Then he turned to France. He was pleased to see there so many representatives of France, the "eldest daughter of the Church." I came through France from Milan, he said, and in Paris, though it was not a feast day, I saw crowded churches. "The eldest daughter of the Church" is not dead—is not even sleeping. Catholic France is awake, and after having given to the world the spectacle of the most striking acts of loyalty to the Holy See, she is gathering her forces together, united by the common bond of devotion to our Lord in the Sacrament of His love, and drawing strength and endurance from the altar. CARDINAL FERRARI then gave his blessing to the audience and the meeting ended.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At this meeting the chair was taken by Mgr. AMETTE, Archbishop of Paris. He was supported by Mgr. HEYLEN, Bishop of Namur and President of the Permanent Committee of the Eucharistic Congresses, and by the BISHOPS OF ANGERS, ARRAS, HUANUCO (Peru), LUGO, POZZUOLI, S. BRIEUC, VALLEYFIELD (Canada), and VERDUN. Abbot CABROL again directed the proceedings.

LA COMMUNION FRÉQUENTE DANS LES PREMIERS AGES

Par Dom J. Chapman, O.S.B.

La communion quotidienne en Afrique et à Rome au troisième siècle. Témoignages de S. Jérome et de S. Ambroise au quatrième siècle. Les fidèles pouvaient se communier à domicile. On communiait quatre fois par semaine en Cappadoce. En Égypte on emportait la sainte eucharistie chez soi, la célébration de la messe étant plus rare. Les moines et les solitaires communiaient quotidiennement pour la plupart, selon toute apparence. A Antioche la communion était négligée vers la fin du siècle, cependant la communion quotidienne y était encore recommandée. Le relâchement en Orient et en Occident.

Le sujet qui m'a été assigné ouvre un champ si vaste que, même si j'avais les connaissances nécessaires pour le parcourir, les quelques minutes pendant lesquelles je puis vous retenir seraient beaucoup trop courtes pour en prendre une vue suffisante. Je veux donc me restreindre, et ne parler que de deux siècles, des troisième et quatrième de notre ère, et plus particulièrement du quatrième, la grande époque des saints Pères. Sur la période antérieure à ces deux siècles les données nous manquent presque entièrement ; après eux on remarque déjà le commencement du relâchement. Les causes de la décadence importent peu ; car le relâchement est malheureusement chose trop naturelle, trop commune, pour qu'elle demande des explications historiques detaillées.

Puisque nous sommes occidentaux, commençons par l'Église occidentale. D'abord il est certain que la sainte messe était célébrée tous les jours au quatrième siècle en Occident, sauf les vendredi et samedi saints. La coutume n'était pas nouvelle. Au milieu du troisième siècle S. Cyprien offrait le saint sacrifice tous les jours, non seulement à Carthage, mais encore au temps où il se tenait caché pendant la persécution de Dèce.

Or, les fidèles de ce temps là étaient censés communier à la

messe qu'ils entendaient. On voit par là même que la communion aussi était supposée quotidienne ; et en effet S. Cyprien nous le dit à maintes reprises ;—c'est le pain quotidien de l'âme. Il était même plus essentiel de communier tous les jours que d'entendre tous les jours la messe. Souvent, même quand aucune persécution ne sévissait, il eût été difficile pour les fidèles de sortir pour entendre la messe ; mais ils portaient le saint sacrement chez eux, et se communiaient eux-mêmes. Ce serait une erreur de supposer que ce fût là un privilège accordé pour les temps de persécution seulement ; il est certain que cela se faisait également en temps de paix. S. Cyprien parle de cette coutume : une femme qui avait sacrifié sous Dèce vit du feu qui sortait de la pyxide ; une autre en ouvrant la sienne n'y trouva que des cendres.[1]

Cinquante ans auparavant, Tertullien, dans un passage célèbre, suppose qu'après sa mort sa femme pourrait vouloir se remarier à un païen ; parmi les difficultés qu'elle allait rencontrer il cite celle-ci : "Votre mari ne saura-t-il pas ce que vous prenez secrètement avant toute autre nourriture ? Et s'il sait que c'est le Pain, ne croira-t-il pas que c'est simplement ce qu'on l'appelle ?"[2] Dans un autre endroit[3] il dit que plusieurs pensaient qu'il ne fallait pas être présent aux prières du sacrifice les jours de station, c'est-à-dire de jeûne, car le jeûne serait rompu s'ils recevaient le corps du Seigneur. On voit que s'ils étaient présents au sacrifice, ils devaient nécessairement communier. Tertullien leur répond : "Votre station ne sera-t-elle pas plus solennelle si vous vous présentez devant l'autel de Dieu ? Quand vous aurez reçu et réservé le corps du Seigneur, vous aurez assisté au sacrifice, et vous aurez accompli le devoir du jeûne." On voit par là qu'on communiait à la messe, et qu'on emportait ensuite les saintes espèces à domicile. Tertullien semble aussi supposer que la communion est quotidienne, précisément comme le font ses contemporains d'Alexandrie, Clément et Origène.

Nous avons parlé de l'Afrique ; mais les coutumes africaines prenaient le plus souvent leur origine à Rome. Quant à Rome, au commencement du troisième siècle, Hippolyte a écrit sur la communion quotidienne, d'après le témoignage de S.

[1] *De lapsis*, 26. [2] *Ad uxorem*, ii., 5. [3] *De oratione*, 19.

Jérome.[1] Pour le quatrième siècle nous avons beaucoup de preuves qu'on communiait tous les jours à Rome. S. Jérome a entendu dire qu'il en était de même en Espagne. Il veut dire absolument tous les jours; lui-même préférerait évidemment que les personnes du monde s'abstinssent de communier de temps en temps, tel jour où elles se sentiraient moins dignes, et il dit de la coutume romaine de communier à la maison ces jours là: *nec reprehendo, nec probo*,—"je n'approuve, ni ne désapprouve."[2] S. Ambroise, son contemporain, nous montre de même que les fidèles avaient encore l'habitude de porter le saint sacrement chez eux. Il raconte que son frère, S. Satyre, n'étant encore que catéchumène, et se trouvant en danger de naufrage, demanda le divin sacrement à ceux des passagers qui étaient initiés; il le noua dans un *orarium* ou étole, qu'il se passa au cou, et ainsi muni, il se jeta dans la mer, sans accepter même le secours d'une planche. Étant sauvé, il alla trouver l'évêque et se fit baptiser.[3]

A Milan la communion quotidienne était encore dans les habitudes vers la fin du siècle; *Christus mihi quotidie ministratur*, dit S. Ambroise dans un très beau passage.[4] Si les livres *De Sacramentis* sont de ce père, il faut conclure que le relâchement avait déjà commencé, car l'auteur se voit forcé de recommander la bonne coutume avec insistance: "Puisque chaque fois que le Sang est versé, il est versé pour la rémission des péchés, je dois le recevoir toujours, afin que mes péchés soient toujours remis. Je pèche constamment; je dois donc constamment prendre le remède contre le péché." Et ailleurs: "Si c'est notre pain quotidien, pourquoi attendez-vous une année pour le recevoir, comme le font les Grecs en Orient? Recevez tous les jours ce qui tous les jours vous est profitable. Celui qui ne mérite pas de communier chaque jour, ne mérite pas de communier une fois l'an."[5]

Je crois qu'en Afrique, où le donatisme a fait pendant tout le quatrième siècle de si épouvantables ravages, le relâchement avait peut-être fait plus de progrès; mais au temps de S. Augustin la communion quotidienne était encore, non pas

[1] *Epist.*, lxxi., 6.
[2] *Epist.*, xlviii., 15.
[3] *De excessu Satyri*, i., 43.
[4] *In Psalmum* cxviii., hom. 18, 26.
[5] *De Sacramentis*, iv., 6, 28; v., 4, 25; vi., 5, 24.

l'idéal seulement, mais même la pratique habituelle. Ce grand saint dit bien que celui qui n'est pas digne de communier aurait à se faire mettre par l'évêque au rang des pénitents; mais il dit aussi qu'il ne faut pas critiquer les habitudes des autres pays; ceux qui n'omettent jamais la communion sont comme Zacchée, qui reçut le Seigneur dans sa maison avec joie; ceux qui ne communient qu'à certains jours fixes—il veut dire certains jours de la semaine,—honorent le Seigneur avec le centurion qui disait *Domine non sum dignus.*[1] Je crois que ni S. Augustin ni personne de ce temps n'aurait loué une communion rare, telle que celle de tous les dimanches seulement. Même au milieu du cinquième siècle, vers 450, S. Pierre Chrysologue parle encore de la communion comme d'une chose journalière. Cependant, avant la fin du siècle, Gennade de Marseille dit de la communion quotidienne: *Nec laudo, nec vitupero,* "Je ne loue, ni ne blâme:" il préconise la communion du dimanche, à moins qu'on ait affection au péché véniel; dans ce cas il vaudrait mieux s'en abstenir.[2] En comparaison de S. Ambroise c'est presque du Jansénisme!

Tournons-nous vers l'Orient. Le passage classique est la lettre de S. Basile à Cesaréa Patricia:[3] "Il est bon et utile de communier tous les jours et de recevoir le Corps sacré et le précieux Sang du Christ;" telle n'était pas cependant la coutume en Cappadoce: "Ici nous communions quatre fois par semaine,—le dimanche, le mercredi, le vendredi, et le samedi." Il n'y était pas usuel non plus que les fidèles emportassent les saintes espèces chez eux, autrement Cesaréa n'aurait pas demandé à S. Basile s'il était admissible qu'on le fît en temps de persécution: "Évidemment que oui," répond le saint docteur, "car cela se fait encore aujourd'hui." "Tous les moines dans les solitudes où il n'y a pas de prêtre gardent la communion chez eux, et se communient eux-mêmes. A Alexandrie et en Égypte chacun, même des laïques, garde la communion chez lui dans sa maison, et il la reçoit quand il veut."

En Égypte, en effet, le saint sacrifice n'était célébré que le samedi et le dimanche, en dehors des fêtes. Cela n'était évidemment pas assez souvent pour la communion des fidèles, et l'ancienne coutume de la réserve privée existait encore pour

[1] *Epist.*, liv., 1-4. [2] *De eccl. dogm.*, 53. [3] *Epist.*, 93.

les laïques. En Cappadoce, au contraire, la célébration des saints mystères quatre fois par semaine et aux jours de fêtes donnait un nombre de communions qui paraissait suffisant.

Quant aux moines du quatrième siècle, on a tort de conclure que ceux d'Égypte, c'est-à-dire de la Thébaïde, de Scété, de Nitrie, etc., ne communiaient que le samedi et le dimanche. Il est vrai qu'ils n'avaient la messe que ces jours-là,[1] et que les religieuses ne l'avaient que le dimanche. Cependant, il est très sûr que si les Égyptiens laïques prenaient la sainte eucharistie chez eux, à plus forte raison, les moines le faisaient aussi. Le nombre de communions aura sans doute varié un peu, mais il est vraisemblable que la plupart communiaient tous les jours. Rufin nous a conservé les recommandations du plus célèbre abbé de la Thébaïde de son temps, S. Apollonius, père de 500 moines.[2] Il disait que les moines devaient communier quotidiennement, s'il était possible, de peur que celui qui s'éloignerait de la communion ne s'éloignât de Dieu. Il donne cet avis de la même façon qu'il recommande l'abstinence, l'hospitalité, et le reste, sans avoir aucunement l'air de parler d'une chose exceptionnelle. Il paraît au contraire simplement avertir les moines de ne pas laisser tomber une si salutaire habitude. Très probablement c'était la coutume des milliers de moines de la Thébaïde et des autres déserts égyptiens. S. Macaire, nous dit Pallade, reprit vivement une femme mariée de ce qu'elle avait passé cinq semaines sans communier; c'était l'indice d'une négligence coupable.[3] Il y a quelques cas très rares de solitaires qui vivaient privés des saints mystères par leur éloignement des lieux habités ; ordinairement tous accouraient à la messe le dimanche et les fêtes et aussi le samedi. Les monastères avaient presque tous un ou plusieurs prêtres attachés. Quelques solitaires qui ne voulaient pas quitter leurs rochers, s'arrangeaient pour qu'un prêtre vînt dire la messe pour eux toutes les semaines; comme par exemple l'ermite Jean, qui se tenait toujours debout, et ne vivait que de la sainte eucharistie. Il ne communiait que le dimanche, à la messe qu'on venait dire pour lui seul.[4]

[1] Cassien, *Instit.*, iii., 2.
[2] *Hist. mon.*, 7 ad fin.
[3] *Historia Lausiaca*, 17 (éd. Butler, p. 46).
[4] Rufin, *Hist. mon.*, 15.

Au cinquième siècle il est probable que les communions des moines diminuaient déjà. Dans la seconde moitié de ce siècle S. Sabbas se retirait tous les ans loin de son monastère dans quelque lieu écarté pour y faire carême depuis l'Épiphanie jusqu'à Pâques. Il prenait avec lui le saint sacrement, mais il ne se communiait que le samedi et le dimanche. Ces deux jours sont encore aujourd'hui les seuls où le saint sacrifice est offert dans l'église grecque pendant le carême. Tous les autres jours on célèbre la messe des présanctifiés, telle que nous l'avons en Occident le vendredi saint; or, la messe des présanctifiés n'est pas une messe, mais une communion, et à l'origine c'était une communion générale du peuple les jours où la messe était défendue. Nous n'en avons pas de traces en Occident avant les premiers livres liturgiques, qui sont du huitième ou du neuvième siècle, mais le rite est certainement beaucoup plus ancien. A Rome on disait le *Pater*, on trempait une parcelle de la sainte Hostie dans du vin, et on communiait le peuple avec le saint sacrement et avec le vin ainsi consacré. Mgr. Duchesne a conjecturé qu'on doit avoir suivi un cérémonial analogue pour la communion à domicile.[1]

J'ai parlé de la Cappadoce, de l'Égypte, et des moines; il faut dire un mot d'Antioche, la grande capitale de l'Orient proprement dit. Déjà, avant le milieu du quatrième siècle, on avait commencé a ne pas communier au saint sacrifice, puisqu'il fut nécessaire au grand concile d'Antioche en 341 d'ordonner la communion sous peine d'excommunication et de pénitence. Quarante ou cinquante ans plus tard, les sermons de St Jean Chrysostome nous assurent que le mal s'était grandement aggravé. Alors (comme S. Ambroise nous l'a dit), s'introduisait la coutume de ne communier qu'une fois par an, ou bien à l'Épiphanie et à Pâques; et même alors, dit S. Chrysostome, on le faisait sans préparation, par habitude, ou même après avoir commis des crimes.[2] "En vain," s'écrie le grand prédicateur, "le sacrifice quotidien est offert; en vain nous nous tenons à l'autel; personne ne se présente pour communier. Vous n'en êtes pas dignes, dites-vous? Si vous n'êtes pas dignes, il faudrait vous mettre parmi les pénitents. Celui qui ne

[1] *Origines du culte chrétien*, 3e éd., p. 249.
[2] *In Ephes.*, hom. 3 ad fin.

communie pas est en pénitence." En effet, la règle existait encore, quoique mal observée, qu'il n'y avait à ne pas communier que les catéchumènes et les pénitents, qui devaient tous sortir de l'église après les leçons sacrées, et avant la consommation des mystères. On voit que le saint sacrifice était journalier au temps de S. Chrysostome, au moins dans quelques églises de la cité. Les fidèles y venaient surtout le samedi, le dimanche, et aux fêtes des martyrs. Mais pour le saint docteur, qui avait été ascète et disciple de Diodore, l'idéal est toujours la réception quotidienne de l'eucharistie: "Celui qui a bonne conscience doit venir tous les jours à la communion;" dit-il, "celui qui est dans le péché ne doit pas y venir, même les jours de fête."[1] C'est bien la doctrine de S. Ambroise.

Aucune ville n'avait souffert plus de l'Arianisme qu'Antioche. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que le relâchement s'y soit produit plus tôt qu'ailleurs. On en est venu à la longue dans l'église byzantine à la communion annuelle; c'est encore la règle générale dans le schisme russe et grec. Les moines grecs communient plus souvent; ceux du Mont-Athos tous les quinze jours, et même tous les samedis pendant la période du grand carême.[2]

En Occident on arriva lentement à un relâchement semblable. Au commencement du sixième siècle S. Benoît suppose que la messe se célèbre dans le monastère seulement les dimanches et les jours solennels. Ces jours-là tous communiaient. Cette diminution dans le nombre des messes ne dura guère. Bientôt les messes basses se multiplièrent. Il y avait des prêtres, dans la première moitié du moyen âge, qui en disaient plusieurs chaque jour par dévotion. Le sacrement de pénitence subit de grands développements. En même temps les communions des fidèles allaient toujours en diminuant. Le minimum de trois fois par an a été fixé pour la première fois par le concile d'Agde dont S. Césaire d'Arles était président, en 506. Mais la communion quotidienne était encore en usage beaucoup plus tard, quoiqu'elle ne fût plus la règle. A la fin du septième siècle un fragment attribué à S. Théodore de Cantorbéry, moine grec, assure que la règle des Grecs était alors de communier

[1] *Hom. de beato Philogonio.*

[2] De Meester, *Voyage de deux Bénédictins au Mont-Athos* (1908), p. 218.

tous les dimanches; quiconque s'en abstenait trois dimanches de suite était excommunié.[1] Mais le vénérable Bède en 734 recommandait avec ardeur la communion quotidienne "telle que l'Église la pratique en Italie, en Gaule, en Afrique, en Grèce, et dans tout l'Orient." Peut-être le savant moine se base-t-il ici autant sur sa lecture des Pères que sur des données précises par rapport aux coutumes en vigueur à son époque.[2] En tout cas la communion quotidienne ne peut pas avoir été très commune parmi le peuple au huitième siècle. Cependant, au commencement du neuvième siècle, Walafrid Strabon nous assure que de son temps il y avait des personnes qui communiaient plusieurs fois par jour, puisque elles croyaient devoir le faire à chaque messe qu'elles entendaient; d'autres dit-il, pensaient qu'il suffisait de communier une fois; il ne blâme ni les unes ni les autres.[3]

Le diminution continuait malgré ces excès. Enfin au treizième siècle on arrive à l'extrême limite. Le concile de Latran en 1215 fixe le minimum à une fois l'an, c'est-à-dire à Pâques. On ne pouvait pas demander moins. On rencontre à cette époque une idée populaire qu'il n'était pas permis aux gens du monde de communier plus souvent. Mais ce même siècle eut le bonheur de voir une renaissance: le commencement des ordres mendiants, et par là le commencement de la discipline moderne.

Je conclus en disant qu'au grand âge des Pères de l'Église on reconnaissait comme l'ancienne et bonne tradition la pratique de communier tous les jours. En Occident la coutume était en vigueur; en Orient un peu moins, car la chrétienté orientale était plus vieille et, dans ces temps là, plus changeante que celle de l'ouest.

Si l'on pouvait recommander cette pratique aux populations décadentes, moitié païennes, amollies, du quatrième siècle, à plus forte raison peut-on la prêcher à notre excellent vingtième siècle, décadent lui aussi peut-être, moins fertile en grands génies, mais du moins infiniment moins vicieux que le quatrième.

[1] *Capitula*, No. 12 dans le *Spicilegium* de d'Achéry, ix. (Migne, xcix., 955).

[2] *Epist. ad Egbertum*, 15 (ed. Plummer, i., p. 419).

[3] *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, 22 ad fin.

A Paper on "La Communion Fréquente (Pratique)" was read by Rev. A. DE WOUTERS, S.J., Mons (see Appendix F.).

Canon MICHIELS, of Hal, was introduced to the audience by Abbot Cabrol, who reminded his hearers that the Canon had secured for the Congress the loan of the monstrance given by Henry VIII. in his Catholic days to the church of Hal. This monstrance was used for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament held daily during the Congress at the church of SS. Peter and Edward, Westminster. Canon Michiels in a short speech strongly supported the arguments of Father de Wouters' paper.

Père BOUBÉE, S.J., then called attention to an aspect of the Lourdes pilgrimage that is often overlooked. The miraculous cures at Lourdes are world-famous, but it is not generally realised that the place is a great centre of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. This year the number of Communions at Lourdes were likely to reach a million and a quarter. Numbers of miracles had happened during the processions of the Blessed Sacrament or during Mass. One of the most remarkable had occurred this very year, six weeks before. During the Pontifical Mass of the Jubilee of the Apparitions there was an instant and complete cure of an open and suppurating wound. For six months in the year there are processions of the Blessed Sacrament almost daily, and just as when in His earthly life Jesus of Nazareth was passing by, the sick called out to Him to be cured, trying to touch the hem of His garment, so the sick are laid by the side of the roads as the Blessed Sacrament passes, and cures are frequent. Dr Boissarie says that 60 per cent. of the cures are connected with these processions. Another feature of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament at Lourdes is the nocturnal adoration, made not by a few devout people, but by great crowds, who spend the night before the tabernacle. There miracles of grace take place that escape all record. People drawn by curiosity or from some hope of mere bodily advantage receive at Lourdes the grace of conversion, and there make the first of many Communions. Thus we find our Lady of Lourdes leading her clients to her Son.

The BISHOP OF HUANUCO (Peru) formally moved the resolu-

tion, urging the importance of carrying out the wishes of the Holy Father as to the practice of frequent Communion.

M. Emmanuel Farres, the Envoy of the Maronite Patriarch of the Lebanon, addressed the meeting. It had been hoped, he said, that the Catholic communities of the East would be largely represented at the Congress, but the crisis in the Ottoman Empire had made this impossible. He had been directed by the Maronite Patriarch to speak for that Catholic body, whose faith had been kept since the early ages, and who were closely united with the Holy See. The speaker described the efforts made by the Patriarch to improve the education of the Maronite clergy and of the general condition of the Lebanon at this moment —a time of difficulty, but also of great hopes for the future.

Mgr. Amette, the Archbishop of Paris, who was received with an outburst of applause, which, he said, he was sure was an expression of goodwill not to himself only, but to the Church of France, addressed an earnest and eloquent exhortation to all present to try to make frequent and even daily Communion part of their lives. One of the speakers had alluded to their hopes for the twentieth century. "If," said the Archbishop of Paris, "we wish to see those hopes more than realised, let us seek in the practice of daily Communion union with our Lord and with His spirit of self-sacrifice and self-immolation." The meeting closed with the Pontifical Blessing.

THE ALBERT HALL MEETING

Between the close of the afternoon service in the Cathedral and the time fixed for the meeting in the Albert Hall, the interval was not a long one, and as it was well known that late arrivals could not be sure of a place, streams of Congressists were to be seen, between half-past six and eight o'clock, wending their way to the place appointed. By seven o'clock the upper tiers in the hall were getting filled, and steadily the other portions — balcony, stalls, and arena—of the vast building, which holds some eight thousand people, became more and more crowded. A dense throng besieged all the various entrances, hopeless of obtaining admission, but eager to see what could

be seen of the illustrious visitors who were to take part in the proceedings. Within, expectation gradually became more intense, but punctually as the clock struck eight, the doors at the end of the hall, opposite to the orchestra, opened, and the head of the first procession appeared. The abbots of the many religious orders led the way, the Premonstratensians in their white robes being especially conspicuous. After them came the Greek Archimandrite, with his two attendants, and the bishops, headed by the English hierarchy. A goodly number they seemed, as they slowly passed through the arena and took their seats on the platform. After the two hundred or so of abbots and bishops had taken their places, a second procession entered, this time that of the Cardinals. A brief pause, and then at last came the Archbishop of Westminster, preceded by his two secretaries. These were followed at a short distance by two of the Legate's suite, and finally the LEGATE himself, with his two chamberlains in scarlet uniforms, appeared in the entrance. There had been hearty cheering while the procession of abbots and bishops was passing, and more while the Cardinals made their way to the platform; but when the tall form and scarlet robes of the Legate were recognised, the enthusiasm of that vast and exultant audience absolutely knew no bounds. The storm of applause became deafening and seemed every moment to grow louder. The Legate himself was taken aback, and threw up his hands in astonishment as he stood framed in the doorway. Presently, however, he passed lightly down the stairs and walked through the cheering crowd to the platform.

As the representative of the Holy Father, the CARDINAL LEGATE presided. Having taken his seat, with other Cardinals on either side, His Eminence desired the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER to direct the meeting.

His Grace accordingly opened the proceedings. He said:—

Your Eminences, my Lords, Very Rev. Fathers, Rev. Fathers, ladies and gentlemen,—I do not intend this evening

to inflict my voice upon you for many moments. I will confine myself most strictly to the work which his Eminence the Cardinal Legate has confided to me, viz., to undertake the general direction of this great meeting. Therefore, without further preface, I will ask you to sing the hymn "Holy Spirit, Lord of Life."

Mgr. HEYLEN, Bishop of Namur, said:—

Long and eagerly have we looked forward to these days in which both the President of the Permanent Committee and the Committee itself can express the joy which we experience in the arrangement of this great Congress in London. Already we have held congresses in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Palestine, Italy, and Germany, but always we were looking to London. We wished to go there to offer to our Divine Lord a fresh sign of triumph, and to draw upon this country the special blessings which we know will come from the Eucharistic Congress. Many, indeed, are the triumphs which in this country have already gladdened the heart of our Lord, as, for instance, the ever-increasing number of the faithful, the swelling ranks of priests and religious, the constant erection of new sanctuaries in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and the frequent celebration of church festivals; and now we are able to offer in this Congress a new triumph to our Divine Lord. It was a triumph gained in gathering round the Blessed Sacrament in the Universal Church, and it gave them also an opportunity of again expressing their loyalty to the Holy Father the Pope in the person of his Legate. Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops from all parts of the world and the faithful in thousands formed a unique reunion that night, and it would be crowned and brought to a triumphant close by the procession of the Blessed Sacrament next Sunday. Undoubtedly England will derive the greatest advantage from this Congress. Our Catholic brethren, our Catholic people, in the first place, will derive from it an increase of faith and piety. They will find also in this gathering the courage so necessary in our days, which, while rendering them superior to all human respect, will always give them the strength, the faith, and the love to proclaim with great fervour, and with the same enthusiasm their undying love for the Blessed Eucharist. Our non-

Catholic brethren will find in a like manner a great benefit from the never-ceasing prayers, Masses, and Communions offered to God, and also from the edifying example of faith, of piety, of charity, which they will witness, and which will show to everyone that, whilst Catholics are adoring our Saviour, we join with the love of the Blessed Sacrament the love of all our brethren, not only of our Catholic brethren, but also of those who do not partake of our faith or belief in the Real Presence of our Lord in the Mass and Communion.

The first resolution was then proposed by Mgr. DELAMAIRE, Archbishop of Metymna, and Coadjutor with right of succession to the Archbishop of Cambrai:

"This Nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress pledges all who assist at it to promote, by every means in their power, solid and earnest devotion to the Blessed Sacrament of the altar according to the mind and teaching of the Holy Catholic Church."

His Grace said:—

Avant d'aborder le bref discours que j'ai mission de prononcer devant vous, je considère comme un devoir de remercier Sa Grâce, Mgr. l'Archevêque de Westminster, primat d'Angleterre, de l'honneur qu'il m'a fait en m'appelant à prendre la parole ce soir, devant cette incomparable assemblée. Si c'était à ma personne que cet honneur se fût adressé, j'en serais tout confus et presque écrasé, car je ne le mérite pas, mais je devine que Sa Grâce, en m'invitant, a beaucoup plus regardé la grande et glorieuse Église de Cambrai que mon humble personne. Elle s'est souvenue, sans doute, que ce fut à Lille, en 1881, que cette Église prit l'initiative du premier de tous les Congrès Eucharistiques internationaux. Mgr. de Ségur en avait conçu l'idée; Mgr. Ruquesnay, à la veille de sa mort l'avait accueillie avec enthousiasme, et les grands catholiques qu'étaient Philibert Vrau, le comte de Ramas, de Bencque et Champeaux l'avaient realisée. Il y eut 300 prêtres et chrétiens d'élite aux séances de travail dans les bâtiments de l'Université Catholique—4000 hommes prirent part à la cérémonie de clôture dans la vaste église de S. Maurice. Ce fut très beau, très recueilli et très fécond et l'on partit bien décidé à poursuivre avec

ardeur une magnifique campagne d'hommages internationaux à Jésus-Christ dans son divin Sacrement. Merci, Monseigneur, de m'avoir donné l'occasion de dire notre reconnaissance pour ces ouvriers de la première heure; merci également de m'avoir appelé à parler au nom des Catholiques de France et de m'avoir donné l'occasion de cimenter ainsi avec les catholiques d'Angleterre une union qu'un long dévouement mutuel avait si bien inaugurée aux jours mauvais de votre histoire religieuse et de la nôtre. Mais j'ai hâte de venir au sujet de mon discours, à la divine Eucharistie et aux hommages que nous voulons et devons Lui rendre. Ma première parole sur ce sujet sera un cri d'admiration, en face de la splendeur des hommages que l'épiscopat d'Angleterre et ses vaillants Catholiques rendent au divin Sacrement en ces jours bénis. Les Congrès internationaux furent merveilleux à Paris, à Jérusalem, à Bruxelles, à Rome, à Namur, à Tournai, et en maintes autres villes, jamais ils n'eurent l'ampleur et l'éclat que votre piété, Messeigneurs, a su lui donner cette année à Londres. Quel spectacle que celui de ces 50,000, de ces 60,000 Catholiques peut-être, venus de tous les points du globe, conduits par 100 évêques et cardinaux, presidés par l'Eminent Légat de Sa Sainteté Pie X.! Quel spectacle surtout que celui de leur foi ardente et personnelle à la présence réelle de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ dans la Sainte Eucharistie! Ils sont là des milliers de toute race, de toute langue, de toute culture intellectuelle, unis dans une même foi, à la plus mystérieuse de toutes les doctrines, au plus déconcertant de tous les dogmes évangéliques. L'Homme-Dieu a parlé. Il a dit: Ceci est Mon Corps, et nous croyons de toute notre âme que ceci est Son Corps. A qui donc irions-nous porter notre foi, si ce n'est à Lui? N'a-t-il pas les paroles de la vie éternelle? Oui, o Christ Jésus, nous croyons en vous! Oui, o Christ Jésus, nous croyons à votre présence personnelle, substantielle et vivante dans l'humble Hostie de nos tabernacles! Oui, nous vous y chantons, nous vous y acclamons, nous vous y adorons avec toute la conviction et l'énergie dont nous sommes capables. Et dimanche prochain ce sera avec une fierté et une joie délirante que nous vous porterons sur le pavois comme notre divin Roi au milieu de vos fils bien-aimés d'Angleterre, dont la

foi si longtemps comprimée, pourra enfin éclater au grand jour de la place publique, devant les multitudes certainement respectueuses de l'immense cité Londonienne. Cependant, Messieurs, je rêve pour notre Dieu plus grand, plus beau, et meilleur encore. Il faut que ce triomphe que vous Lui avez préparé, il faut que sa royauté que vous acclamez avec tant d'enthousiasme, il faut qu'Il en jouisse pleinement dans l'âme de chacun de vous, dans chacune de vos familles, dans chacune de vos cités, dans chacun de vos peuples, il faut qu'Il les obtienne d'une façon permanente et définitive. Le voulez-vous? Répondez au fond de votre cœur. Voulez-vous de sa royauté éffective? Oui, n'est-ce-pas. La voulez-vous energiquement, vaillamment, sans restriction et sans retour? Oui, encore, n'est-ce-pas? Et bien! si tel est votre amour, si tels sont vos vouloirs, voici les conséquences, lourdes peut-être, mais glorieuses, que ce principe sublime et plein de graces fécondes pose pour vous.

Il faut, Messieurs, que le Christ présent au milieu de vous dans le Sacrement devienne le vrai centre et l'âme de toute votre vie, il faut qu'Il devienne l'objet constant de toutes vos pensées, de toutes vos affections, de toutes vos sollicitudes. Il est l'ami par excellence; il faut que vous usiez le seuil de sa maison, comme le dit l'Écriture, à force de le franchir. Il faut que sa pensée soit votre pensée, sa loi votre loi, ses amours vos amours, ses haines vos haines, car Il a des haines sacrées et sublimes, la haine du mal et du monde qui propage le mal. Mais entrons dans le détail. Vous, ses prêtres, si nombreux ici, et dont la phalange imposante émouvait si profondement les âmes, hier soir, dans la majestueuse cathédrale de Westminster, vous continuerez à considérer son Calice de salut comme la source et la gloire de votre sacerdoce, comme votre joie et votre force immortelles. Que seriez-vous sans Lui? Rien! Et par Lui, vous êtes si grands, si vénérables, si utiles pour le temps et pour l'éternité! Vous le savez, toutes vos bénédictions viennent de Lui! Tous les respects qu'on vous prodigue vont à Lui! Tous vos ministères si nombreux et si féconds tendent vers Lui! Il est l'astre radieux et tout puissant qui et jadis et hier, fit sortir de terre, comme des fleurs merveilleuses au sein des villes, vos splendides Cathédrales; Il est aussi le divin

Soleil qui remplit de lumière, de parfum et d'amour les plus humbles de vos chapelles au fond des campagnes et parmi les infidèles. C'est Lui encore qui console toute douleur, qui panse toute blessure, qui relève toute faiblesse. C'est Lui qui pare le front de vos vierges, qui trempe le courage de vos soldats chrétiens, qui enfante les héros de toutes les grandes causes que vous servez sur la terre. Il aura donc plus que jamais dans vos apostolats de tout nom et de toute langue sa place unique, souveraine, sans égale! Vous serez tous, à l'envi, n'est ce pas, les Prêtres du Très Saint Sacrement, les Prêtres du Cœur Eucharistique de Jésus-Christ! Chefs de famille qui m'ecoutez, vous aussi, vous voudrez faire connaître et aimer votre Dieu dans son Eucharistie par tous les vôtres. Vous ne permettrez pas, j'y compte bien, que l'enfant grandisse sans savoir qui Il est, combien Il est bon, et où Il réside. Puis, vous placerez sous sa loi toute votre vie intime, car Il doit être le maître chez vous d'abord et dans votre intérieur, avant de l'être au dehors. Hommes d'étude et savants de tout ordre, vous voudrez que sa vérité domine toutes vos recherches, contrôle toutes vos découvertes, donne son place à toutes vos conclusions. Toute vérité vient de Lui, vous le savez, et il n'en est pas qui existe contre Lui. Hommes d'affaires qui cherchez l'or, vous l'aimerez, n'est ce pas, plus que votre or. Ce n'est pas pour vous (si vous êtes chrétiens), que vous poursuivez la fortune, ni pour jouir, ni pour dominer—mais pour Lui, car Il est la fin de tout! Cherchez donc de l'or, mais pour que, conquis légitimement, il vous aide à faire régner sa justice et son amour. Pour qu'il vous serve à étendre sur toutes les contrées son règne bienfaisant et salutaire. Hommes d'Etat et puissants d'aujourd'hui ou de demain en vos divers pays, vous qui faites les lois ou qui les appliquez, vous emploierez toute votre influence, vous aussi, à faire régner partout sa vérité, sa loi, sa charité; à faire respecter sa personne, son culte, et son Église. Vous poursuivrez surtout, comme un idéal, le jour où, enfin, des hommages publics et nationaux lui seront rendus comme au seul roi indiscutable et universel. Hommes de toute origine, de toute carrière, de toute valeur vous qui l'aimez et qui le recevez dans son Sacrement—vous vous souviendrez que vous êtes les fils et les disciples de son Cœur. Comme Lui, vous

vous sentirez les débiteurs des petits, des humbles, et des souffrants de la grande famille humaine—et sans regarder à la caste peut-être—vous aimerez tout ce qu'Il a aimé, vous défendrez comme Lui (même au prix de votre répos et de votre vie) tous les faibles, tous les opprimés, toutes les victimes, sous toutes les latitudes et sous toutes les législations.

Voilà votre programme—il est sublime, il est splendide et en même temps je l'avoue il est laborieux et heroïque, mais il n'est certes pas au-dessus de vos forces, car qui obéit à Dieu peut compter sur son aide, car qui se nourrit de Dieu est capable de vivre à la divine. Allez donc, Messieurs, sans crainte et avec enthousiasme à votre mission grandiose. Dieu sera avec vous. A sa table sacrée vous communierez à ses pensées, et à ses amours, nous le disions tout à l'heure, mais vous communierez aussi à sa force toute-puissante. Fréquentez la donc de plus en plus, cette table sainte, car c'est là que vous apprendrez à faire des prodiges—prodiges de sanctification personnelle—prodiges de pacification religieuse; prodiges de régénération sociale, prodiges qui seront votre gloire la plus pure et aussi la gloire de votre Christ adorable et Dieu aimé.

Parmi ces miracles de grâce, Messieurs, il en est un surtout que votre prière constante et universelle au cœur Eucharistique de Jésus-Christ, que votre virile et généreuse piété à son égard, obtiendront certainement un jour. Cette grâce, c'est le retour de la grande et noble Angleterre à l'Église Catholique Romaine, sa mère. Que dis-je, chers Catholiques d'Angleterre, d'Écosse, d'Irlande, vos longues souffrances connues du monde entier et vos prières passées sont déjà exaucées. Le miracle s'annonce, je vois même ces grandes lignes se dessiner à l'horizon de votre histoire religieuse. Si l'on pénètre, en effet, dans les églises et les oratoires de vos frères séparés, qu'y voit-on?—on voit de toutes parts les tabernacles qui se dressent et qui se parent au-dessus des autels—les douces lampes du sanctuaire qui s'allument—les encensoirs qui fument et embaument—c'est tout un peuple qui a faim et soif du Dieu de l'Eucharistie et qui, à genoux, les mains levées vers le ciel, l'appelle et l'attend. *Veni, Domine Jesu, veni, veni cito.* Seigneur Jésus (semble-t-il dire dans sa prière), venez, venez, vite! Rassurez-vous, bien-aimés frères du protestantisme, voici

qu'Il vient et tout à l'heure, demain peut-être, comme à Madeleine la Pardonnée, Jésus de sa voix profonde et douce, de sa voix qui le révèle toujours (la voix de sa grâce), Jésus murmurera à votre oreille la parole de l'amour divin victorieux—Maria! Et vous tomberez alors prosternés en face du vrai tabernacle, celui qui n'est pas vide comme les vôtres aujourd'hui, mais celui qui contient sa vraie et divine humanité—vous criant comme Madeleine jadis au Jardin de la Resurrection —Rabboni, mon Maître, mon bon Maître! Et l'amour aura fait son œuvre et l'Angleterre, oubliant le mauvais rêve de sa séparation, sera revenue enfin aux jours de S. Augustin, du Vénérable Bède et de S. Edouard le Pieux. Elle sera revenue à la Foi Catholique Romaine, cette foi qui fut pendant de si longs siècles et sa gloire très pure et le salut éternel de ses enfants.

His Grace the Most Rev. T. J. Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne, in seconding the resolution, said:—

I take it as a special compliment to the Church in Australia that I am asked to second the resolution so eloquently proposed by the eminent representative of the French Church. This association of the eldest daughter of the Church with the youngest is not without significance in illustrating the Catholicity of the Church in its doctrinal and devotional attitude towards the Blessed Eucharist. There is no circumscription of time, place, language, race, or institution, whether national or political, when there is question of doctrine or essential devotion. In the ecclesiastical history of France devotion to the Blessed Eucharist, both as sacrament and sacrifice, brings us back through all the ages to the very dawn of her Christian life. As early as the Council of Arles, held in 314, at which three British Bishops assisted, three at least of the Canons prescribed what should be observed in offering the sacrifice and administering the Sacrament of the Altar.

The records of the Australian Church, though covering only a century, supply a thrilling chapter to the history of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Not in all the annals of the Church do we find an example of more vivid faith or more pathetic love. The infant Church of Australia, like her Mother the Church of Ireland, was in chains; the first priest who

ministered to the children of sorrow in that far off land, was suddenly seized on in the street in Sydney and forthwith deported to Ireland. The Blessed Sacrament remained in the private house in which he had lodged. For two long years these children of undying faith, assembled in and around that house, Sunday after Sunday, adoring, as long as they might, the hidden God of the Eucharist, whose presence was their only solace, and oh! how earnestly they begged Him to send another zealous labourer into that distant and forlorn portion of His vineyard. The chaplain of a French expedition party having landed at Sydney, in compliance with the law of the Church removed the Blessed Sacrament; but the imperishable faith of the people still brought them Sunday after Sunday to watch, like Magdalene, beside the empty tomb. As long as our Blessed Lord had a home in Sydney, there was light in the prevailing gloom, for from out the tabernacle there came the loving invitation, "Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy burdened, and I will refresh you," and in all their trials there came the consoling assurance, "Lo! I am with you." But when their Divine Lord had been taken away they still assembled in and around the dwelling where His glory had appeared, which was to them a second Nazareth. The house that had given shelter to the Blessed Sacrament became a shrine of inestimable value. The improvised tabernacle became a precious relic. The very woodwork of the room in which the tabernacle reposed was apportioned out, and is to be found to-day as amongst the most precious portion of the furniture and ornamentation of cathedrals, churches, and convents in Australia. The owner of the house, Mr Davis, gave the whole property for Church purposes, and gave a large money contribution also, and now on the site of that house stands a home of the Blessed Sacrament under the invocation of Ireland's Patron Saint, and on the ground adjoining are three homes of the Blessed Sacrament—a Convent of Mercy, a house for the Marist Brothers, and a Monastery of the Marist Fathers.

Nearer home a historic cathedral of this once Catholic land supplies a pathetic illustration of the fate of our Adorable Lord in the Sacrament of His Love. There is a window in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral, and the only portion of the stained

glass that escaped the hammer of the iconoclast is the picture of the flight into Egypt. The window overlooks the tomb of Venerable Bede, whose history tells us of the centuries when the Blessed Sacrament was in honour in England, when from Land's End to John o' Groat's House, belief in the Blessed Sacrament was the possession of every Englishman. From those glories of architectural genius such as Durham, York, and Westminster, which were built as homes of the Blessed Sacrament, our ever-adorable Lord was driven. It was the flight into Egypt renewed. But Herod the persecutor is dead, and the Divine Child has taken up His abode not, indeed, in the old home, but in one that in years not distant will be no unworthy compeer of the historic shrine close by.

Every student of ecclesiastical history knows that devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is a most outstanding fact in Irish church history. In the missionary annals of the Church there are few names, outside the Apostolic College, brighter than that of Colum Cille. To the children of his race that name is fresh and green as if he were still labouring in his monastery at Derry, at Durrow, at Kells, or in Iona. Poet, patriot, lawgiver, he was each, but it is as Colum Cille—the Dove of the Churches, the Saint of the Blessed Sacrament—that his memory is enshrined in Irish hearts. His death was the fitting complement of his life. As he had lived in the presence of his Lord in the Eucharist, so when he found death coming he hastened to the tabernacle and surrendered his soul under the smile of Him who had been his life-long friend, and was now to be his eternal reward: and the love for the Blessed Sacrament which St Colum Cille taught has endured through centuries!

But there came the day when our Blessed Lord was driven from the homes which the generosity and abiding faith of the Irish people had built for Him. Then He found a shelter in the people's hearts. Where in glorious basilica, or in stately cathedral, was ever witnessed such outcome of a people's faith as was shown in penal days in Ireland when on mountain or in glen, along the lonely shore, or in the sequestered cave, the people at the risk of land, liberty, and life, gathered round the "felon" priest as he offered the eternal victim in Eucharistic Sacrifice? The Mass-rocks, desecrated shrines, or traditionary

green-swards, marking the sites of so many homes of the Blessed Sacrament, are still quickened with memories of unconquerable faith and uncompromising devotion to the ever-adorable dweller in the tabernacle. And in the appointed hour the Angel of the Resurrection moved away the stone, and the Irish Church came forth from her living tomb. Her children at once set themselves to gather together the stones of the temple, and homes, as worthy as may be, for the Blessed Sacrament, are again studding the land. Political economists blame the Irish people for their prodigality in church building, but they do not know the secret of Irish faith, nor the depth of Irish love for the Blessed Sacrament. Are the great ones of the earth to have their gorgeous dwellings, and is our Lord's abiding portion to be the mud-wall chapel of former times? Is He not a king, and has He not made good His claim to His kingdom? The metals in the mine, the marbles in the quarry, the pearls in the sea, the choicest wood in the forest, are they not the work of His own hands, and should they not each be asked to do homage to His glory by embellishing a home for their Creator, whose delight is to be with the children of men?

But we who believe in our Lord's abiding presence are bound to cultivate in our own souls, and to promote amongst others, earnest and solid devotion to the Blessed Sacrament by every means in our power. For, whether from a doctrinal or devotional aspect, the Blessed Sacrament is the very life of the Church as a body, and of each of her members. It is the great test of orthodoxy. Now as of old there are many to whom it is a "hard saying," and who, on account of it, go back and walk no more with Jesus. But we reply with St Peter, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." We believe, therefore, and, if need be, are prepared with the divine assistance, to seal our belief with our blood. It has been beautifully said that the star of Bethlehem was the first lamp before the Tabernacle. As the star brought the first Gentile worshippers to the Infant Saviour, so, as those who have most experience in the work of conversions know, the Blessed Sacrament is the most potent influence in leading souls to the Church. From a devotional aspect the Blessed

Eucharist is in the Church what the sun is in the physical world. It is the centre of the sphere, it enlightens, it warms, it vivifies. It gives purity to youth and patience to old age. It is the boast of the Church that it has the gift of making the young heart pure; and why is this, as Cardinal Newman writes, but because she gives them Jesus for their food and Mary for their nursing Mother? Such, then, being the office of the Blessed Eucharist in the Church, we are asked in this resolution to pledge ourselves to promote solid and earnest devotion to it, by every means in our power. This we can do both by word and example. First by word—all true devotion must be intelligently understood before it can be profitably practised. Our first pledge, therefore, must be to make ourselves more perfectly acquainted, through the many helps at our disposal, with the doctrine concerning the Blessed Eucharist, and to spread a knowledge of that doctrine amongst others, according to our opportunities. There is one opportunity common to all; all can circulate, or aid in circulating, the publications of the Catholic Truth Society treating of the Blessed Eucharist. But as example is more powerful and convincing than either the spoken or written word, let us in our own practice manifest to the world the fruits of the faith that is in us. Let us approach frequently the table of the Lord, let us partake often of the Bread of Life and of the Wine that begetteth virgins; yea, let us, as circumstances permit, use that inestimable privilege so strongly recommended by the reigning Pontiff, and daily nourish our souls with that Heavenly Bread by which "if any man eat he shall live for ever." Again, let us pay a visit to the Blessed Sacrament daily; "Ecce Magister adest et vocat te." Let us during these visits, whether short or long, always make acts of adoration, contrition, thanksgiving, and supplication. Let us make some little return of love for the infinite love shown to us by Him whom love keeps captive, day and night, on our altars. Another practice surely pleasing to the Sacred Heart of our Divine Lord is, when passing a church in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, to make a suitable salutation accompanied with a short ejaculatory prayer—an indulgenced prayer by preference. This practice involves an external act of

faith which cannot fail to arrest the attention of non-Catholics and to remind negligent Catholics of their duty to the Blessed Sacrament. It would be desirable if the Catholic Truth Society were to bring out in booklet form all the indulgenced ejaculations and short prayers in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. As the veil that separates us from our Sacramental Lord grows more transparent with the passing years, so may our love for the Blessed Sacrament grow stronger and warmer. When at length shall come the day that the veil will be entirely withdrawn, may it be ours to gaze with unending rapture on the beauty of Him whom we have known so many years as the hidden but, alas, too often the forgotten God of the Eucharist. "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo."

The Most Rev. Paul Napoleon Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal, supported the resolution. He said:—

Le Canada, jadis terre française, aujourd'hui colonie britannique, fidèle au Christ et loyal au Roi, est heureux de joindre sa voix, en cette circonstance solennelle, à celle de l'Australie et de la France. Que Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Westminster veuille bien agréer mes remerciements émus pour l'honneur qu'il m'a fait en m'invitant à prendre la parole devant vous. Que pourrai-je ajouter aux discours éloquents des deux éminents prélats qui m'ont précédé? Mais ne sommes-nous pas ici, tous, en ce moment, qu'un cœur et qu'une âme, et serait-il possible d'exprimer un sentiment de jubilation, de gratitude ou d'espoir qui ne se trouve dans l'âme de chacun? Certes, ce n'est pas une exagération de dire que les regards du monde entier sont à l'heure présente tournés du côté de Westminster. On sent qu'il s'y passe quelque chose de grand. Bien des congrès eucharistiques ont été célébrés déjà. Aucun, ce me semble, pas même celui de Jérusalem, n'a produit une impression aussi profonde qui celui-ci. Presque toutes les parties du monde s'y trouvent représentées. Si des protestations se sont fait entendre, elles n'ont pas été, grâce à Dieu, des protestations nationales: ce qui a dominé partout ç'a été la sympathie et le respect. Combien, parmi ceux qui se sont séparés de nous,

et auxquels nous donnons toujours le nom de frères, nous envient peut-être secrètement, quand ils nous contemplent, notre dogme invariable et notre persévérante unité? Quoi qu'il en soit, pour nous, catholiques, le présent congrès de Londres, c'est comme la rentrée dans son royaume toujours aimé, du divin Roi officiellement banni, il y a des siècles. C'est la nouvelle prise de possession par l'humilité et l'amour de l'ancienne île des saints. Jésus triomphe caché sous la frêle hostie. Déjà les hommages sont commencés; les voûtes de la cathédrale ont retenti des chants pieux; la doctrine eucharistique, celle des premiers âges, celle des Apôtres, toujours la même, a été affirmée avec éloquence; une sainte joie enveloppe la cité, et dans trois jours, Celui qui, depuis si longtemps, n'est sorti dans les rues que dissimulé sous le vêtement du prêtre allant le donner comme viatique aux malades et aux mourants, sera glorieusement porté sous le dais comme aux temps bénis où l'on ne connaissait sur ces rives qu'un même *Credo*. Vraiment, avoir sa place dans ce cortège, c'est plus que du bonheur, c'est une grâce. Les fleurs, dit-on, arrivent avec profusion d'Angleterre et de France, d'Irlande et d'Écosse, des châteaux des riches et des maisons du peuple; elles orneront les édifices, elles joncheront le sol; et combien, parmi elles, sont chargées de messages d'amour et de foi! Ah! que ne nous diriez-vous pas, surtout, vous, fleurs de France, si vous pouviez parler! Seigneur, c'est bien vous qui serez là. Comme autrefois dans la Judée, guérissez, éclairez, consolez, fortifiez sur votre passage ceux qui ont besoin de lumière, de courage et de paix. Et pendant ce temps, dans les temples de tous les pays catholiques, au sein des familles, dans les monastères et les cloîtres, la même prière monte vers le ciel: "Puissent les fêtes eucharistiques de Londres produire les résultats que l'Église en attend." Au Vatican, je crois voir aux pieds de son crucifix notre grand pontife Pie X., priant lui aussi, et confiant au cœur du divin Maître ses douces espérances pendant que son illustre représentant, ici, nous parle et nous bénit en son nom. Notre acte de foi va au pape en même temps qu'à l'Eucharistie, et cet acte de foi solennelle, il y a un bonheur inexprimable à le faire ici, sur les bords de la Tamise, à quelques pas des tombes de nos martyrs, et en face

du drapeau Britannique qui plus qu'aucun autre drapeau aujourd'hui se fait gloire de protéger toutes les légitimes libertés. Jours bénis que les jours qui vont suivre. Au Christ qui nous dira: "Je suis le pain vivant descendu du ciel, celui qui mange ma chair et boit mon sang vivra éternellement," nous répondrons avec Pierre: "Vous avez les paroles de la vie éternelle." Nous nous tiendrons près de Lui pour Le remercier et l'adorer; et, nos grandes fêtes terminées, nous regagnerons nos foyers, résolus de mériter aux yeux de l'Église le titre d'Apôtres de l'Eucharistie. C'est ce que doit s'efforcer d'être le catholique de notre temps; le pape nous l'enseigne et nous le prêche. Faire aimer le Saint Sacrement davantage, faire comprendre qu'il est tout dans la vie du chrétien, amener toutes les âmes qui dépendent de nous à la communion fréquente, selon les sages directions du souverain Pontife, tel doit être le but de nos plus généreux efforts. A l'occasion des fêtes récentes de Québec, auxquelles le roi d'Angleterre daigna déléguer son illustre fils, le Prince de Galles, le S. Père, dans une lettre mémorable, se plut à reconnaître que le Canada est à l'heure actuelle une des nations les plus catholiques du monde. Or, si l'on me demandait la raison de cette situation privilégiée, au milieu de la dégénérescence chrétienne, devenue à peu près générale, je dirais que la principale est dans la solide et profonde dévotion de notre peuple à la Sainte Eucharistie. Si la terre canadienne est encore une terre chrétienne et catholique dans toute la force du mot, c'est qu'elle est une terre eucharistique; à ce titre elle a, ce me semble, le droit de solliciter l'honneur insigne d'un de nos prochains congrès, et je prédis un immense triomphe à notre bien-aimé Sauveur sur les bords du S. Laurent. Je parle de la vieille province de Québec, et ce n'est pas ici le moment ni le lieu de décrire en détail la dévotion de ses habitants pour l'auguste sacrement de nos autels. Accordez-moi seulement la consolation de vous dire que chez nous, dans nos villes, et surtout dans nos campagnes, ceux qui n'accomplissent pas leur devoir pascal sont des exceptions à la règle générale; que la communion fréquente, en honneur depuis longtemps, s'est généralisée depuis les présentes recommandations de Pie X.; que la communion quotidenne se pratique dans les communautés

religieuses et même parmi les élèves de nos collèges et de nos pensionnats; que les associations d'adoration diurne et nocturne sont florissantes, que la dévotion du premier vendredi de chaque mois et des Quarante Heures tient particulièrement au cœur du peuple; que nos processions de la Fête-Dieu sont, tous les ans, de véritables ovations nationales se déroulant dans nos grandes villes en toute liberté sous la protection des autorités civiles; enfin, qu'à Notre Dame de Montréal, le premier janvier, en vertu d'une permission spéciale du souverain Pontife, l'année s'ouvre par une messe dite à minuit, devant le Saint Sacrement exposé, en présence de plus de dix mille personnes, et pendant laquelle se distribuent des milliers de communions. L'Euchartistie, la commuion, l'amour du Tabernacle, voilà bien le feu sacré qu'il est de notre devoir d'entretenir, nous le sentons, surtout dans le cœur de l'enfance et de la jeunesse, pour assurer à notre pays, que l'ennemi du bien travaille, un avenir d'indéfectible foi. Pour moi, ce sera la leçon et la résolution que j'emporterai de ce congrès, et comme chacun de vous, Messeigneurs, Mesdames et Messieurs, je garderai dans mon cœur l'invincible espérance du retour de l'Angleterre entière aux pieds de Jésus-Hostie.

The resolution was then put by the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, and was carried unanimously.

His Grace the DUKE OF NORFOLK said:—

We have just carried in this gigantic gathering a resolution pledging ourselves to continuous and growing devotion to the great Sacrament of the altar, the fundamental cause of our coming together upon this great occasion. That has been moved, and fitly moved, by the prelates of the Church. His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster has allowed me, though I am a layman, to have the honour of moving the next resolution:

"This Nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress proclaims the unalterable fidelity of all its members to the Apostolic See, and their desire to conform themselves in all things to the instructions of the Holy Father."

We all know with what care and devotion the Church

of God surrounds the great mystery of the altar confided to her care; we know that even the tabernacle door cannot be opened without rigid ceremonial; we know the care and precaution taken for guarding the sacred vessels; but if these precautions are taken in regard to what we may call the material aspect of the question, how far more eager is she in her resolve that no evil thought, no evil notions, no thought of disunion, no heretical teaching should extend among the flock of Christ with regard to the great central truth of revelation granted to us. It is this union, this unity of belief, this subjugation of personal ideas to the teaching of the Church, which is the great motive power of the Christian life; and surely when we are gathered together to pay homage to the Blessed Sacrament we ought to keep carefully in our minds the deep reverence which is due to him who, under the guidance of God, is the foremost and outward symbol of the unity of the Church. And if that thought should be in our minds at any time, surely it should be specially so at the present moment when the Vicar of Christ has been calling upon us to look into our own hearts and to propagate and do our best to promote even a closer communion with that great Sacrament than has been practised for centuries past. He has given us those instructions definitely and clearly, and for these reasons the resolution I have the honour and the privilege to propose to you is one which, if it were *not* proposed, would certainly be missed by all in this great meeting. When I look round on this great gathering of Catholics of every race, of every tongue, surely there is no need to find any reason for introducing a resolution pledging our loyalty to the Vicar of Christ. Rather, it is probable that the duty is almost lost in the glad joy with which we adopt a resolution of this kind—for I am sure all of us are thanking God in our hearts that He has been pleased to bless the opening of this Congress with a marvellous manifestation of His goodwill towards us.

I am sure anyone who gazed last night upon that scene in our great Cathedral must have felt that we were watching something which perhaps none of us had looked upon before. We have seen perhaps greater gatherings, a greater pageantry under the dome of St Peter's, pageantry hallowed by long

traditions and embellished by the art of great masters, whose names will never die in the history of art; we have seen great gatherings there, and the very confessionals around the building reminded us how every nation and race could come there to receive the blessing of the sacrament of penance; but I do not think that the scene we were gazing upon last night was one to be rivalled in their recollections. What would it have been but for one fact? It was a grand sight to gaze upon the Legate of the Pope himself, princes of the Church, archbishops and bishops, abbots of the great Benedictine Order, priors, canons, doctors of the Church; it was, I say, a stirring sight, but without that central fact which is embodied in the resolution it would have been only a brilliant but a pointless show. What is the one word which, to my mind, sums up, underlies, and carries forward the great meaning of all we saw last night? That one word was reality. It was because all gathered there were gathered there in joyous and happy loyalty to the Vicar of Christ—meeting with glad and grateful hearts the great prelate whom His Holiness has deigned to send to us. It was because we stood shoulder to shoulder and saw passing before us the pastors of our souls in all the various gradations which the Chief Pastor of souls has founded and has carried on through His Church, that we realised the greatness and the awe-inspiring object of the gathering. I have said just now that I appreciate very much the honour as a layman of being allowed to move this resolution, but I feel it very deeply in the august presence of five Cardinals of Holy Church, and, therefore, feeling how very unworthy my words are, I should like to call to my side an English Cardinal to support me. I wish to quote a few sentences of Cardinal Newman in order that his devotion to the Vicar of Christ may put some fire into my poor words, and because I feel that we, who are in the presence of so many mighty sons of the Church gathered together, should be sorry if we separated without the burning words of the great leader and great helper of souls being heard in our midst:

"He is no recluse, no solitary student, no dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and gone, no projector of the visionary. He for eighteen hundred years has lived in the

world; he has seen all fortunes, he has encountered all adversaries, he has shaped himself for all emergencies. If ever there was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations, whose words have been facts, and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the history of ages, who sits from generation to generation in the Chair of the Apostles, as the Vicar of Christ and the Doctor of His Church. From the first he has looked through the wide world, of which he has the burden; and according to the need of the day, and the inspirations of his Lord, he has set himself now to one thing, now to another, but to all in season, and to nothing in vain. What grey hairs are on the head of Judah, whose youth is renewed like the eagle's, whose feet are like the feet of harts, and, underneath, the Everlasting Arms?"

My Lord Cardinal Legate, you have come to us from Rome from a soil dyed with the blood of martyrs, you come to us from the city of the catacombs, with its great traditions of the sufferings of Christ and the Early Church. We see here on this platform great pastors of souls who have come from every quarter of the globe, and probably there is no quarter where they could not tell us of lives being offered up for truth and duty to God. But if you, my Lord Cardinal and your Eminences, wish to see a soil watered with the blood of martyrs who have given up their lives to God in defence of this specific doctrine of the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See, you have done well to come across that tumbling, troublous sea which surrounds this island; for it is in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, that the proud testimony to the truth of Christ would be upheld. It was not until religious persecution broke out in England that any one had been called upon to sacrifice his life for that great doctrine, but the moment came, and we were ready for it. We gave a Lord Chancellor to the block, we gave a great prelate from the see of Rochester, we gave countless priests—first of all the Carthusians—we gave clergy both regular and secular, and we gave laymen who when called upon to discriminate between the temporal power and the monarchs of our land, to whom Englishmen had always been strenuous and loyal, when called upon to ask themselves where

the temporal power ended and the spiritual power began, knew how in the dim uncertainty of troublous and trying conflicts to cling to the Vicar of Christ. If I have spoken of those days it is in order to call attention to a certain fact, the loving determination of men who have learned from the history of the past to hold true to the traditions of their forefathers who knew how to serve faithfully, and if need be to fight for the privileges of their country and their king.

Let me say that we are loyal Englishmen, because in the past we have passed through the furnace and can now rejoice in the freedom of our generous countrymen. We know and realise there is no greater virtue than to obey, and if I have spoken of those days of persecution, I have passed over long centuries remarkable for fire and confiscation and murder; if I have passed over these days you will not wonder if, when we Catholics come together as we do to-night, it is with glad hearts and feelings of thankfulness to God. The days have passed when people tried to blacken the name of Catholics, and if I still linger upon those records it is because we regard them as interesting specimens of an historic past, and do not look upon them with too black a glance because the freedom of England is perhaps not fully established yet. We do feel that a deep sense of justice has come to us at least. We do not chafe at the small signs which small minds bring before us, but rather we thank with full hearts and deep gladness our countrymen for the liberty we have. There may be many on the platform who do not understand what it is to an English Catholic or Scotch Catholic to see such a gathering as they witness this night. Let our hearts be full of gratitude to God and our countrymen who have allowed it to be. My Lord Cardinal, could you understand that feeling you would know why we love our country and why we love and serve it, and we believe we cannot serve it better than by holding aloft, whether understood or misunderstood, whether welcomed or repudiated or calumniated, that flag of truth which rests upon the rock of Peter. I ask you to pass this resolution with one heart, one voice, in unswerving loyalty, unwearied trust, undaunted determination, with one glad shout of thankfulness that in God's great mercy we are Catholics, and we can lay this offering

of our devotion and loyalty at the feet of our Holy Father Pius X., the ruler of the Church, the Shepherd of our souls, the Vicar of our God.

M. Valentin Brifaut, leader of the Young Catholics of Brussels, seconded the resolution in a fervid speech which contrasted with the calm dignity of his predecessor. He said:—

Malgré l'impuissance où je me sens d'être, comme je le devrais et je le voudrais, l'interprète fidèle de vos sentiments, je suis heureux de pouvoir saluer, en votre nom Monseigneur le Duc de Norfolk que vous venez d'entendre et d'applaudir. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait en ce moment parmi les laïques de la chrétienté tout entière un nom qui soit plus respecté et plus aimé que celui du Duc de Norfolk, premier lord d'Angleterre. C'est qu'appelé par les desseins de la Providence au premier rang de cette aristocratie qui, durant toute son histoire, fut pour l'Angleterre l'inépuisable pépinière de ses législateurs, de ses diplomates, de ses guerriers de l'armée et de la flotte, il n'a pas voulu rester inactif dans l'égoïste jouissance de son rang et de ses honneurs, mais que, considérant sa situation privilégiée comme une charge dont il aurait à répondre devant le Dispensateur de tous biens, il a voulu être dans son pays non seulement par le titre mais surtout par la noblesse de son exemple, la puissance de son activité, le dévouement sans limites de son patriotisme, la dignité simple et profonde de sa foi. Et vous savez combien Monseigneur le Duc de Norfolk s'est montré fidèle à ce noble idéal de vie. Nous le voyons tour à tour servant son pays dans les Conseils de la Couronne où l'appelait aux plus hautes fonctions la confiance si justifiée de son Souverain, promoteur et soutien de toutes les œuvres de foi et de charité, puis abandonnant sans hésiter le département ministériel qu'il dirigeait, sa famille, son pays pour aller au loin exposer sa vie sur les champs de bataille où l'honneur de sa patrie était engagé. Messieurs, ce trait ne nous ramène-t-il pas aux plus beaux âges de l'histoire quand, au cri de *Dieu le veult* répondant aux enthousiastes prédications de S. Bernard et de Pierre L'Ermite, des légions de croisés se levaient pour sauver l'Europe chrétienne des envahissements de l'Islam? Aussi quelle joie pour nous, Catholiques du monde

entier, pour nous les jeunes surtout, de saluer en Monseigneur le Duc de Norfolk, l'héritier et la vivante personnification de ces vertus chevaleresques qui vont tout naturellement jusqu'au sommet de l'héroïsme par ce qu'elles s'inspirent de ce qu'il y a de plus fort au monde pour soulever les grandes âmes: le plénitude du sentiment chrétien. Dites-moi, Messieurs, le peuple qui produit de tels hommes ne doit-il pas regarder l'avenir avec une inébranlable confiance parce qu'il tient en mains le fil des destinées glorieuses.

Et comment ne pas saluer aussi avec admiration et reconnaissance la vieille et joyeuse Angleterre, "Old and Merry England," suivant le formule chère à ses poètes, terre d'hospitalité si cordiale à toutes les infortunes, terre de liberté séculaire dont les merveilleuses institutions ont pu être copiées par ceux qui ont voulu dans les constitutions modernes concilier la liberté pleine et entière de l'individu avec la nécessaire autorité du pouvoir dirigeant? Pays de race hardie et puissante dont les fils ont fait respecter le fier étendard par tous les peuples de la terre et semblent toujours avoir inscrit au cœur le mot d'ordre de Nelson:

"England expects every man will do his duty."

"L'Angleterre attend de chacun de ses enfants qu'il fasse son devoir." Partout où l'ont mené son humeur conquérante et la longue suite de ses victoires maritimes et coloniales, la croix a été plantée et respectée à l'ombre du drapeau.

Français et Belges, qui avons au cours du dix-neuvième siècle arrosé le monde des sueurs et du sang de nos apôtres, nous savons quelle protection leur fut toujours assurée aux Indes, à Ceylan, au Canada, en Océanie, par les représentants de l'auguste souverain qui préside avec tant d'éclat aux magnifiques déstinées de l'immense empire britannique. Oui, peuple d'Angleterre, d'Écosse et d'Irlande, sois fier de la mission providentielle qui te fut confiée, de lancer aux quatre coins du monde, la divine semence de l'Évangile.

Voici qu'après trois siècles d'efforts, de toutes les parties de l'univers, dans ce centre de vie qui est ta capitale, des représentants, prêtres et laïques, pontifes et princes de l'Église Catholique et Apostolique, sont venus proclamer, à la fois, leur gratitude et la vigueur toujours jeune et enthousiaste de leur

croyance au Christ Jésus. C'est le spectacle incomparablement grandiose qu'il nous fut donné de contempler hier dans l'immense basilique, et qui se renouvelle pour nous dans l'inoubliable réunion de ce jour. Réunis ici dans une communauté parfaite de foi, d'amour et d'espoir, famille immense, dont les membres de toutes les races et toutes les latitudes un instant assemblés, seront demain dispersés à nouveau sur les chemins de la vie, nous nous plaisons à célébrer en même temps notre culte au Dieu, trois fois saint, de l'Eucharistie et notre indéfectible attachement au Père commun des fidèles. L'Eucharistie c'est la joie, l'allégresse dans l'amour et la foi. C'est en un congrès comme celui-ci le réconfort pour nos âmes semblable à celui qu'eurent les Apôtres au Mont de la Transfiguration quand le Christ se manifesta à eux dans toute la splendeur de sa divinité. L'Évangile nous résume leur impression profonde dans ce mot de l'Apôtre Pierre: "Seigneur il fait bon ici pour nous, construisons des tentes et restons y." Nous aussi nous aimerions à rester aimant et priant au pied du tabernacle où le Christ Sauveur a voulu dans l'insondable mystère de sa bonté et de sa toute-puissance, rester jusqu' à la fin des temps comme aliment divin et perpétuel réconfort de nos âmes. Mais comme aux Apôtres après la vision bienheureuse, Il nous montre aussitôt la voie de la plaine et le chemin du combat nécessaire pour assurer son règne parmi nous suivant la prière cueillie sur les lèvres divines par les Apôtres, "Thy Kingdom Come." Combat terrible et permanent où nous serions impuissants, isolés, et sans guide, mais où nous sommes forts avec l'organisation puissante de l'Église et la direction sûre que le Christ nous a laissée en la personne de son Vicaire, Notre Saint Père le Pape. Catholiques, nos yeux se tournent vers le Vatican, comme les soldats dans la bataille suivent du regard le moindre geste du général en chef, comme les marins qui au plus fort de la tempête se sentent heureux et rassurés par la subite vision de l'homme qui tient le gouvernail et dont l'énergie tranquille sera victorieuse de la fureur anarchique des éléments. Il y a quelques mois, nos cœurs catholiques étaient dans l'angoisse, cherchant la vraie lumière au milieu des lueurs confuses d'idées contradictoires. Soudain, dominant la tempête qui s'annonçait sans souci des cris de

haine et de discorde, une voix calme s'est élévée; le Pape avait parlé. Comme au lac de Génézareth les flots étaient apaisés et dans toutes les âmes croyantes, la joie est rentrée avec cette sécurité sereine contre laquelle les dernières vagues du modernisme achèvent de déferler impuissantes et vaincues. O! oui, Monseigneur le Duc de Norfolk, nos cœurs battent à l'unisson du vôtre et notre foi commune avec votre foi quand vous nous demandez d'unir nos voix pour acclamer Sa Sainteté Pie X. dans sa paternité d'amour, dans sa royauté de direction, dans son suprême pontificat de gardien infallible de la foi et de la morale chrétiennes.

Eminentissime Seigneur Cardinal, qui êtes ici parmi nous l'emanation et la représentation vivante du Pape, lorsque rentré au Vatican vous rendrez compte à Notre Saint Père de votre Mission au Congrès Eucharistique de Londres vous lui direz: "J'ai vécu là-bas des heures inoubliables, j'ai senti un frisson d'enthousiasme inégalé, j'ai recueilli des témoignages d'indéfectible et filial attachement qui consoleront votre cœur paternel des angoissantes préoccupations d'aujourd'hui. Je dépose à vos pieds, Saint Père, l'hommage, le respect, la soumission des communautés catholiques du Nord et du Midi, de l'Orient comme du lointain Occident. J'ai vu là-bas en un seul coup d'œil les consolantes prémices de la moisson qui se prépare dans les champs confiés par Dieu à votre direction suprême." Oui, mes Frères Catholiques du monde entier, nous repartirons d'ici plus vaillants, plus forts pour le combat de chaque jour. Nous soutiendrons surtout la lutte qui s'impose à nous dans tous les pays du monde sur le terrain de l'école. J'en appelle à vous tous qui êtes pères et mères de famille, à vous, prêtres du Seigneur, qui aurez à répondre des devoirs de votre paternité spirituelle, luttons sans trève pour garder la foi dans ces âmes émanation et continuation des nôtres où Dieu s'est fait un tabernacle par le Baptême et l'Eucharistie. Je le sais bien c'est là une dure tâche, Catholiques d'Angleterre, de France, de Belgique, et d'Italie, nous souffrons tous et durement pour la solution du plus grave mais aussi du plus difficile problème religieux et social des temps modernes. Mais nous supporterons la souffrance et nous mènerons la lutte sans repos et sans défaillance. Nous serons inébranlables soldats pour réaliser

dans notre vie privée, publique et sociale le programme même tracé par N. S. P. le Pape, à l'aurore de son Pontificat Suprême, "*Instaurare omnia in Christo.*"

The resolution having been carried, the CARDINAL LEGATE delivered the following speech:—

Messieurs,—Je me sens pénétré d'émotion par la déclaration éclatante de religieuse piété, si convaincue et si vive, envers l'Eucharistie, qui vient d'être votée par cette grande assemblée. Je ne suis pas moins profondément ému des sentiments admirables de fidélité, d'obéissance, et de dévouement qu'elle a manifesté, avec tant de foi et d'ardeur, pour le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ.

Dès ce soir je me ferai un devoir et j'aurai la douce consolation d'en envoyer, au nom du Congrès, la noble et fidèle expression à notre bien-aimé Pontife et Père, à Sa Sainteté Pie X.

D'ailleurs je ne suis pas surpris, de cette touchante, de cette imposante manifestation. En effet, ce grand pays n'est-il pas avant tout un pays de traditions? Peuple Anglais, vous ne faites que confesser devant le monde et redire au Pape ce que, dans les siècles passés, vos ancêtres ont confessé et ont exprimé à l'envi au Chef Suprême de l'Église. Ne se sont-ils pas, en effet, fait gloire de leur croyance au Dieu de l'Eucharistie, en mettant leur foi au-dessus de toutes les privations, de tous les sacrifices? N'ont-ils pas préféré affronter la prison et la mort plutôt que de laisser violer les droits du Saint Siège et de renier l'autorité du Chef Suprême de l'Église?

Du reste, la race de ces vaillants confesseurs de la vérité n'est pas éteinte: ils se perpétuent ici dans la personne de ces Prélats éminents qui les représentent si dignement et qui sont, sous nos yeux les continuateurs si fidèles de leurs œuvres, les imitateurs de leur foi et de leurs vertus. Je salue parmi eux d'un façon spéciale le digne Archevêque de Westminster, qui a déployé tant de zèle et de prudence, de tact et d'activité, dans la préparation délicate de ce grand Congrès.

Je sais d'avance combien Sa Sainteté aura pour agréable l'expression de vos admirables sentiments.

Parmi toutes les consolations de son Jubilé Sacerdotal, j'ose

affirmer que, entre toutes les autres, celle que vous allez Lui procurer sera l'une des plus douces à son cœur de père; elle s'ajoutera comme une des plus précieuses pour son âme de prêtre à toutes celles que la Sainte Eucharistie Lui a déjà ménagées depuis cinquante ans; ce sera, à ses yeux de Chef de l'Église universelle, un des évènements les plus graves et les plus consolants de son glorieux pontificat.

L'Eucharistie et la Papauté continuent pour nous ici-bas, quoique d'une manière différente, la présence de Jésus-Christ, vie et lumière du monde. Cet hommage adressé en Pape par le Congrès eucharistique, sous l'inspiration du Dieu caché au très Saint Sacrement de l'Autel, réjouira singulièrement celui qui est parmi nous son représentant visible sur la terre. Que Dieu soit remercié et glorifié de vous avoir inspiré ce rapprochement entre ces deux croyances et ces deux amours de vos âmes, qui sont comme les deux dogmes générateurs de la vie catholique: l'Eucharistie et la Papauté.

Je me sens moi-même d'autant plus honoré et reconnaissant envers Dieu de la haute mission que m'a donnée Sa Sainteté, que vous me la rendez plus consolante et plus belle par cet empressement incomparable envers celui qui m'a envoyé.

Je lui redirai combien j'ai constaté la sincérité, l'étendue et l'intensité de votre dévouement pour Son Auguste Personne et pour le Saint Siège.

Ce n'est pas seulement l'unité de la foi autour du même Autel et du même Sacrement que ce Congrès manifeste au monde entier; c'est encore l'unité dans l'obéissance au même Chef, qu'il confesse aux yeux de l'Univers.

Puissent nos frères séparés être touchés de ce grand exemple! Puisse l'Angleterre bien-aimée se retrouver bientôt unie, comme elle le fut pendant les siècles passés, dans la même foi, sous la conduite d'un seul Pasteur!

Et comme gage de ce glorieux avenir je vais, tout-à-l'heure au nom du Saint Père, appeler sur vous les grâces célestes avec la Bénédiction Apostolique.

[TRANSLATION]

I feel thrilled with emotion by the splendid profession of piety towards the Holy Eucharist, so unhesitating and so earnest

in tone, which has just been voted by this great meeting. I am not less deeply touched by the admirable sentiments of fidelity, obedience, and devotion which it has manifested, with so much faith and ardour, for the Vicar of Jesus Christ. This very night I shall make it my duty and shall have the sweet consolation of sending, in the name of the Congress, the noble expression of loyalty to our beloved Pontiff and Father, his Holiness Pius X.

But I am not surprised at this moving and this imposing demonstration. For is not this great country before all a country of tradition? People of England, you do but proclaim and reiterate to the Pope what in past centuries your forefathers have confessed and have expressed to the Supreme Head of the Church. Did they not glory in their belief in God in the Eucharist, by putting their faith above all privations and all sacrifices? Did they not prefer to face prison and death rather than allow the rights of the Holy See to be violated, and deny the authority of the Supreme Head of the Church?

But the race of these valiant confessors of the truth is not extinct; they are still living here in the persons of the eminent prelates who so worthily represent them, and who are, before our eyes, the faithful continuators of their works, the imitators of their faith and of their virtues. Amongst them in a special way I greet the worthy Archbishop of Westminster, who has shown such zeal, prudence, tact, and activity in the delicate work of preparing this great Congress.

I know beforehand how delighted his Holiness will be with the expression of your admirable sentiments.

Amongst all the consolations of his sacerdotal jubilee, I dare to say that, among all others, that which you are about to give him will be one of the sweetest to his paternal heart; it will go to swell, as one of the most treasured by his priestly soul, all those which the Holy Eucharist has already afforded him during fifty years of priesthood; it will be in his eyes, as Head of the Universal Church, one of the greatest and most consoling events in his glorious pontificate.

The Eucharist and the Papacy perpetuate for us on earth, although in a different way, the presence of Jesus Christ, the life and light of the world.

This homage addressed to the Pope by the Eucharistic Congress, under the inspiration of the Hidden God of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, will be a source of special joy to him, who is amongst us His visible representative upon earth. God be thanked and praised for having inspired this bringing together of these two beliefs, and of these two loves of your souls, which are, as it were, the two generative dogmas of Catholic life—the Eucharist and the Papacy.

I am all the more honoured and grateful to God for the high mission entrusted to me by his Holiness, because you make it more consoling and more beautiful by this incomparable enthusiasm for him who has sent me.

I shall tell him how I have seen for myself the sincerity, the scope, and the intensity of your devotion for his august person and for the Holy See. It is not only the unity of faith round the same altar and the same Sacrament that this Congress will witness to the whole world; it is also the unity of obedience to the same Head that it proclaims before the eyes of the universe. May our separated brethren be touched by this great example! May dear England be soon united, as she was in the centuries that are past, in the same faith, under the guidance and guardianship of one Shepherd!

And as an earnest of this glorious future I will now, in the name of the Holy Father, call down upon you heavenly graces by the Apostolic Benediction.

Friday, 11*th September*

THE PONTIFICAL MASS

As on the previous morning, at each door of the Cathedral there might be seen, a good hour before the time when the doors should be opened, a steadily increasing group of Congressists, waiting to pass the helmeted door-keepers. At about half-past eight, the entrance was free to those who had tickets, and the great Cathedral rapidly filled. Yesterday the atmosphere was French, to-day it was the turn of the Teutons. Germans and Dutch, though not predominating, were strongly in evidence. It was the Most Rev. H. VAN DE WETERING, ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT, who celebrated the Mass, but his assistants were taken from the Cathedral clergy. The Mass was that of the Octave of the Nativity of our Lady, the Introit commencing with the well-known *Salve Sancta Parens*, a particularly fine specimen of plain chant, admirably rendered by the Cathedral choir. For the Common, the *Missa Festiva* of the German composer, Ludwig Ebner, had been selected, and fully justified its choice. The offertory piece was Mozart's *Ave Verum.* Needless to say, with Mr Terry conducting and the Cathedral choir singing, the music was faultless.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

SECTION A (ENGLISH)

MORNING SESSION

The chair was taken by CARDINAL FERRARI, Archbishop of Milan. His Eminence was supported by the BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL, who at the Cardinal's desire directed the Meeting, and by the BISHOP OF CANEA, the BISHOP OF PORTSMOUTH, the BISHOP OF SAN CARLOS DE ANCUD (Chile), BISHOP GAUGHREN (Vicar Apostolic of the Orange River Colony), the BISHOP OF EMMAUS, the BISHOP OF SALFORD, the BISHOP OF OLENUS, the BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH, and other prelates.

The Cardinal delivered an address in Latin. He said:—

Quum mihi liceat pauca in hoc conventu verba facere, jucunditatem ac lætitiam qua perfundor animo nequaquam licet exprimere: talia enim ac tanta oculis hisce diebus objiciuntur, ut pristina Anglorum fides ac pietas reviviscere videatur; dum de suavi huius perillustris civitatis humanitate quam maxime fruimur, qui ab aliis terris hanc Britannicam, mari licet haud placido, petebamus.

Vobis idcirco summopere gaudeo, Fratres Angli, qui amplissimi vestri Præsulis ardentem simul ac prudentem zelum obsequuti, ejusmodi, ne dicam genti vestræ, sed et toto orbi spectaculum exhibetis in SS. Eucharistia excolenda, quo jure ac merito illud recoli hic queat ac debeat: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*

Verum alloquens ego Vos, Angli Fratres, humilis quidem vir, non humilium tamen successor virorum, quorum memoria in benedictione est, non ego mea verba, sed potius eorum quos glorificavit Deus, et quibus, Deo et hominibus dilectis, gloriam suam ostendit, iterare ac recordari Vobis enitar.

Ii enim extitere, in quibus mira resplenduit charitas et studium regendi et in Coelum ducendi animas, ac summa erga Petri Cathedram observantia; quum erga Jesum Christum

Dominum ac Redemptorem nostrum ferventissimo flagrabant amore.

Christum qui vere diligit, ejus in terris Vicario sincere obsequitur: Christi autem Vicario obsequi probatæ fidei est. Porro AMBROSIUS is est qui ex Evangelio immortalem illam depromebat sententiam: UBI PETRUS IBI ECCLESIA;[1] et CAROLUS BORROMÆUS maximo sibi mœrori esse obtestabatur non tam quod hæretici homines in absonos atque turpes laberentur errores, quam quod auctoritati Vicarii Christi detraherent, ejusque jugum excuterent.

Vestra quidem catholica fides, Angli fratres, a Gregorio Pontifice hausta, tota Petriana est, ideoque divina! de fide autem Petri, qui jugiter vivit, ac porro vivet usque ad consummationem sæculi, felicis memoriae Sanctissimus Præsul Vester CARDINALIS MANNING probatissimum testimonium in Concilio Vaticano adferebat, quum eo magis fidei regula expostularetur, quo deesse magis dissentientibus conquerebatur.

At Eucharisticus Conventus modo celebratur! AMBROSIO idcirco et CAROLO ducibus, animarum nostrarum Pastorem æternum adeamus Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, qui in altaribus nostris illud jugiter implet quod de altari Crucis Prophetæ edidere: "regnavit a Ligno Deus"; illud etiam adimplet quod Ipse dixerat: *cum exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum.*[2]

Ab Ambrosio pauca quæ nostram roborent fidem; pauca fas sit a Carolo mutuari, in alimoniam pietatis.

Quum in cunabulis, ut ita dicam, Ecclesia ageret, fidei nostræ mysteria, sacra arcani disciplina fidelibus tradita, infidelibus caute ac prudenter tecta fuere; atque id præ aliis SS. Eucharistiæ peculiari honori et curæ fuit, Sacramentorum maximo, et augusto Novæ Legis Sacrificio.

Quamvis autem a veteribus illis obvia nunc temporis documenta aut verba non sint expostulanda; apertissima tamen catholicæ fidei nostræ testimonia satis superque leguntur, nedum in hagiographis, sed et in prioribus Ecclesiæ Pastoribus et Patribus.

Claro autem exemplo Ambrosii nostri scripta ejus rei sunt. Qui quum obiter ac brevissime, atque etiam, ut ita dicam, latenter alias de SS. Sacramento verba faciat, diserte

[1] In Psalm xl. 30. [2] *Ibid.*, xii. 32.

tamen et luculentissime de Eo loquitur in libro qui *de Mysteriis* inscribitur: eaque institutio catechumenorum erat in pervigilio Paschatis quum ejus diei festo tribus Sacramentis initiandi essent—lavacro regenerationis, signaculo Confirmationis, convivio Corporis et Sanguinis Christi.

Eadem ipsa documenta et monita in alio perantiquo iterantur libro, *de Sacramentis:* qui liber quum et re et verbis priori cohæreat—Ambrosio nostro tribuendus omnino videtur.

"De moralibus—sic ait Ambrosius—quotidianum sermonem habuimus, ut his informati atque instituti assuesceretis maiorum ingredi vias eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis . . .; nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam Sacramentorum rationem edere. . . . Aperite igitur aures, et bonum odorem vitæ æternæ inhalatum vobis munere Sacramentorum carpite: quod vobis significavimus cum aperitionis celebrantes mysterium diceremus: *Epheta, quod est adaperire* (Marc vii.)." [1]

Aperit Ambrosius atque explicat mysteria omnia, et mysticos baptismi ritus a tactu aurium, qui primus catechumenorum est usque ad Trinitatis confessionem in fonte atque egressu a fonte; tum vero traditionem vestis candidæ et spiritalem unctionem et consignationem Episcopi, dein pergit Ambrosius: "His abluta plebs dives insignibus, ad Christi contendit altaria, dicens: *Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat iuventutem meam* (Psal. xlii.); depositis enim inveterati erroris exuviis, renovata in aquilæ juventute, coeleste illud festinat adire convivium. Venit igitur, et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait: *Parasti in conspectu meo mensam.* Hanc loquentem inducit David dicens: *Dominus pascit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuæ ibi me collocavit. . . . Et si ambulem in medio umbræ mortis, non . . . timebo mala; quoniam tu mecum es.*" [2]

Memorat Ambrosius sacrificium Melchisedech, atque ea quæ veneratus Abraham ab eo acceperat, atque ita evincit altaris sacramentum antiquius esse quam ipsa synagogæ sacrificia: præstantius item esse iterum infert comparatione educta a pane cœlesti cum illo quotidiano mannæ alimento, quo patres nostri in deserto pasti sunt: "panem illum qui

[1] *De Mysteriis*, c. i. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, c. viii. 43.

manducaverunt — ait Ambrosius — omnes in deserto mortui sunt: ista autem esca quam accipis, iste panis vivus qui descendit de cœlo, vitæ æternæ substantiam subministrat; et quicumque hunc manducaverit, non morietur in æternum: et est corpus Christi."[1]

"Considera nunc utrum præstantior sit Panis Angelorum, an caro Christi, quæ utique corpus est vitæ. Manna illud e coelo, hoc supra coelum; illud coeli, hoc Domini coelorum: illud corruptioni obnoxium, hoc aliennum ab omni corruptione. . . . Illis aqua de petra fluxit, tibi sanguis e Christo: illos ad horam satiavit aqua, te sanguis diluit in æternum. Judæus bibit, et sitit: tu cum biberis, sitire non poteris: et illud in umbra, hoc in veritate."[2]

Unum Ambrosio superest ut tritum illud refelleret: "Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam?"[3] Asseritur divinâ mirâ omnia operandi potestate; asseritur comparatione adducta adorandi divinæ Incarnationis mysterii; asseritur verbis ipsis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi sacramentum sui Corporis et Sanguinis instituentis.

"Advertimus . . . maioris esse virtutis gratiam quam naturam, . . . si tantum valuit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret (quod et in vetere lege sæpe sæpius a Moyse aliisque plurimis Deo probatis viris factum est), quid dicemus de ipsa consecratione divina; ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? . . . De totius mundi operibus legisti: *Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt: ipse mandavit et creata sunt;* sermo ergo Christi, qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt, in id mutare, quod non erant? . . . quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est."[4] Quasi dicat Ambrosius: incomprehensibilia credimus, non alio quidem testimonio quam solo dicto veritatis.

Crede ut intelligas,[5] quod cum Psalte cohæret: *credidi propter quod locutus sum;*[6] et cum ipso auctore de Imitatione Christi: "*fides a te exigitur et sincera vita, non altitudo in-*

[1] *De Mysteriis*, c. viii. 47. [2] *Ibid.*, c. viii. 48. [3] *Ibid.*, c. ix. 50.
[4] *Ibid.*, c. ix. 52. [5] Augustinus. [6] Psalm cxv. 10.

tellectus."[1] Noli considerare quod dicitur; sed quis dicat attende; dicit Deus et rei difficultas a dicentis auctoritate superatur.

"Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus (subdit Ambrosius): *hoc est Corpus meum.* Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nucupatur. Et tu dicis: *amen*, hoc est: Verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat."[2]

Ipse Dominus Jesus testificatur nobis quod Corpus suum sumimus et sanguinem, numquid debemus de ejus fide et testificatione dubitare?

Forte Ambrosium recolebat qui in aureo Libro IV. de Imitatione Christi scripsit: "Non fallit te Deus; fallitur qui sibi ipsi nimium credit. Plus valet Deus operari quam homo intelligere potest; non intelligis nec capis, homo, quæ infra te sunt, quomodo comprehendes quæ supra te sunt? Subde te Deo, et humilia sensum tuum fidei, et dabitur tibi scientiæ lumen. Graditur Deus cum simplicibus; revelat se humilibus; dat intellectum parvulis; aperit sensum puris mentibus, et abscondit gratiam curiosis et superbis? Fides et amor ibi maxime præcellunt, et occultis modis in hoc sanctissimo et superexcellentissimo Sacramento operantur."[3]

S. Carolum parumper adeamus modo, cujus neque exigua recordatio penes vos extat, neque modica vestra in eum pietas ac veneratio.

Asperrimis enim illis temporibus, catholicam Anglorum gentem confestim ejus ipsius sanctissimi Viri imaginem, atque gestarum rerum descriptionem in lucem edidisse compertum est; quo et ostenderent dissidentibus nihil esse quod carpi posset in Ecclesiæ Antistite, et præclara sibi ipsis exequenda monita, imitanda exempla prospicerent. Namque sanctorum altrix vetus insula vocata, vocari adhuc expetebat, eâque insistere viâ, quæ molestias quidem exhibet in terris, sed gloriam parat in coelo.

Ad nostra quod attinet, Sanctissimus Pastor consodalitate

[1] *De Imit. Christi*, l. iv., c. xviii. [2] *De Mysteriis*, c. ix. 54.
[3] *Cf.* "de Imit. Christi" ut supra.

Corporis Christi ubique institutia, ubique per eam præcipue fidem et pietatem erga Augustissimum ipsum Sacramentum aluit et incendit.

Pius quadraginta horarum spatio SS. Eucharistiam exponendi usus Carolum habuit piisimum adsertorem, ac nullam passus est elabi per annum vacuam cultus huismodi horam: atque ipse ille non raro per ecclesias aderat, eas omnes diu noctuque horas flexis genibus in oratione perstans.

Carolus amantissimus Christi est: Christi inquam crucifixi, et Christi, qui in altaris Mysterio salutaris hostia vere adest, ac per carnem et sanguinem suum nobis est cibus et potus. Quocirca non solum de suo Mediolanensi populo S. Carolus optime meritus est, sed etiam de universa Ecclesia.

De Anglia hac vestra optime quidem meritum esse S. Carolum inclitum est Leonis XIII. testimonium in ea ferventissima Epistola "ad Anglos regnum Christi in fidei unitate quærentes" (1895), quam eo propensiori benevolentia scripserat, quo anno antea Principes populosque universos eadem communiter hortatus esset.

Nunc quidem non exigua, humana etiam, apparent rationum momenta, quibus perillustris Britannorum gens in pristinam suadeatur catholicæ fidei redire unitatem. Verum maximum a Deo pro ea tanta re auxilium expectandum est, atque assiduis precibus a nobis expostulandum. Id quidem animadverterat inclitus Pontifex in ea ardentissima Epistola, atque ad eam rem, nobilibus propositis S. Caroli Borromæi ejusque consodalis Philippi Neri exemplis, universos advocat fideles, nescio quos potius ego dicam, an catholicos Angliæ incolas, an forte exteros huius regionis accolas, qui tamen in Christo fratres et cohæredes sint et comparticipes civitatis Dei.

A Christo Jesu catholicæ fidei nostræ Auctore et Consummatore propiori tempore exoremus, ut redeat tota Anglia, quæ in Gregorio et Augustino condita olim est, christianæ fidei et virtutis exemplar: insula redeat altrix sanctorum: ea vero regio quæ dos Mariæ est redeat, Jesu Christo Deiparæ filio pro nobis in Cruce passo et in SS. Altaris Sacramento pro nobis orante.

Ipsum Jesum Christum exoremus quemadmodum orat Ecclesia: "Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine, unitatis et pacis

propitius dona concede: quæ sub oblatis muneribus mystice designantur."[1]

"In umbra tua vivemus in gentibus."[2] Umbra tua, Jesu dulcissime, caro tua est. Sub umbra illius, Fratres dilectissimi, quem desideramus, sedeamus cum sponsa: immobiles et stabiles sedeamus; in hac ejus umbra vivamus in terris, ut aliquando in ejus lumine gaudeamus in Coelis.[3]

[TRANSLATION]

I am permitted to say a few words in this Congress, but I cannot by any means express the gratification and joy that fill my heart. For events of such a nature and on so great a scale are now presented to public view that the ancient faith and piety of Englishmen seems to live again. At the same time we who from other countries sought this land of Britain (and across no placid ocean) enjoy all the advantages of the kindness and courtesy of this illustrious city.

I felicitate you then most heartily, my brethren of England, in that you have followed the example of your distinguished archbishop in a zeal as prudent as it is ardent, and you are displaying, not only to your own country, but throughout the world such veneration for the most holy Eucharist, that the words may well be recalled, nay, they must, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat:* "Christ is victorious, Christ is king, Christ reigns supreme."

But, my English brethren, in what I now say, being but a humble individual, though the successor of those far from insignificant men whose memory is held in benediction, I shall endeavour to repeat and call to your mind not my own words, but theirs rather whom God has glorified, who are dear to God and man, to whom He has revealed His glory. For they were conspicuous for a wonderful light of charity and zeal for directing souls and guiding them to heaven, and for perfect obedience to the chair of Peter, whilst they were on fire with the most fervent love of Jesus Christ, our Lord and our Redeemer.

He who loves Christ unfeignedly is sincerely loyal to His Vicar on earth. And to be loyal to the Vicar of Christ is a sign of true faith. Moreover, it was no less than an Ambrose who

[1] In *Missa. de Corp. Christi.* [2] Lam. iv. 20. [3] S. Thom. a Villanova.

drew from the gospel that immortal maxim, *Ubi Petrus ibi ecclesia:* "Where Peter is, there is the Church." And Charles Borromeo protested that his greatest grief was not so much that heretics fell away into discordant and shameful errors, as that they disparaged the authority of Christ's Vicar, and shook off his yoke.

To you indeed, my English brethren, the Catholic faith was brought from Pope Gregory, and is therefore Peter's in every respect, and consequently divine, and the most emphatically approved testimony to the faith of Peter (who lives continuously, and yet shall live even to the consummation of the world) was borne by your very saintly archbishop, Cardinal Manning, at the Vatican Council, when the rule of faith was the more loudly demanded the more bitterly he complained that the dissentients had it not.

But now we are holding the Eucharistic Congress; let us therefore take Ambrose and Charles for leaders, and approach the Eternal Pastor of our souls, our Lord Jesus Christ. Upon our altars He is ever realising that utterance of the prophets concerning the altar of the cross, *Regnavit a ligno Deus:* "God hath reigned upon the tree." That word also He fulfils which Himself had spoken, *Cum exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad Me Ipsum:* "When I shall have been lifted up from the earth I will draw all things to Myself."

We should do well to borrow a few words from Ambrose to strengthen our faith, and a few from Charles for the sustenance of our piety.

While the Church was yet in her infancy, so to speak, the mysteries of our faith, under the sacred discipline of the secret, were taught to the faithful, but from the infidels they were cautiously and wisely concealed. And that practice was intended for the special honour and protection of the most holy Eucharist, before all other mysteries, the greatest of the sacraments, the sublime sacrifice of the New Law.

Of course, explicit evidence and language are not nowadays to be expected from the fathers of those early periods; nevertheless, the plainest testimonies to our Catholic faith, enough and more than enough, are read not only in the lives of saints, but also in former pastors and fathers of the Church.

Now, the writings of our author Ambrose are a conspicuous instance of the fact. For whilst he writes casually, very briefly, and, I may almost say, in a cryptic style of the Blessed Sacrament elsewhere, in his work entitled *De Mysteriis*, he treats it with eloquence and perfect lucidity. And so treated was the instruction of catechumens on the vigil of Easter, the festival at which they were to be initiated into three sacraments—the bath of Regeneration, the seal of Confirmation, and the banquet of the Body and Blood of Christ. Just the same proofs and doctrines are repeated in another very ancient book, *De Sacramentis*, a work which agrees with the former both in substance and language, and must therefore be attributed with confidence to the same author. "In the moral conduct of life," says Ambrose, "we have a discourse for every day, to form and build up your character and accustom you to go the way of our ancestors, and follow their steps and be obedient to the oracles of God. . . . . To-day the season admonishes me to speak of mysteries and to make known the very nature of sacraments. . . . . Open your ears, therefore, and the sweet odour of eternal life, breathed into you by the grace of sacraments, inhale. That was what we indicated to you when we performed the mystery of the *aperitio* and said, 'Epheta,' that is, 'Be opened.'"

Ambrose opens out and explains all the mysteries and the mystic rites of baptism from the touching of the ears, which is the first ceremony for catechumens, unto the confession of the Trinity in the font and at the exit from the font, and next the delivery of the white robe and the Spirit-bearing unction, and signing by the bishop. "Then," continues Ambrose, "Purified by these rites and enriched by these insignia the people hasten to the altars of Christ, reciting 'I will go in unto the altar of God, to God who giveth joy to my youth' (Ps. xlii.) For the trappings of ancient falsehood having been cast off and thrown away, the people, renewed with an eagle's youth, hasten to approach the heavenly banquet. They come, therefore, and beholding the sacred altar all prepared, cry out and say, 'Thou hast prepared a table before my eyes.' The people chant, and David leads them with the words, 'The Lord finds food for me, of nothing shall I lack: in a place of pasture even there has He placed me . . .

and though I walk in the densest shadow of death I will fear no ill, for Thou art with me.'"

And Ambrose mentions the sacrifice of Melchisedech and the gifts which Abraham venerated and received from him, and thus establishes that the sacrament of the altar is more ancient than even the sacrifice of the synagogue; and that it is also more excellent he again infers by drawing a comparison between the Bread of Heaven and that wonderful nourishment of manna with which our fathers were daily fed in the desert. "They who ate that bread," says Ambrose, "all died in the wilderness; but this food which you receive, this is the Living Bread which came down from Heaven and ministers the essence of eternal life; and whosoever shall eat of this bread shall never die, and it is the Body of Christ."

"After this consider which is the more excellent, the bread of angels or the flesh of Christ, which is indeed the body of life. Manna came from the sky, this is above the sky; that belongs to the sky, this to the Lord of Heaven; that is subject to corruption, this is inconsistent with any corruption. . . . For their needs, water flowed from the rock; for yours, Blood from the veins of Christ; water satisfied them for an hour. Blood quenches your thirst for ever. The Jew drinks and thirsts again; when *you* have drunk, you will have no thirst to satisfy. And that was all a shadow, this the reality." It only remains for Ambrose to refute the well-worn objection: "I see something else, how do you prove that I shall receive the Body of Christ?" It is proved by the marvellous power of God to do all things; it is proved by analogy to the adorable mystery of the divine incarnation; it is proved by the very words which our Lord Jesus Christ employed in instituting the sacrament of His Body and Blood.

"We observe [he says] that grace has greater power than nature; if a man's benediction had force enough to transform nature (and that was brought about again and again under the old law by Moses and very many other men approved of God), what shall we say of the divine consecration itself, in which the very words of our Lord and Saviour are in operation? Of the written works of all creation you have read the following: 'For He spake and they were made: He commanded and they were

created.' Could not, then, the word of Christ, which could make out of nothing that which had no being; could not that word change things which have being into that which they were not before?

"In this question why should you require the order of nature in the body of Christ, seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself, as being born of a Virgin, is beyond the laws of nature? At the same time, the flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried, is true flesh; therefore the sacrament is the sacrament of that true flesh." As though Ambrose should say, "We believe what we do not understand on no other testimony indeed than the sole word of truth." "Believe that you may understand," says Augustine, which agrees with the Psalmist saying: "I believed and therefore have I spoken;" and with the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, "Faith is what is required of you, and a blameless life, not depth of intellect." Do not consider what is said, but mind who it is who speaks: 'tis God who speaks, and the difficulty of the matter is overcome by the authority of the speaker.

"It is the Lord Jesus Himself who proclaims, This is My Body," St Ambrose continues, "before the benediction of the heavenly words a different species is named; after consecration a body is signified. He speaks of His Blood. Before consecration it is called a different thing; after consecration its name is blood. And you say, 'Amen!' that is, ''Tis true.' What the mouth speaks let the mind within confess; as the form sounds let the sense feel."

The Lord Jesus Christ Himself assures us that we take His Body and Blood. Ought we to doubt His truth and His assurance?

It may be that Ambrose was in the mind of him who wrote in the fourth book of the *Imitation of Christ*, "God does not deceive you: he is deceived who trusts too much to himself. God is more powerful to act than man to understand; you do not understand, O man, objects which lie below your level, nor have you the capacity; how shall you comprehend those which are above you? Submit yourself to God, and bow your senses to faith, and the light of knowledge shall be given you. God walks with the simple; He reveals Himself to the humble; He

gives intelligence to little ones; to pure minds He opens the eyes of perception, and hides His grace from the curious and the proud. . . . Therein[1] faith and love are the greatest forces, and work by hidden ways in His most holy and most sublime sacrament."

Now, let us have recourse for a while to St Charles. It is no faint memory of him which is cherished amongst you, no half-hearted love and veneration. For it has been discovered that in the cruel times ofpersecution, the Catholic people of England were quick to publish the picture of that remarkably holy man with a full account of what he had done. And this they did with the double purpose of showing to those who had seceded that there is nothing to cavil at in a bishop of the Church, and that they might have before their eyes his beautiful precepts as a rule of life and his own example for their imitation. For the ancient island, known as Foster-mother of Saints, sought still to deserve the name, and to keep to that way of life which leads indeed to troubles on earth, but brings to glory in heaven.

In regard to my present theme, the saintly bishop everywhere established the guild of Corpus Christi, and by this means especially he fed and fanned the flame of faith and devotion to the all-majestic sacrament. The devout practice of exposing the most holy Eucharist for the space of forty hours found in Charles a most fervent advocate, and throughout the year he never suffered an hour to elapse without that pious service. And not unfrequently he was himself present in the churches, and remained at all hours, day and night, upon his knees in prayer. St Charles was a most intensely devoted servant of Christ, yes, of Christ crucified, of Christ who is truly present in the mystery of the altar, our saving victim, whose flesh and blood are food and drink to us. That is how he won the highest honour from his own people of Milan, and not from them alone, but from the universal Church. That he deserved equal honour from this England of yours we have the illustrious testimony of Leo XIII. in his very earnest epistle, *Ad Anglos regnum Christi in fidei unitate quaerentes*, addressed to Englishmen who seek

[1] *I.e.* in research into the Blessed Sacrament, referring to *naturalis investigatio* of the previous paragraph.—TRANSLATOR.

the Kingdom of Christ in the unity of faith (1895). And in writing that epistle he had been actuated by a special favour and predilection, for he had made the same exhortation the year before to the princes and nations of the world in common.

Indeed, at the present time there are many weighty reasons (not insignificant even in the natural order), why the noble British nation should be persuaded to return to the ancient unity of the faith. But for so great an end we must look to God for our chief assistance, and we must implore it with constant prayer. That necessity was, of course, recognised by the illustrious pontiff in his fervent epistle, holding up to you the noble examples of St Charles Borromæo and his fellow-guildsman St Philip Neri. He summons (to that duty of prayer) the whole body of the faithful, I know not whom I should rather name, Catholic inhabitants of England, or neighbours of this country who are yet brethren and co-heirs in Christ and fellow-citizens of the city of God.

Let us win by prayer from Jesus Christ, the beginning and the end of our Catholic faith, that at no distant time the whole of England may return to the fold—England which was founded by Gregory and Augustine, model of Christian faith and virtue. May she return, the island foster-mother of saints; may she return, the land which is indeed the dowry of Mary, since Jesus Christ, son of the God-bearing virgin, has suffered for us on the cross, and yet intercedes for us in the most holy sacrament of the altar!

Let us beseech Jesus Christ Himself in the words of the Church's prayer, "Mercifully grant to Thy Church, O Lord, the grace of unity and peace, which by our oblations and gifts are mystically signified."

"In Thy shadow we shall live among the gentiles," says Jeremias. "Thy shadow, O sweetest Jesus, is Thy flesh. Beneath the shadow of Him for whom we long, dearest brethren, let us sit together with His spouse, not fickle but constant let us sit. In that His shadow let us live on earth, that one day we may rejoice in heaven in His light."

The Bishop of Portsmouth said he had been charged to read a letter from Cardinal Vives y Tuto, at the Vatican, to the

Bishop of San Carlos (Chile), who was attending the Congress. It was quite understood that it was a message from the Holy Father to the Congress. He presumed there were reasons of etiquette why the Holy Father should not send a personal letter in such a case, and he could state, on the authority of the Archbishop of Westminster, that this was the form which had been adopted to address the Congress, as Cardinal Vives was at the right hand of the Pope. The letter was as follows:—

"My dear Lord,—As your Lordship is privileged to be present at the Eucharistic Congress in London, I beg of you to be good enough to act also as my representative at its sessions, and to convey to the committee an expression of the deep consolation I feel at seeing the ever-increasing manifestations of intense devotion and burning love on the part of the faithful towards the most Blessed Sacrament of the altar. I associate myself in spirit with the devoted members of the Congress in all the acts of adoration, of love, and devotion put forth by them in honour of the ineffable mystery of the Holy Eucharist. I join myself with them in spirit in all they say, in all they do. I feel assured our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament will to-day bless and reward the love and devotion of the faithful in Great Britain towards the Holy Eucharist by showering down His grace and blessing upon the whole of the English people. The divine prisoner of our tabernacle yearns to melt the icy hearts of those who are still deaf to His voice by the fire of His boundless love. Would your Lordship be good enough to give my most respectful greetings to his Eminence the Cardinal Legate, who has had the honour to be chosen by his Holiness Pope Pius the Tenth to be his principal instrument for proclaiming and defending the practice of frequent Communion by his solemn decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*—a document which filled with most intense joy the Church militant, suffering and triumphant, and at the same time lashed hell into fury; a document which (and I affirm it without fear of contradiction), since the Council of Trent and the revelation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to Blessed Margaret Mary, is the greatest of all mercies vouchsafed by

our Divine Saviour to our Holy Mother the Church. If it be true, as the venerable Monsignor de Ségur says, that loyalty and attachment to the Vicar of Christ, devotion to the ever Blessed Virgin, and love of the Blessed Sacrament are the three "Roses of the Elect," it is evident that as God has strengthened our love for the Pope in the hearts of the faithful by the proclamation of the infallible *magisterium* of the Sovereign Pontiff, as he has strengthened love for our Blessed Lady by the proclamation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, so also has he crowned the love shown towards our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist by souls devoted to Him, by the proclamation and solemn reaffirmation of our Lord's prerogative to come and enter daily into the hearts of His children, and of their right to be fed day by day with the bread of Angels, to take their place daily at the heavenly banquet of the Lamb of God, and to live without ceasing with Him and in Him until the moment comes for them and for us all to enter within the veil and to gaze upon Him face to face."

THE HISTORY OF DAILY COMMUNION

By the Very Rev. Canon Thomas B. Scannell, D.D.

This paper is not meant to deal with the advisability or inadvisability of daily Communion; nor with the dispositions required for it; but only with the history of the teaching and practice of the Church. It is clear that the subject is too vast to be adequately treated in the time allowed. We must therefore confine ourselves to the merest outlines.

There is no Divine command as to the frequency of Holy Communion. Our Lord simply bids us eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, and warns us that if we do not do so we shall not have life in us (John vi., etc.). The fact, however, that His Body and Blood were to be received under the appearances of bread and wine, the ordinary daily food and drink of his hearers, would point to the frequent and even daily reception of the Sacrament. The manna, too, with which our Lord compared "the bread which He would give," was

daily partaken of by the Israelites. Moreover, though the petition "give us this day our daily bread" does not primarily refer to the Eucharist, nevertheless it could not fail to lead men to believe that their souls as well as their bodies stood in need of daily nourishment.

If we turn to the practice of the Apostolic Church we find that the faithful "were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles and in the communication of the breaking of bread" (Acts ii. 42); and again, "Continuing *daily* in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house" (at home *κατ' οἶκον, ib.* 46). By the "breaking of bread" (*τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, κλῶντες ἄρτον*) is clearly meant the celebration of the Holy Eucharist (Matt. xxvii. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 24). In these texts the idea of the Eucharist as a banquet—something to be partaken of—stands out most prominently: "the bread which we break, is it not the partaking (communion, *κοινωνία*) of the body of the Lord?" (1 Cor. x. 16). Hence at this time and for long afterwards all who were present at the Divine Liturgy were expected to receive the Holy Communion. It would seem, then, that in the very earliest days of the Church at Jerusalem daily Communion was the custom. Later on, however, we read that St Paul remained at Troas for seven days, and it was only "on the first day of the week" that the faithful "assembled to break bread" (Acts xx. 6-11; *cf.* 1 Cor. xvi. 2). The difference is no doubt due to the fact that in the first days at Jerusalem the Christians formed a sort of religious community, when "all they that believed were together, and had all things common" (Acts ii. 44). Such fervour, and, we may add, such opportunities, could not be expected to continue; though we may find here an example which may be followed by religious communities at this day.

So much as to the teaching and practice of our Lord and the Apostles. The subsequent teaching and practice of the Church may best be considered by following the order of the three great epochs of Church history: patristic, mediæval, and modern. And in connection with this it will be well for us to bear in mind throughout, the threefold aspect of the Holy Eucharist. It is a sacrament, a sacrifice, and the abiding presence of Christ. As a sacrament, it is the partaking of a

Banquet; as a sacrifice, it is the offering of a Victim to God; as the abiding presence of Christ, it is Itself an object of supreme worship. These three aspects, so far from excluding each other, are all of them included in the very idea of the Holy Eucharist, and must have been believed at least implicitly at all times. Nevertheless one or other of them has been more prominent at different times. Here, as in other departments, there has been development of doctrine and variation of devotion. A careful study of the authorities will lead us to the conclusion that in the patristic ages it was the sacramental aspect which was prominent; in the Middle Ages, the sacrificial; in modern times, the abiding presence.

I

I have stated that in patristic ages the sacramental aspect of the Holy Eucharist was prominent. Hence we can understand that during this time frequent and even daily Communion prevailed. "That this bread," says St Cyprian, "may be given us day by day we pray, lest we who are in Christ and daily receive the Eucharist for food of salvation (*Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus*) should . . . be separated from the body of Christ" *De Orat. Dom.*, cap. xviii., P. L., t. iv., 531). "With whose (the Saviour's) Flesh we are daily fed," says St Jerome, "whose Blood we daily drink" (*Ep. ad Damasum*). What was chiefly in the minds of those who assisted at the Divine Mysteries was that they were to partake of the Heavenly Food consecrated by the words of the priest. Mere assistance without communicating was looked upon as an abuse even as late as the fifth century. The tenth of the so-called Apostolic Canons decrees penalties against those who are guilty of it. "Every one that partaketh not of the Mysteries," says St John Chrysostom, "is standing here in shameless effrontery" (Hom. III. in Eph.). At the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful the deacon cried out: "All non-communicants, retire!" (*Si quis non communicat, det locum*, St Greg. M., *Dial.*, II. 23).

We may assume, then, that in the patristic ages the faithful communicated, or at any rate were expected to communicate, as often as the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. This might seem conclusive that daily Communion was the rule at this

time; but a few considerations will show us that this was not the case.

(1) During the patristic ages the majority of the Christians were only catechumens, and so were debarred from being present at the Mass of the Faithful. Baptism was not administered until the candidate had reached full-grown manhood, and was sometimes postponed until late in life. Hence it is of no avail to refer to early authorities when we advocate daily Communion for boys and girls.

(2) We have seen that even in St Paul's time "the breaking of bread" took place only on the "first day of the week." According to the *Didache* (chap. xiv.) the faithful were exhorted to assemble and break bread and give thanks on "the Lord's Day" (*κατὰ κυριακήν*). Pliny, in his famous letter to Trajan, says that the Christians assembled "on a fixed day" (*stato die;* Ep. X. A.D. 112). The day for the Eucharist is declared by St Justin Martyr to be "the day called Sunday" (*τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, I. Apol. lxvii., 3, 7). It is in Tertullian (end of the second century) that we first read of the Liturgy being celebrated on any other day besides Sunday. (*De Orat.*, c. xix.; *De Corona*, c. iii.) Mgr. Duchesne sums up the early practice thus: "There were everywhere assemblies on Wednesday and Friday; but these assemblies were not necessarily for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist. In Rome and Alexandria they were non-liturgical, whereas in all the rest of the East they were liturgical. As regards the assembly held on Saturday, it was peculiar to the East and was less ancient than the foregoing" (*Origines*, etc., p. 222). St John Chrysostom, St Jerome, and St Augustine speak of daily celebration (see *infra*).

(3) On the other hand, the faithful communicated in the so-called "Mass of the Presanctified," which was celebrated in the East on every day in Lent (except Saturday and Sunday) and in the West on Good Friday.

(4) Again, it was the custom, especially in times of persecution, to carry away the Sacred Elements and communicate at home. This practice is mentioned by St Justin (*loc. cit.*), where he says that "a part of the consecrated things (*τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων*) is sent to the absent by the ministry of the deacons." From Tertullian it is plain that the Blessed Sacrament was

reserved for private Communion by the faithful themselves, even by the women. The beautiful story of the young acolyte Tarcisius, who preferred to be beaten to death rather than surrender the Precious Deposit entrusted to his care, is known to all; as also is the story of the little child who carried the Holy Communion to his grandfather Serapion in prison (Euseb., *Hist.*, vi., 44). The custom continued, even in times of peace, for hermits, for dwellers in monasteries without priests, and generally for those who lived at a great distance from any church. In the year 519, Dorotheus, Bishop of Thessalonica, thinking that persecution was at hand, distributed baskets full of the Sacred Elements (*canistra plena*, Thiel, *Epp. Rom. Pont.*, t. i., p. 902). From this we see that the faithful might communicate even more frequently than the Holy Sacrifice was offered.

(5) However, we have ample proof that, except in times of special fervour, practice fell far short of precept, and that the faithful were frequently rebuked for so seldom receiving the Holy Communion. St John Chrysostom's words may be taken as typical: "At other times ye come not, no, not though often ye are clean; but at Easter, however flagrant an act ye may have committed, ye come. O! the force of custom and prejudice! In vain is the daily sacrifice, in vain do we stand before the altar; there is no one to partake" (in Eph., Hom. III.). I might also cite St Ambrose (in Ps. CXVIII., xviii., 26, 28; P. L., t. xv., col. 1461, 1462) and the author of the treatise *De Sacramentis* (V., iv., 25; P. L., t. xvi., col. 452).

(6) On the other hand we find many of the faithful anxious to receive every day, and so the question of the lawfulness, or at least advisableness, of the practice came up for discussion. This is a matter of the liveliest interest for us at the present time. The very greatest of the Fathers took part in the controversy. St John Chrysostom insists on the dispositions necessary for the worthy reception, but when these can be had he advocates daily Communion. "It is not the Epiphany, nor is it Lent, that makes people fit to approach, but it is sincerity and purity of soul. With this, approach at all times; without it, never" (Hom. III. in Ephes.). St Jerome is aware of the custom of daily Communion at Rome, but he adds: "Of this I neither approve nor disapprove, let each abound in his own

sense." He was moved by St Paul's words (1 Cor. vii. 5) to forbid daily Communion to married persons living together (Ep. XLVIII., P. L., t. xxii., col. 505-506). Elsewhere he is in favour of following the custom of each country (Ep. LXXI., P. L., t. xxii., col. 672).

St Augustine deals with the question in his answers to Januarius's inquiries. He first describes the various customs: "Some receive (*communicant*) the body and blood of the Lord every day; others on certain days; in some places there is no day on which (the sacrifice) is not offered, in others on Saturday and Sunday only, in others on Sunday alone. Under these circumstances it is best to follow the custom of the place where one is living." He then goes on to discuss more at length the question of daily Communion: "Some say that only those days should be chosen on which one is especially pure and continent, while others are of opinion that if our sins are not of such gravity as to deserve excommunication, they should not be deprived of the daily remedy of the Lord's Body." St Augustine himself thinks that there is much to be said on both sides. Neither of them dishonours the body and blood of the Lord; both on the contrary vie with each other in honouring this most salutary sacrament. Zacchæus and the Centurion did not quarrel or set themselves one above the other, though the one received his Lord into his house with joy, whereas the other said, "I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof." Therefore let each one act according as his faith prompts him. (Ep. LIV., P. L., xxxiii., 200 *sqq.*) Here it should be noted that the familiar quotation: "So live that you may be able to receive daily," sometimes attributed to St Augustine and sometimes to St Ambrose, really belongs to neither of them. It is taken from the treatise *De Sacramentis*, the work of some unknown writer of the fifth or sixth century. Subsequent discussion on daily Communion has always been on the lines indicated by St Augustine: some writers leaning to the side of the confident Zacchæus, others to that of the modest Centurion.

We may conclude, then, that in patristic times daily Communion was recommended, but that in practice it was not much observed, except in times of persecution and special fervour, and

notably in Rome; frequent Communion, however, that is to say weekly and on feast days, was common.

I am compelled to pass over a period of five hundred years, a time of confusion from which it would not be fair to draw any conclusions as to the normal teaching and practice of the Church. It was then that she accomplished her greatest work —the taming and conversion of the barbarian invaders. Good Christians still communicated once a week down to the time of Charlemagne, but after the break-up of his empire this custom came to an end. St Bede (d. 735) laments that even the devout (*religiosiores*) received only three times a year, whereas numberless boys and girls, young men and maidens, and old people might without any hesitation have done so every Sunday and on the feasts of the Apostles and martyrs as was the practice in the holy and apostolic church of Rome (*Ep. ad Egbertum*, P. L., xciv., 665). Two years after the death of this holy doctor the Council of Cloveshoe recommends the practice of frequent Communion to married people as well as the young who have never lost their baptismal innocence. I must here content myself with a general reference to Father Thurston's magnificent edition of Bridgett's *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, in which will be found much information relating to the teaching and practice of the Church in this country at this time.

II

About the time of our Norman Conquest a great religious revival took place in the Church. It is associated with the name of Hildebrand, afterwards Pope St Gregory VII. (1073-1085). With him begins that glorious period known as the Ages of Faith. We should have expected that during this time the practice of frequent, and even daily, Communion would have prevailed. Strange to say, this was the very time when the faithful received less frequently than in any other age of the Church. The fact is undoubted, whatever the explanation may be. The pontificate of Innocent III. (1198-1216) is rightly looked upon as the culminating point in the history of the Church; yet it was then that a General Council (IV. Lateran) had to compel the faithful, under

pain of excommunication, to receive the Blessed Sacrament once a year. Some may say that this proves nothing as to the ordinary practice of the faithful. But we have abundant proof that even in convents and monasteries Holy Communion was far from frequent. Take the two great religious Orders which were founded about the time of the Council. I speak of the nuns rather than the friars, because the latter could say Mass. The Poor Clares, by rule, communicated six times a year; the Dominicanesses fifteen times, the third Order of St Dominic four times. Of course individuals may have communicated oftener, but the rule is a sign that the practice of frequent Communion had died out. Moreover, we know that St Louis of France, the flower of Christian chivalry, received only six times a year, and St Elizabeth of Portugal, the model of Christian princesses, only three times. But it is not necessary to give detailed examples of what is admitted on all hands.

In spite of the rarity of Holy Communion at this time, the teaching of the great theologians was all on the side of frequent, and to some extent daily, Communion. St Thomas Aquinas puts the question explicitly: "Is it lawful to receive this Sacrament daily?" and he answers that it is lawful. "This Sacrament," he says, "is spiritual food; and as corporal food is taken daily so is it praiseworthy to receive this Sacrament daily." He quotes the passage of St Augustine on Zacchæus and the Centurion; but he inclines to the side of Zacchæus, "for love and hope," he says, "are always to be preferred to fear." He adds, however, that we should not receive daily unless we feel ourselves prepared; and "seeing that very often in the case of the majority of men there are many obstacles to this devotion, whether on the part of the body or of the soul, it is not beneficial for all men to approach this Sacrament daily" (Sum. Th. 3, q. lxxx., a. 10).

St Thomas's friendly rival, St Bonaventure, speaks in similar terms, though he is in favour of abstaining occasionally in order to excite ourselves to greater reverence and love (in IV. Sent. dist. xii., punct. ii., a. 2, q. 2).

Both these great theologians base their teaching not only upon St Augustine but also upon Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, who had written a hundred years before:

"that the Holy Eucharist was instituted for the increase of the virtue of charity and as a remedy for daily infirmity" (IV. Sent. dist. xii., n. 8).

We have then the remarkable fact that in the ages of faith, and notably in the most brilliant of them—the thirteenth century—the teaching of the greatest theologians was favourable to frequent, and to some extent of daily, Communion, and yet the faithful communicated very rarely. As I cannot here deal adequately with the attempted explanation of this difficulty, I must refer you to Dalgairns' *Holy Communion*, Part III., and to Bishop Hedley's admirable work on the Holy Eucharist. The latter is of opinion that the main causes of the rarity of Holy Communion were the increase of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament and a deeper consciousness of sin. No doubt these causes were at work; but they do not seem to account for the facts. I suggest, paradoxical though it may seem, that it was devotion to the Mass, that is to say, the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist, which was the cause of infrequent Communion.

(*a*) First of all we have the undoubted fact that all through this period the faithful attended Mass more frequently than at any other time. "Not only lords who had private chapels, but men and women of all conditions above the labouring classes, were accustomed to hear daily Mass. . . . Early English literature is full of allusions to this custom. Not only the lord who goes hunting, but the merchant before opening his shop, must hear Mass. Even for travellers starting at daybreak Mass was said in chapels on the bridge, as in London" (Bridgett, *op. cit.*, p. 257). This was the time when so many chantries were founded, and when every man of substance left money for Masses for the repose of his soul. But it is needless to labour over proving what is admitted by all students of the Middle Ages: Mass was most frequently attended at the very time when people communicated most seldom. Would it not appear that there must be some connection between these facts?

(*b*) It was the common teaching of theologians, afterwards confirmed by the Council of Trent, "that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory, and that by means thereof we obtain mercy and

find grace in seasonable time if we draw nigh unto God, contrite and penitent, with a sincere heart and upright faith, with fear and reverence. For the Lord, appeased by the oblation thereof, and granting the grace and gift of penance, forgives even heinous crimes and sins. . . . Wherefore, not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful who are living, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and who are not as yet fully purified, it is rightly offered, agreeably to a tradition of the Apostles" (Sess. xxii., ch. 2). Now if a man was filled with a deep reverence for the Holy Sacrament and a sincere consciousness of sin, he might feel himself unworthy to receive; and yet, sinner though he was, he was not debarred from the benefits of the Holy Sacrifice, by assisting at it or by procuring it to be offered. He needed not to have those dispositions of body and soul required by St Thomas—he needed not to confess or to be fasting—the Holy Sacrifice would obtain for him pardon for his sins and all graces and blessings through the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ.

III

In the later Middle Ages a second reform began within the Church, of which the Protestant Reformation was only an exaggeration and a distortion. In this reform the Dominican Order had the chief share. Tauler, St Catherine of Sienna, St Vincent Ferrer, and Savonarola were its leaders. For our present purpose it only concerns us to note that all of these were ardent apostles of frequent Communion. "If I saw," says Tauler, "a most foul sinner really penitent for his sins, and converted to God, I would more willingly give him Communion daily for six months than to tepid men, for I believe that in this way I should by degrees extinguish sin in him" (Serm. I. on Corpus Christi). St Catherine herself communicated daily, when not hindered by bodily infirmity, or the necessity of her neighbours; and her followers received every Sunday. "No one," says Dalgairns, "promoted frequent Communion like that great saint." The thousands of men and women who accompanied St Vincent in his missions, communicated once a week and on all the great festivals. In Savonarola's time every

day at St Mark's was like Easter morning. The *Imitation* belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. Everyone is familiar with the chapter, "That the Holy Communion is not lightly to be forborne." "Happy is he, and acceptable to God, who so lives and keeps his conscience in such purity, as to be ready and well disposed to communicate even daily" (Book iv., ch. 10). In the sixteenth century, St Antonio Maria Zaccaria, St Cajetan, St Ignatius, and St Philip Neri carried on the work of the earlier reformers in advocating frequent Communion. St Ignatius, writing to a nun, speaks strongly in favour of communicating even daily, though in his Exercises he recommends only weekly, or at least monthly, Communion. In the little church of St Girolamo, where St Philip laboured, we are told that "many persons used to communicate, some every Sunday, others three or four times a week, others even every day, so that each morning looked like Easter day."

The Fathers of the Council of Trent approved of the work of these reformers by expressing the wish "that at each Mass the faithful who are present should communicate" (Sess. xxii., ch. 6). And the Catechism of the Council says: "Let not the faithful deem it enough to receive the body of the Lord once a year only; but let them judge that Communion ought to be more frequent; but whether it be more expedient that it should be monthly, weekly, or daily, can be decided by no fixed universal rule. St Augustine, however, lays down a most certain standard: 'Live,' says he, 'in such a manner as to be able to receive daily'" (Part II., ch. iv., n. 58).

The result of this ardent propaganda was that frequent Communion became common in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nay more, in parts of Italy and Spain many of the faithful received daily. And now once again, as in the days of St Jerome and St Augustine, the question arose how far this latter practice was advisable. I have to deal with this subject from the historical point of view, merely recording the different opinions without passing any judgment upon them. The Bishop of Brescia tried to limit Holy Communion to Sundays and holidays and twice in the week—a very liberal allowance in comparison with mediæval usage; but the Sacred Congregation of the Council (1587) forbade this restriction, and ordered

that no one should be repelled from the Sacred Banquet even if he approached it daily. Nevertheless, some of the greatest theologians of the day, though strongly in favour of frequent Communion, drew the line at daily reception, and laid down stringent conditions for its lawfulness. Influenced no doubt by the Jesuit rule (*ne crebrius quam octavo quoque die accedant*), Toletus, Suarez, and Card. De Lugo were opposed to it; as also was St Francis of Sales. On the other side were in Italy St Philip and St Charles, and in Spain many Bishops, the great universities and most of the religious Orders. A Spanish Benedictine, Dom Marzilla, taught that the state of grace was the sole necessary condition for worthy reception, and that therefore no one in this state could be refused the Holy Communion even if he asked for it daily. This contention was the subject of much discussion. Then came Arnauld's famous work *On Frequent Communion* (1643), requiring for Communion severe penance for past sins and most pure love of God. His ablest opponent was the great Jesuit theologian, Petavius. In 1679 once more the Sacred Congregation of the Council was appealed to, and decided between the three contending parties—those in favour of daily Communion, those in favour of frequent but not daily Communion, and those who would allow Communion only to the perfect. The decree is given in Denzinger's *Enchiridion* (n. 1147) and should be carefully studied by all interested in the subject. Universal daily Communion was discountenanced, and the former decision repeated, viz., that no one should be repelled, even if he approached daily; the parish priests and confessors should decide how often, but that they should take care that all irreverence and scandal should be avoided. In 1690 Arnauld's conditions were formally condemned.

"I cannot help thinking," says Dalgairns, "that Arnauld's book was partly provoked by real laxity in the administration of the Holy Eucharist on the part of some of his opponents" (*op. cit.*, p. 311). The inevitable reaction set in, in spite of his condemnation. Thenceforth daily Communion ceased, and frequent Communion became less common. We all know how this spirit lasted almost into our own day. Nevertheless, there were two great authorities in the eighteenth century who

maintained the older and better tradition. The saintly Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai, strongly advocated daily Communion for "good lay people . . . so as to overcome their imperfections and the temptations of the corrupt world. . . . If in order to communicate daily we had to wait until we were perfect, we should go on waiting for ever" (*Lettre sur la Fréquente Communion, Œuvres Complètes*, t. V., p. 716 *sqq.*). And St Alphonsus, who was raised up by God to combat the severities of Jansenism, lays down rules which have frequently received the Church's approbation. I quote the summary given by P. Godts, C.SS.R., "Weekly Communion should be granted and indeed recommended to all who habitually avoid mortal sin.

"Frequent Communion can be permitted and recommended to all the faithful who strive to avoid deliberate venial sin, and practise the means of attaining perfection.

"Daily Communion may be granted to souls exempt from all affection to any kind of venial sin; and who, moreover, devote themselves much to prayer and mortification, and have an ardent desire for this Divine Banquet." (*Exagérations Historiques et Théologiques concernant la Communion Quotidienne*, p. 69.)

Last of all, our present Holy Father has issued a decree going further than any of his predecessors. Daily Communion is not only not to be forbidden—it is to be strongly recommended to all the faithful. Former decrees had left the decision to confessors: now the confessors are warned "not to deter from frequent or daily Communion anyone who is in a state of grace and approaches with a right intention."

To sum up. We have seen that there is no explicit Divine precept regulating the frequency of Holy Communion. In patristic times frequent and even daily Communion was recommended, but in practice daily Communion was not much observed, except in times of persecution and special fervour, and notably in Rome; frequent Communion was, however, common. In the Middle Ages the faithful communicated only once, or at most three times, a year, though the teaching of the greatest theologians was in favour of frequent reception. In the late Middle Ages a return was begun to the patristic custom, and

this movement, with an interval during which Jansenistic principles were widespread, has continued till the present day.

In early times, the faithful thought much of receiving their Lord, but little of His being offered for them, and hardly at all of His abiding Presence among them. In the Middle Ages the Mass completely overshadowed the Holy Communion, and the abiding Presence was only beginning to be recognised. But "antiquitas sæculi juventus Ecclesiæ"—in olden days the Church was still young. To us who live in the fulness of her age, it is given to realise and to enjoy the threefold riches contained in the heavenly treasure of the Holy Eucharist: the Banquet, the Sacrifice, the Abiding Presence—by frequent visits and Benedictions, by daily Mass, and daily Communion.

THE SACRAMENT OF THE DIVINE CONDESCENSION

By the Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J.

It has ever been the mind of the Church, whose official acts and deliberate ordinances have but confirmed the spontaneous instincts of her faithful children, that whatever of splendour and magnificence human art could devise or human effort achieve, is all too little for the great end and purpose of paying outward honour, and of thereby fostering inward reverence and devotion, to that all-holy Sacrament and Sacrifice which is the supreme and abiding pledge of God's measureless love for man.

There is, however, another side, a more vitally important aspect, of this great mystery, on which it will be my duty, as it is my privilege, to dwell to-day. The Holy Eucharist is, *par excellence*, the Sacrament of the Divine Condescension, and in the midst of all the ornate ceremonial which, on an occasion like the present, appeals to the senses, and stirs the emotions, and will cling to the memory of all those who have been privi-

leged to bear a part in the celebrations of this historic week, it is well to bear in mind that, while He gladly welcomes these tokens and evidences of our love and loyalty, yet, out of His immense compassion, our dearest Lord has been pleased to make Himself entirely independent of all public manifestations of honour, in order that He may put Himself absolutely at the service of the lowliest of His own servants, even amidst the most sordid and squalid of surroundings. "To our mind at least," says a recent writer, "far more marvellous than the great pageants of Corpus Christi, when with all royal pomp of banner and incense and vestment and thundered *Pange Lingua*, the King moves through streets and squares, are the hidden processions, such as that when, in the early days of persecution, the Christian acolyte carried Christ, secretly, through crowds of money-makers and pleasure-seekers, who knew nothing of His neighbourhood. And daily into slums and courts of our great towns, as foul and pestilential as those of old Rome, daily into the reeking courts of London," or Liverpool, or Manchester, or Glasgow, "Jesus passes to and fro pure, silent, the food of souls. And after all, these little daily journeyings are only incidents, so to speak, in that immense procession of Jesus through the centuries, cleansing and purifying humanity."[1]

And this willingness of our Lord to abase Himself, in case of need, to the outward circumstances of the most abject material poverty, is but symbolical of His readiness, under the same sacramental species, to seek us out and find us, though our spiritual condition should be that of the utmost destitution, short of mortal sin, or of positive enmity against Himself. To every one of us who is able and willing to receive Him, He is ready to come daily, in order that He may lift us up, or help us to lift ourselves up, out of the squalid slums and alleys—if I may so apply the comparison—of our miserable weakness, our pitiable sloth, our ungenerous self-indulgence, our petty pride, our unworthy meannesses; or that He may at least save us, or help us to save ourselves, from falling still lower, into the fetid and noisome depths of grievous sin. Nay, He withholds not His visits even though we should have but recently fallen, and

[1] *The Legend of St Christopher, and Other Stories*, by C. C. Martindale, S.J., pp. 119-120.

should have only too much reason to fear that we may fall, and fall again. Even in so terrible an extremity as this, we have but to turn to Him with heartfelt sorrow, and to seek the absolution of His minister, and lo! He is ready to repeat on our behalf the welcome of the prodigal, to-day, and to-morrow, and —if need were—every twenty-four hours, to the very end of our lives. What a triumph of the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for men, if heaven should number among its blessed millions even one of whom it could be said that he fell daily, and daily rose from his fall, and daily, penitent, received his Lord. Oh, the mystery, the fathomless mystery, of the divine condescension!

For the most part, indeed, as experience shows, the relapsing sinner who perseveres in having recourse to the Sacraments, either daily or as frequently as he can, will sooner or later be released from his thraldom. Still, it is at least possible that death might overtake him before he had effected his emancipation from an evil habit which, in his better moments, he abhorred; and in such an instance the miracle of grace which has been described would be added to the triumphs of the Sacred Heart.

In the days, still recent, when some rags of Jansenistic rigorism yet clung about us, it used to be commonly thought that what is termed by theologians "an affection to venial sin" was a bar to frequent Communion, much more to the daily reception of the Sacrament. But now the great decree, *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*, which well deserves to be called the Magna Carta of our Christian liberties, expressly declares that, although —as is obvious—it is most desirable that the heart of the daily communicant should be free from all affection to venial sin, yet a disposition of this kind is not a bar, not a prohibitive impediment, to the daily reception—the fruitful and meritorious reception, be it understood—of our Lord's great gift of Himself; and further, that daily Communion is itself a most potent and efficacious means, though not, of course, without the co-operation of our own free will, for effecting our deliverance from such undesirable dispositions.

And indeed, it only needs a little sympathetic experience of the interior trials of sinful and struggling humanity, in order to

see plainly enough that this sound teaching of theology is in accord with the deepest needs of the human heart. Who that has ever been for any considerable period in close contact with human souls does not know of cases such as this? A man is hampered and hindered by some clinging attachment, whether to persons or to things (occupations or the like), which is to him the occasion of many venial faults, and which might only too easily develop into an overmastering passion. He has not, at present, the strength of will to break his bonds, to give up his venially sinful habit, or to relinquish a dangerous friendship; yet he is most sincerely desirous of avoiding any grave offence against the law of God. He has not yet lost his horror and detestation of mortal sin. He is no hero, no model of generosity in God's service; and his position is fraught with peril. Now, can any available means of grace, among those which God has provided, more powerfully help him to keep his good resolution—I mean the resolution at all costs to avoid mortal sin—than daily Communion? Could any other means have been devised, more admirably adapted to strengthen and foster in his heart that love of our Lord which alone can effectively replace, and oust by replacing, unworthy attachments of whatever kind? Here is a typical case in which this divine Sacrament of Condescension proves itself to be, as the great decree so explicitly states, "not the reward of merit, but the remedy for our weakness."

Divinum pharmacum—"The Divine remedy or medicine," thus is this ever-blessed Sacrament described in that epoch-making ordinance. And yet, no dead or lifeless drug, but the personal ministration, the healing touch of the Divine Physician Himself. We read, in the lives of the saints, of instances in which, with a boldness which shocks our hyper-sensitive age, they have, when tending the sick, put their lips to an ulcer to suck away the festering corruption that could be drawn off by no other available means. Marvellous examples, truly, of a divinely inspired condescension. And is the condescension of our Lord less—or rather immeasurably greater—than that of His creature? Or can anyone who has even begun to understand what is involved in the fathomless descent from the Divine Nature to the human, from "the form (or nature) of

God" to "the form (or nature) of a servant,"[1] raise a difficulty about the lesser descent even from the stainless humanity of Mary, in whose Virginal womb the Word Incarnate made His first abode, to humanity marred and disfigured with the "wounds and bruises and swelling sores"[2] of venial sin? With mortal sin the case is different; for even God Himself will not force our free will; and, so long as the will is turned away from Him, the heart is by its own act closed against His approach, even though the mouth should be opened sacrilegiously to receive Him. But, however foul the sickness, short of death; so long as life is left, so long as there still survives the desire to preserve this life of sanctifying grace, the Divine Physician is at hand, ready, nay, eagerly desirous, to come to our relief. Shall we tell the sick man that he must first make some progress towards recovery, that he must at least get rid of his more unsightly sores, before he may venture to call in the all-merciful Healer of Souls? Or that he is so very sick that a daily visit from the Physician is not to be thought of? Is it not precisely in the most critical cases that the doctor makes a point of on no account omitting his daily visit? Let us by no means minimise the evil of deliberate—and more especially of habitual—venial sin. It is a pestilent soul-sickness of which we are all prone to think and to speak far too lightly. But let us by all means magnify the divine condescension of Him who came to heal the sick, rather than those who are in robust health, or who—to speak more truly—have little or no sense of their own infirmities.

Another point in the decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* which deserves attention, is the statement that "the primary purpose" of the Sacrament of the Eucharist "is not that the honour and reverence due to our Lord may be safeguarded," but that it may serve as "the antidote whereby we are delivered from daily faults and preserved from deadly sins." It is the negative part of this statement which I would here more particularly emphasise, viz., that the showing of honour and reverence to our Lord is *not* the *primary* purpose of the Sacrament. This is an assertion, which, where it has not been passed over unnoticed, can hardly have failed to excite some measure of

[1] Phil. ii. 8. [2] Isa. i. 6.

surprise, and even, for some minds, to create a difficulty. The matter may, perhaps, be most aptly illustrated by an example. We all understand that it is right to pay the utmost respect to the sovereign of this or of any other country. To "fear God and honour the King"—or the civil ruler, whatever his title may happen to be—is a precept that holds good in every land and through all the ages. But now, let it be supposed that a king, on his accession to the throne, should declare his intention, after the solemnity of his coronation and the festivities attendant thereon, to spend the first year of his reign in visiting, without ceremony, the homes of the humbler classes of his subjects, so that he might become thoroughly conversant with their various modes of life, and then form for himself a judgment as to any needed measures of social or industrial reform. Under such circumstances it would plainly be the duty of everyone to treat the royal visitor, wherever he might choose to go, with all possible respect; and yet it would be no less plainly true to say that to receive the homage of his subjects was not the *primary* purpose of his visitation, but that its primary purpose was remedial. And so it is with the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

Moreover, the illustration may be pressed a little further. In the case supposed, would the artisans, the labourers, the unemployed of that kingdom please their sovereign better by falling in with his wishes, by receiving him into their homes without any show of outward pomp, so that he might see and converse with them as far as possible under ordinary conditions; or would he prefer that they should decline to receive him as their guest, on the plea that they could not afford to lay down rich carpets, or to provide costly bed-hangings, or sumptuous food, or a band to herald and welcome his approach? The question needs not to be answered; and the application of the parable is plain. It is our Lord's wish to be at home with us. It is His wish that we should not defer our welcome until—as we conceive—we have made more elaborate preparations for receiving Him. *The best preparation for receiving our Lord to-morrow is to receive Him to-day;* always supposing, of course, that the prescribed conditions—freedom from mortal sin and a right intention—are fulfilled. He wants, as had been said, to be at home with us; and like a model guest He will, with the

most delicate tact, accommodate Himself to our ways, will suit Himself to our times and convenience; while on the other hand He wishes us to learn His ways, so simple, so gentle, so self-effacing, so unobtrusively kind. He is so grateful if only we will let Him feel that He is not unwelcome, if only we will allow Him to enrich us in his own fashion, a fashion silent and all unseen in time, but assuredly to be revealed and hymned by angels for all eternity, like His gracious sojourn in the poor but not inhospitable stable at Bethlehem.

To pass, now, from illustrations and parables to a point of interpretation, inasmuch as the decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* makes mention both of "frequent" and of "daily" Communion, the question may well arise, in the mind of anyone who has not studied the document closely: "What is the relation—in the intention of the Holy Father, and of the framers of the decree—between these two terms 'daily' and 'frequent,' in their practical application?" To this question the answer is, beyond all reasonable doubt, that daily Communion is recommended *per se*, as the more normal practice for all of those of the faithful who have this priceless boon within reach. Frequent—as distinct from daily—Communion is commended to those for whom, by reason of their occupations, of their distance from church or chapel, or other such like obstacles, the daily reception of the Sacrament is not possible; and to those also—too many alas—who cannot be persuaded to avail themselves of their birthright as Christians in all its fulness. That daily Communion is recommended *per se* appears from a variety of considerations. The very title of the decree is: *De quotidiana SS. Eucharistiæ sumptione*—"Of the *daily* reception of the Most Holy Eucharist." The manna is cited as a type of the Eucharist with special reference to its daily use. The Holy Eucharist is declared to be (inclusively at least) that "daily bread" for which we make our petition in the Lord's Prayer. The practice of the early Christians, which it is the purpose of the Holy Father to revive, is expressly declared to have been that of daily Communion. And, if this were not enough, we are plainly told that it is "the desire of Jesus Christ and of the Church that *all* the faithful should daily approach the sacred banquet." So much for the teaching

of the chief decree on the subject; to which it should be added that, as early as 30th May 1905, more than six months before the issue of the *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*, the Holy Father being—as is explicitly set forth—"most desirous that daily Communion, a practice so salutary and so pleasing to God, may by His grace be everywhere propagated among the faithful," granted indulgences for the recital of a prayer to the effect that "those who are in the state of sanctifying grace may, when it is possible for them to do so, devoutly approach the Holy Table every day, so that daily receiving in Holy Communion the antidote to their daily venial sins, and daily nourishing in themselves the life of grace, they may at last attain to the life of bliss everlasting." And it may be further added that, by a supplementary decree, dated the 14th February 1906, it was enacted that daily communicants may henceforth gain all plenary indulgences granted under the usual conditions, without being obliged (as heretofore) to confess weekly. This favour, it is to be observed, is enjoyed, not by all frequent communicants, but by those alone who communicate daily; though it is not forfeited if Communion be omitted on one or two days in the week. Moreover, even apart from those very positive statements, and these very clear indications of the wish of the Holy Father, any opinion to the effect that daily Communion is the privilege of the more fervent, while those who are less pious should content themselves with communicating more or less frequently, would go directly counter to the principle, now once for all established, that this divine gift is *not the reward of virtue*, but the remedy for our manifold weakness.

It may, however, be not unreasonably asked, if there is to be no distinction of persons in this matter, among those—be it understood—who fulfil the twofold condition of freedom from mortal sin and of a right intention, to what purpose does the decree lay it down that it is desirable (*oportet*) that the advice of a confessor should be asked? To this question it may be answered, in accordance with the teaching of distinguished writers on the subject—(1) that to ask the advice of one's confessor is plainly an act of salutary humility; (2) that it is a precautionary measure, lest the penitent should deceive

himself, either as to the state of his conscience or as to the rectitude of his intention; and (3) that an opportunity is thereby afforded to the confessor for helpful counsel concerning the manner in which the penitent may turn this great gift to the best advantage.

But it is further to be observed that, while the penitent is recommended, though not commanded, to seek the advice of a confessor on the subject of daily Communion, the confessor on his side is by no means left without very plain and explicit directions as to the course which he is to pursue. For in the first place he is "to dissuade no one" (*ne quemquam avertat*) from daily Communion, provided only that the penitent has the requisite qualifications, which are, the state of grace and a right intention. He may, indeed, often have occasion to dissuade his penitent from this or that venial fault, as little in keeping with the practice of daily Communion; but it would obviously be an inversion of the right order of things to hinder him from daily Communion on the ground that this holy practice is out of keeping with his faults; always, of course, on the assumption that he has at least the intention to profit by daily Communion as a preservative against mortal sin. And in the second place, not only is the confessor to dissuade no one from daily Communion who has the essential qualifications for the worthy and profitable reception of the Sacrament, but he is "frequently and with great zeal" to commend a practice of which, in the decrees under consideration, we are repeatedly told that it is most "pleasing to God and salutary to the soul." Is it too much to hope that the chief and most enduring result of this present Congress may be the zealous propagation, among all classes of the faithful, of this supremely efficacious means of maintaining and fostering that union with our Lord which is the source of all spiritual life and vigour?

By way of example to others—for the daily Communions of those who are able and willing to comply to the full with the Holy Father's recommendations will lead to a great increase of frequent Cummunion among those who are unable or unwilling to communicate daily; by way of the stimulus to greater zeal and generosity in all manner of great works which is afforded by the daily or frequent reception of this all-holy Sacrament;

by way of emancipation from the slavery of worldliness; by way of reparation and impetration and of all the fruits and effects of prayer; in these and in other ways the propagation of the practice of daily Communion will, it may be hoped, justify the expectations of the Holy Father—expressed in a letter written on his behalf by his Eminence Cardinal Gennari—that this holy practice will prove to be the one means above all others whereby is to be brought about that revival of the Christian spirit which is so urgently needed at the present time. It is a time of terrible dangers to the Church, of dangers not less terrible because in many countries they are insidious rather than violent. But God is stronger than His enemies, the hour of the Church's direst need has ever been the hour of her brightest opportunity. And not the least part of our opportunity is to make the fullest use of that table which our Lord hath spread in the wilderness of this world against all them that afflict us. *Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus eos qui tribulant me.*[1]

And, that all this may be so, be it the subject of our most fervent prayers and of our most earnest efforts, that, in accordance with the mind of our Holy Father, as expressed in yet another decree, dated 15th September 1906, our children may be encouraged, from the thrice-happy day of their first Communion onwards, either daily or as often as their circumstances will permit, to partake of the Bread of Angels. To them and to their elders may it ever be our most cherished privilege, as priests, to afford every possible facility for the fullest exercise of their Christian privilege.

The Rev. Father DE ZULUETA, S.J., briefly commented on the papers, concerning himself chiefly with Fr. Lucas's points, and emphasising the attitude of mind of all Catholics, both lay and clerical, towards the thrice blessed Decree of the Holy Father, which was to rule absolutely out of court all discussion as to the necessity and usefulness of daily Communion, given, of course, the two indispensable conditions.

[1] Ps. xxii. 5.

Turning to the consideration of the difficulties as to the spiritual expediency of daily Communion, he pointed out that Catholics did not act on the teaching of any individual, however learned or saintly, but on the principle of authority. The keynote of the Eucharistic Congress was devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and loyalty to the See of Peter, and, taking the keynote, they should frankly and fearlessly adopt the guidance of the Holy Father in the matter of frequent Communion. He had distinctly said that frequent Communion was open to all the faithful of every condition of life, provided they were in a state of grace, and had a right and pious intention in receiving.

The BISHOP OF CANEA, proposing a vote of thanks to Cardinal Ferrari, dwelt on the love for the Blessed Sacrament entertained by His Eminence's predecessor, St Charles Borromeo, to whom was due the honour of inaugurating the devotion of the Forty Hours' Adoration. Referring to Father Lucas's paper, the Bishop said that it not only testified to the eloquence and learning of its writer, but would, he thought, do more than anything else in the Congress to bring about an extension of the practice of frequent Communion.

The CARDINAL, replying, emphasised what had been said on the subject of daily Communion, the practice of which was pretty general in his own diocese. He closed the session by giving his blessing to those assembled.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting in the afternoon was the fullest of all the sectional meetings. It was presided over by the BISHOP OF SALFORD, who was supported on the platform by a large number of prelates, priests and prominent laymen. Among those present in the body of the hall, several non-Catholics were noticed.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE HOLY EUCHARIST

By the Rev. Adrian Fortescue, D.D.

The question of the place of the holy Eucharist in the Orthodox Eastern Church resolves itself into two: namely, of the faith and of the practice of that Church in this regard.

I. Faith.

Her belief is the more important question. In any case, practices, use, ritual, and so on, are only a more or less imperfect expression of the thing that really matters—the faith.

Now, before we discuss the faith of a Church with regard to any one special point, we must first know what sources are its authentic expressions. No Church is collectively responsible for every statement made by any of her children. It always leads to confusion, and it generally involves grave injustice, to represent the faith of a religious body by a promiscuous collection of extracts from writings of its members. We should very much resent all being made responsible for every statement in every Catholic prayer-book. One must treat such questions as these from this basis only: What documents are there to which the Church has deliberately and consciously committed herself? What does she formally and officially acknowledge as her own? Other sources, opinions of pious writers, bishops, or even patriarchs, may be interesting as samples of popular ideas—they are not the voice of the Church.

If you ask an Orthodox theologian what are the authentic sources of the faith, he will answer, as we should: Scripture and Tradition. "There are two kinds of dogma," says Peter Mogilas:[1] "some are contained in the divine books of Holy Writ, others are handed down from the mouth of the Apostles, and explained by the Synods and the holy fathers. And on these two the faith is founded." We may leave Scripture aside in this case. Of course, they profess to believe and accept

[1] *Conf. Orth.*, i. 4.

whatever the New Testament contains about the holy Eucharist; but experience shows that such a profession still leaves room for considerable disagreement.

Tradition is either apostolic or ecclesiastic. Apostolic tradition appears to mean what can directly be proved to have been said by an Apostle. It remains, then, rather a theoretic idea than a practically useful source. Ecclesiastic tradition is for us the real criterion. This, again, is divided into two classes. The pure, absolutely authentic, and infallible tradition is that of the first seven centuries, before the great schism. This has in every way the same value as Scripture. The Orthodox fathers were inspired in the strictest sense.[1] Then there is a tradition of the Eastern Church alone, as shown in certain official documents drawn up, or accepted, by her since the schism. This secondary kind of tradition has rather less authority.

In making such a distinction, they are plainly inconsistent. They believe quite definitely that theirs is the whole and only true Church of Christ. Latins who have fallen away from Orthodoxy are just as much heretics and schismatics as Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians. Why, then, should our defection hinder the true Church from holding Œcumenical synods and from teaching with the same authority as before? It is one of the many cases that show that, in spite of their loudly proclaimed theory, practically they do in some vague way concede rights to us that they would not admit in the case of Nestorians or Monophysites. The first and purest tradition, then, consists in the acts of the first seven general councils, the eighty-five "Canons of the Apostles" (whereof Latins admit only fifty), the canons of certain fathers of the Church, and of nine more synods that were received and approved by the second Council in Trullo (692).[2] These are the documents contained in their modern authentic collection of laws, the Πηδάλιον.[3] As for the

[1] So the Synod of Constantinople against Lukaris (1638). Kimmel, *Monumenta fidei Eccl. Orient.* (Jena, 1850), p. 401.

[2] Can. 2.

[3] Published with the authority of the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1800 at Leipzig, and often reprinted (last edition, Athens, 1887). The full title is: Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς . . . τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησίας.

secondary tradition, their theologians disagree about its value. Some, for instance Mesoloras,[1] give it only a relative worth, inasmuch as it agrees with the primary one. Others describe it as being of strict obligation to all Orthodox Christians. In any case, it is fair to take this secondary tradition as an authentic source for the belief of the Orthodox Church since the schism. Indeed, there is no other such source.

The secondary tradition, then, consists of these documents: the *Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogilas*, Metropolitan of Kiev (†1647). It was written originally in Latin, but soon done into Greek, and was accepted by the patriarchs and the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. This is the chief source.

Then the *Confession of Dositheos*, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who held the famous synod. This confession, with Mogilas, is included among the acts of that synod. Lastly, the *Confession of Metrophanes Kritopulos*, Patriarch of Alexandria (†1641). This last confession has obvious protestantizing tendencies, and is generally considered (as by Michalcescu, p. 185) to be less authentic than the others.

The *Confession of Gennadios of Constantinople* (†1456), drawn up in answer to Sultan Mohammad II.'s demand for a statement of the faith of his Church, though included in their collection of documents, is not thought to have as much authority as Mogilas, Dositheos, and Kritopulos. The text of these confessions of faith is contained in the collections of Kimmel [2] and Michalcescu.[3]

It is, then, to these sources that we must turn for an authentic account of the belief of the Orthodox Church about the holy Eucharist. If we quote a private theologian of never so great a name, the Russian Philaret, or the Greek Mesoloras, or even a patriarch, an Orthodox opponent might answer that such may be their opinion, it is not his. He could hardly dismiss Mogilas, Dositheos, or Kritopulos in that way.

It is, I say, to the authentic sources of secondary tradition that we must turn. As for Scripture and the primary

[1] *Συμβολικὴ τῆς ὀρθοδ. ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1901), i. 12.

[2] E. J. Kimmel, *Monumenta fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis* (Jena, 1850).

[3] Jon Michalcescu, *Die Bekenntnisse und die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1904).

tradition of the first seven centuries, we know about them; and we know too that both are claimed by very different schools. There is, as far as I know, no pronouncement of any one of the first seven general councils on the subject of the real Presence or the Eucharistic Sacrifice. As for the fathers, we have many collections of their defence of these points; among them the Greeks, notably St Cyril of Jerusalem and St John Chrysostom with regard to the real Presence, fill a large place. That the Orthodox give so much importance to their works will already be a prejudice that they agree in these points with the Catholic Church. That prejudice is proved to be right by the pronouncements of the secondary tradition, since the schism.

I turn, then, to what is less generally known—these later documents of the Orthodox, composed since they left us. In the first place, that they all teach a real, objective, and certain presence of Christ after the consecration, under the form of bread and wine; this is too obvious to make the quotation of texts necessary. On that point the Orthodox Church has never wavered. Any denial of it, any sort of compromising formula describing a virtual presence, a presence to the receiver only, a presence by faith, is to her, as to us, flat heresy. Prompt excommunication would be the lot of any of her children who attempted such an explanation, to-day as in the past. Moreover, this real Presence is involved in the second point I maintain—namely, that she teaches transubstantiation. She does not of course use the word, since she speaks Greek in these official documents. But from the fathers, St Cyril of Jerusalem particularly, she has inherited Greek words that can only be translated into Latin by our term. They said that at the consecration the bread was changed according to its substance into the body of Christ, and the wine in the same way into his blood. Μετουσίωσις is the common term—exactly our "transubstantiatio"—then the verbs: μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι, μεταποιεῖσθαι, μεταβάλλεσθαι.[1] Any Greek dictionary will translate these as *to be changed in substance*. Στοιχεῖα is "element," "essential nature," and so on.

[1] Cyr. Hier., *Catech. Mys.*, iv. 20; Chrys., *Hom.*, 82 (*al.* 83) *in Mt.* (M.P.Gr., lxi. 199); *Hom.*, 45 (46), 42, 17 (*ibid.*, lxiii. 131); Cyr. Alex., *In Mt.*, xxvi. 27 (M.P.Gr., lxxiii. 519); Joh. Dam., *de fide orth.* (M.P.Gr., xciv. 1146 *seq.*).

The Orthodox Church continues using these words since the schism. Before Lukaris and his disturbance, Mogilas defines the holy Eucharist as "The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the appearance (*θεωρία*) of bread and wine, in which Jesus Christ is present really and truly, that is, according to the thing itself (*κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα*)";[1] and further, he says that when certain words (we must come back to these) are spoken, "At once transubstantiation (*μετουσίωσις*) takes place, and the bread is changed into the true body of Christ and the wine into his true blood."[2] His expression throughout is that the body and blood of Christ are hidden "under the covering (*ἔνδυμα*, cloak) of bread and wine." Moreover, the original text (he wrote in Latin) contains, in the place I have quoted, the word Transubstantiatio. It was the affair of poor Cyril Lukaris that brought about the Synod of Jerusalem. He was Cyril I., six times Patriarch of Constantinople, murdered in 1638. He brought great trouble to his Church by attempting to protestantize her according to ideas he had learnt from English, Swiss, and German Protestants. After his death a great synod was held at Jerusalem in 1672, which condemned his principles in the strongest terms. One of these principles had naturally been Protestant views about the holy Eucharist. The synod then declares the belief of the Orthodox Church to be that "After the consecration of the bread and wine, the substance (*οὐσία*) of bread and wine no longer remain, but the very body and blood of the Lord in the appearance and figure (*ἐν εἴδει καὶ τύπῳ*) of bread and wine—that is, under the accidents (*ὑπὸ τοὶς συμβεβηκόσιν*) of bread."[3] Further, "The body and blood of the Lord are held and bitten by our hands and teeth, but only by accident (*κατὰ συμβεβηκός*)—that is, in the accidents of bread and wine."[4] Again, "The bread of the offering, that lays before us in the various churches, after the consecration is changed and transubstantiated (*μεταποιούμενος καὶ μετουσιούμενος*) and becomes that very body that is in heaven."[5] Therefore, the synod declares: "The body and blood of the Lord that are in the mystery of the Eucharist are to be honoured above all things, adored with real adoration (*προσκυνεῖσθαι λατρευ-*

[1] i. 9, 106. [2] i. 9, 107. [3] *Dosith. Conf.*, Decr. 17.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

τικῶς)."[1] "But," the fathers add, "the manner of transubstantiation (again μετουσίωσις) we do not believe to be capable of explanation, namely, the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Lord."[2] It is, lastly, as a further protest against Lukaris' Protestantism that they explain at length that the body of the Lord is really present before Communion and while the holy Eucharist is being reserved.[3] No Catholic, then, could ask for clearer or more categorical statements than those of this synod—the last quite official pronouncement of the Orthodox Church. We turn to the rather less authentic pronouncement of Kritopulos, and find that he refers to Communion only very slightly as one of the three chief sacraments, and that he describes it as "the symbol of our bodily union (συσσωμάτωσις) and connection with the incarnate Son and Word of God."[4] So much for their official pronouncements.

If we ask about the faith of the people concerning this sacrament we find that it is that of their rulers. The Orthodox Christian believes that the whole substance of the bread is changed into the body of Christ and the whole substance of the wine into his blood, as firmly as we do.

In 1723 the Orthodox patriarchs sent a profession of their faith to the English Non-jurors. In it they say: "We believe that in this sacrament our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not typically nor virtually, nor by his grace, as in other sacraments, . . . nor by impanation, as the Lutherans say ignorantly and unworthily, but truly and essentially; so that after consecration the bread is changed, transubstantiated, transmuted, and transformed into the very body of the Lord that was born at Bethlehem of the ever Virgin . . . etc. Further, we believe that after consecration the substance of bread and wine is no longer present, but the body and blood of the Lord, under the form and appearance of bread and wine. Further, that the most holy body and blood of the Lord are received into the mouth and organs of communicants, whether these be worthy or unworthy . . . that they are broken and divided, but only

[1] *Dosith. Conf.*, Decr. 17. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Metroph. Krit. Conf.*, cap. 5.

by accident—that is, by the accidents of bread and wine."[1] They go on to repeat the statements of Mogilas and the Synod of Jerusalem that we have already seen, and come back to the subject to insist again, in the most positive language, on transubstantiation—using the word (*μετουσίωσις*) repeatedly, and explaining exactly as we should.

When William Palmer of Magdalen went to Russia in 1841 to study their Church, he showed a book, in which he had denied transubstantiation, to a Russian Archpriest, Koutnevich. The Archpriest said at once: "But we believe and teach transubstantiation."[2] To translate *μετουσίωσις* they used an ugly-looking word formed from ours—*transubstantziatzija*.

Provost Alexios Maltzew explains and defends what is exactly our doctrine at great length;[3] but then he has been called a Romanizer. I turn to one or two books of popular instruction. Mr Nicholas Amurazês is anything but a Romanizer. He wrote a defence of their Church and her teaching against Armenians, "Westerns or Papicocatholics," Protestants, etc. This little book, Ἡ *ορθόδοξος ἐκκλησία*,[4] seems to be enormously popular. I have seen it in almost every Greek bookshop in the Levant. It is exceptionally bitter against Papicocatholics; the author denounces our novelties—*καινοτομίαι*, such as Azyme bread, communion under one kind, wrong view as to the moment of consecration, and so on, vehemently. He will have none of our scholastic explanation of transubstantiation, but he defines the thing itself exactly as we should: "In the holy Eucharist we receive the body and blood of the Lord when we eat the bread and drink the wine. For the bread and wine are changed in their substance (*μετουσιοῦνται* again) into the body and blood of the Lord."[5] He goes on at once to say that the Papic Church follows the Orthodox one in this article, and the Calvinists and Anglicans teach otherwise, quoting two Anglican articles. Is there any need of more examples? The Orthodox Christian catechism of Eugenios Kostarides[6]—used in the primary schools of the Great Church—contains the question:

[1] A. Maltzew, *Die Liturgien* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 219-20.
[2] W. Palmer, *Visit to the Church of Russia* (Longmans, 1895), p. 145.
[3] Maltzew, *Die Liturgien*, pp. 219-24. [4] Athens, 1906.
[5] p. 191. [6] Ὀρθόδοξος χριστιανικὴ κατήχησις, Constantinople, 1907.

"Which mystery is called the divine Eucharist? *Answer:* the divine Eucharist is that mystery by which the Christian believes that he receives the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine, for the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting."[1]

That the Orthodox Church, then, believes in transubstantiation in exactly the same sense as Catholics, that this is her official teaching and the universal belief among her children, is as certain as any point of her faith. So obvious is it that it would be unnecessary to dwell on it, and my list of quotations would be superfluous, were it not that quite lately one or two of their theologians have tried to establish some sort of difference between their belief and ours. This is, I believe, due to Anglican influence. A number of High Church Anglicans have tried to explain to them that evanescent thing, the faith of the Church of England about the holy Eucharist. In the mouth of an advanced High Churchman this means, of course, something as near our belief as can by any stretch be reconciled with their article rejecting the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. And some Orthodox theologians are disposed to say that they too do not believe the Roman statement—apparently from a general friendliness to Anglicans and hatred of Popery. Such an assertion is reported of Philaret of Moscow[2] († 1832). I have seen the same thing in other Orthodox books. What these writers seem to mean is that they are not prepared to accept the scholastic theory of substance and accident with all its corollaries. To whom we may answer that this theory is not part of the faith to us either. To Catholics what is *de fide* about the real Presence is contained and exhausted by the definition of Trent.[3] And the official formulas of the Orthodox Church amply satisfy that definition. If they mean to go further and deny a real μετουσίωσις, then in this point they forsake their own faith and are—from the point of view of their own Church—guilty of heresy.

About the holy Eucharist as a Sacrifice we need say little.

[1] p. 29.

[2] Headlam, *The Teaching of the Russian Church* (Rivingtons, 1897), pp. 8-9.

[3] Sess. XIII., cap. 4, 5, can. 1-6.

Here, too, we find entire agreement. Peter Mogilas says: "This mystery (sacrament) is offered as a sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians, living and dead." He refers to it repeatedly as a sacrifice (θυσία), the "unbloody sacrifice," and so on.[1] The Synod of Jerusalem declares that in the holy Eucharist "A true and propitiatory sacrifice is offered for all the faithful, living, and dead;[2] and so do all their declarations and all their theologians. The word θυσία, a real sacrifice in the strictest sense, is used by them all. They insist on it and explain its identity with that of the Cross just as we do. I am not aware that anyone has ever tried to establish a shade of difference between their teaching and ours on this point.

I come to the question about which there is a real difference —that of the moment of Consecration. All Eastern liturgies contain an ἐπίκλησις, a formal and explicit invocation of the Holy Ghost to change the offerings into the body and blood of Christ, made after the recital of the words of institution. The Orthodox believe that then, and not at the words of institution, does transubstantiation take place. A full account of this question would take a long time. We may note, in the first place, that such an epiklesis is a very old form. It occurs not only for the holy Eucharist, but (with, of course, a modified text) in baptism—that the Holy Ghost may sanctify the water[3] —and as the form of many other blessings. We note secondly, that, as far as the Greek fathers are concerned, whereas some say quite plainly that the words of institution consecrate, others describe this as the work of the Holy Ghost in a way that seems to imply that they consider the epiklesis to be the form. Thus, on the one hand, St John Chrysostom speaks of the priest at the altar, who says: "This is my body. This word changes the offering."[4] On the other hand, St Cyril of Jerusalem says: "We pray the merciful God to send the Holy Ghost on the gifts that lie before us, that he may make the bread into the body of Christ and the wine into the blood of Christ;

[1] P. I., 9, 107 *passim.* [2] *Dosith Conf.*, decr. 17, Kimmel, p. 461.

[3] Tertullian, *de baptism*, 4; Basil, *de Spir. Scto.*, xv., 35; Greg. Nyss., *Orat. cat. magna*, 33; Cyril Hier., *Cat.*, iii., 3; Opt. Mil., *de schism. Don.*, iii., 2.

[4] Hom 2, *de prod. Iudæ*, 6 (M.P.Gr., xlix., 389, and 380).

for whatever the Holy Ghost touches is sanctified and changed."[1] And we should note thirdly, that in earlier ages Christians were not concerned to examine at what exact moment consecration takes place. The loose arrangement of all early liturgies shows this. They looked upon the whole Eucharistic prayer, containing both the words of institution and the epiklesis, as one thing. In answer to that prayer they believed that God would change the bread and wine, as Christ had said. But speculation as to the exact moment when all the necessary form had been pronounced, investigation of the minimum required for a valid sacrament—this is a development of later scholastic times.

The Roman Church has settled the question for us in one sense, by telling us to kneel, adore, and elevate the holy Eucharist, as soon as the words of institution are spoken, and by allowing the epiklesis of her rite practically to disappear. The Orthodox have settled it in another sense; though they do not quite agree about it. Some of their theologians seem to look upon the epiklesis as the complete and sufficient form of the sacrament; so that presumably an epiklesis alone, without the words of institution before it, would be enough. This seems to be the opinion of Mogilas, who describes the epiklesis as the form "at which immediately transubstantiation occurs," without mentioning the words of institution at all.[2] The commoner view among them, however, is that both words of institution and epiklesis are necessary. The words of institution come first, and lay, as it were, the seed that is fructified by the epiklesis. This seems to be the idea of the Synod of Jerusalem, according to which the sacrament is "instituted by the essential word, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit."[3] It was certainly that of Mark Eugenikos of Ephesus, who answered Bessarion's defence of the Catholic position by a treatise bearing the portentous title, "That the holy gifts are sanctified, not only by the sound of the Lord's words, but also by the prayer and blessing of the priest afterwards in the power of the Holy Ghost"; and it is the position defended by all their modern theologians whose works I have seen. In any

[1] *Cat.*, xxiii., 7. [2] *Conf. Orth.*, P. I., 9, 107, Kimmel, p. 180.
[3] Decr. 15, Kimmel, p. 451.

case they consider it an important fact that no change takes place till after the epiklesis. Their Euchologion adds a note to the words of institution to say this, and to forbid any sort of elevation at that time;[1] they regard our view as gravely erroneous (I have not seen it called heretical), and, since we have at best but the mutilated fragment of an epiklesis in our Mass, some of them have been disposed to doubt the validity of our holy Eucharist.

The question did not arise at the time of either Photius or Cerularius. Our view was definitely formed, at any rate, by the time of St Ambrose (†397). Both he and St Augustine say in so many words and on many occasions that the words of Christ consecrate, "Christus consecrat suis verbis" (Ambr., *de bened. patr.*, ix. 38-39). We know too the text of Ps.-Ambrose *de Sacramentis:* "Vis scire quibus verbis consecratur?" and the answer, giving simply the words of institution. Since that time there has been no serious discussion about this in the West. In the East we find in the twelfth century one Theodore, Bishop of Andida, who appears to attribute consecration to the epiklesis.[2] And from that time this view has obtained more and more among them. The question was discussed at Florence (1439), and a deputation of their bishops, appointed to examine it, conceded what the Latins demanded.[3] Later this concession, like all those made at Florence, was, of course, withdrawn by them, and a definite opposition to Latin error in this point too became, and still is, a note of Orthodoxy.

With regard to the faith, then, we find complete agreement between the two Churches as to transubstantiation and the Eucharistic sacrifice, but disagreement as to what is the form of the sacrament.

II. Practice.

There is a greater diversity in practice. Two Latin customs are especially hateful to the Orthodox, our use of Azyme bread and our Communion under one kind. Both, we may notice at

[1] Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, 7th ed. (Venice 1898), p. 63.
[2] In his Προθεωρία κεφαλαιώδης, 27 (Mai: Nova PP. coll., vi. 572 *seq.*)
[3] Hardouin, ix. 977.

once, are purely disciplinary measures of the Western Patriarchate, that Rome has never tried to impose on any Eastern Church. In both cases we have always recognised and respected their custom; but they will not tolerate ours.

As for the kind of bread used for the Eucharist, all Eastern Churches, except those of the Armenians and Maronites, use fermented bread. With the Armenians, as with us, it is unfermented. The difference goes back to our disagreement as to the time of the Last Supper. Obviously both sides wish to do what our Lord did then. In the West it has been almost universally accepted that the Last Supper was the Paschal Supper. In that case then it is certain that our Lord used unleavened bread, as we do. All leaven was strictly forbidden during Passover week. In the East the commoner view seems to be that the Last Supper was not the Paschal meal, but an ordinary supper held the day before; and that our Lord was crucified on the day of the Paschal Supper. It is a well-known difficulty in the New Testament. The Synoptics appear to say what is our view, St John seems to suppose theirs. If, then, they are right about the Last Supper it would still not prove that our Lord used leavened bread; but it would make it possible, perhaps more likely.

Photius did not touch this question; his great grievance was the *Filioque*. Cerularius hardly mentioned the *Filioque*, but made our use of Azyme bread his chief accusation. This, he says, is Judaism; because of it he cannot find words strong enough to denounce our "horrible infirmity." We are "dogs, bad workmen, schismatics," and so on.[1] Eventually the grievance of our Azyme bread retired more into the background to make way again for the *Filioque* question. But our use of Azyme bread is always quoted, even now, as one of our offences. All the official documents since the schism refer to it,[2] and it is discussed in all their books. Their argument seems to be (now that they have dropped the accusation of Judaism) that Azyme is not bread. Christ, they always repeat, took bread, ἄρτος—by what right, then, have you substituted Azymes—τὰ ἄζυμα.

[1] In the letter written for Cerularius by Niketos Stethatos, Will. *Acta et Scripta*, pp. 127-36.

[2] Mogilas, i. 107; Kritopulos, ix. 12.

This is, of course, absurd. Bread is flour and water, whether leavened or not. Indeed, one might urge that it is purer, therefore still more bread, without the addition of yeast. However, Provost Maltzew, the most reasonable and courteous of their theologians, I think, has opened a better way, and has at last, after centuries of wild abuse of Azyme, put the question temperately and sensibly. "The Orthodox Church," he says, "uses leavened bread, according to Apostolic tradition. Nevertheless the use of unleavened wheat-bread in the Roman and Armenian Churches, although entirely forbidden to the Orthodox, is no hindrance to the valid administration of the sacrament."[1] We may perhaps leave them the harmless complacency of thinking they have the Apostolic tradition, and agree on these terms. Both kinds of bread are valid, the use of one or another is a question of discipline, that may be and is different in East and West. The Uniates of the Byzantine rite, of course, use leavened bread as do the Orthodox.

They always give Communion under both kinds. The celebrant and deacon first eat and then drink. For lay-people the consecrated bread is put into the chalice, soaked in the consecrated wine, and then given to them with a spoon. They also reserve in this way—namely, in the artophorion they keep the one kind soaked in the other.

I have not found any discussion of this question at the time of the schism. But since then they have always insisted on their practice and abused ours. Mogilas[2] and Kritopulos[3] argue against Communion under one kind. Especially since they have made friends with Anglicans have they learnt to make much of this point; and now all their theologians have a great deal to say against our mutilated sacrament. It is, of course, again only a question of discipline. Byzantine Uniates give Communion exactly as do the Orthodox.

These two points, then, Azyme bread and Communion under one kind for lay-people, are the only ones of importance in which our practice differs from theirs. Obviously there are a number of others that follow inevitably from the difference of rite. But these are all details of ceremonial, that may surprise the traveller or interest the student; they

[1] *Die Liturgien*, p. 223. [2] i. 107. [3] ix. (Kimmel, p. 125).

do not lead to any serious discussion between the defenders of the two Churches.

I will end by naming some of those that would be most noticed by a Latin traveller. First they have no sort of extra-liturgical devotions to the Blessed Sacrament. They reserve, of course, for the sick and for their Presanctified Liturgy in Lent. In any Orthodox Church the little box, the ἀρτοφόριον (our tabernacle) will be noticed on the altar, or very commonly on the Prothesis, the Credence-table in the north of the sanctuary. It contains a covered chalice like our ciborium, in which is kept the holy Eucharist soaked in the consecrated wine, then allowed to dry and crumbled. But no one ever takes the least notice of it. Sometimes there is, and more often perhaps, there is not, a lamp before it, whose light pales before the rows of much larger lamps that burn before the Ikonostasis. And the Orthodox make deep inclinations and signs of the cross before the holy eikons, they are always kissing them and bowing to them. Before the tabernacle they pass without any sign of reverence. This simply means an earlier stage of development. They believe in the real Presence, of course; in the liturgy they express their belief very plainly, and Communion to the pious Orthodox Christian means just what it does to us. But for the rest, outside the Liturgy, they have not yet drawn the conclusion that is so obvious to us. To them, if I may say so without irreverence, the holy gifts are just put aside and kept till they are wanted. The only answer an Orthodox priest in Cyprus made to my questions on this subject was: "Yes, but God is everywhere." And then the very form of their reservation, the unleavened bread soaked, prevents anything like our use of the monstrance. So they have no Benediction, no procession of the Blessed Sacrament, and what they visit in church is not the artophorion, but the holy eikons. I have seen among some Uniate Melkites a certain hankering after our devotions of this kind. If I might venture to advise them, I should point out that the integrity and purity of their rite is even more important. It is worth while to make a sacrifice for the sake of that. Certainly to make an inclination, a μετάνοια (they do not kneel) before their artophorion would not be amiss. For

the rest, Benediction and so on is obviously incompatible with their traditions and their venerable rite. They may attend the holy Liturgy and receive Communion with all the more devotion instead. And God will not refuse any grace to a man because he is a Melkite.

Another curious point is their vagueness as to the moment of consecration. We have seen something of this in the question of the epiklesis. It is a result of their conservatism and of the want of any scholastic period among them. Their tradition still considers the liturgy as one thing and scatters throughout it the honours that we keep carefully till after the words of institution. We have seen that after those words they pray to the Holy Ghost to do what we (and the Melkites who use their liturgy) believe to be already done. That fact is no argument for their theory of the moment of consecration. Similar dramatic misplacements occur throughout their service. At the *great entrance*, when the offerings are brought in, long before either words of institution or epiklesis, they sing: "Let us put aside all earthly care to receive the king of all things who comes accompanied by unseen armies of angels." And the rubric that tells them to wait till the offerings appear before they sing the word *king* clinches the meaning of this strange anticipation. More than that, at the very beginning, during the preparation of the gifts, the long rite that accompanies the cutting up of the bread seems to suppose throughout that it is already consecrated. "The Lamb of God is sacrificed," says the priest as he pierces the prosphora, and so on.

We shall be more tolerant of such vagueness when we remember that it is characteristic of all old liturgies, and that even now we too have a slight, a very slight, relic of such an attitude in our rite. For in the Roman Mass, too, the priest at the offertory, anticipating the consecration, asks God to receive *hanc immaculatam hostiam.*

To conclude. The practices do not matter. In any case either Church would keep her own. We should only ask of the Orthodox not to rail at ours, while they keep theirs. And we should respect the traditions of a venerable sister-church without imitating them ourselves. As for faith, that of course does matter. A union can only be brought about on the basis

of a common faith. If, then, the hope of reunion between the two greatest churches of Christendom is ever to be realised, it is only the epiklesis question (as far as the holy Eucharist is concerned) that will have to be discussed. And this ought not to be a very serious stumbling-block. For the rest, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and so on, there will be nothing to do but to recognise and register our entire agreement. Here no one has anything to concede, no one need do anything but persevere in the faith of his fathers.

It is good to realise that the Sacrament that was given to us as a bond of union, but has been so fruitful a source of discord between Christians, in this case, at any rate, is already a mark, not of division but of union. And one may hope that so great a bond may bring about eventually the breaking down of other barriers, that Catholics and Orthodox may be again one body, who eat of the one bread.

"The Doctrine of St John Chrysostom," by H.R.H. PRINCE MAX OF SAXONY, D.D. The reader is referred to the French version of this paper, which will be found on p. 121.

Monseigneur DOULCET, Bishop of Nicopolis, Bulgaria, spoke in appreciative terms of the papers. He referred to the fact that the Eastern Churches observe the same feasts of our Lord and His Blessed Mother as we do, though not on the same days. The great difference of observation—there was none in faith—between the Eastern Church and ourselves is the time of the keeping of Easter, and he would be glad if his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as the Bishop slyly observed, "shows a great interest in Eastern Churches," could bring them into line with the West in this particular. In the East, his Lordship said, the Church did not change, in England Catholics did not change, and the truth did not change. Though slight differences of rite and custom did not alter the truth, he thought it a pity that certain feasts, such as Easter, were not kept at the same time by East and West.

Mr HENRY JENNER illustrated the popular view of the Holy Eucharist in the Orthodox Eastern Church by a story of

Father John of Cronstadt, who, when visiting the late Czar in his last illness, accounted for the fact that the touch of his hands on the Emperor's head seemed to relieve pain, by saying that he had come straight from the Altar where his hands had been handling the Body of our Lord. On the question of the moment of consecration, Mr Jenner threw out a tentative suggestion that each Church might be right as regards its own formula. In the Latin rite the Words of Institution form part of a prayer, in the Byzantine they occur as an historical narrative connected only with thanksgiving, the prayer being the subsequent Epiklesis. Might it not be possible that the Words as they occur in the Latin rite answer, not to the same words in the Greek, but to the directing of the attention of the Father, so to speak, to each species separately in the Greek Epiklesis? There is no evidence of there ever having been an Epiklesis distinct from the Words in the Roman rite. The whole prayer is a great Epiklesis. Whether the Nestorian Liturgy of SS. Adai and Mari, which contains an Epiklesis, but apparently not the Words of our Lord, is valid at all, is another question.

Very Rev. Father DOYLE, Superior of the Paulist Fathers, New York, thought it well to bring the discussion from the East to America, and from the days of St John Chrysostom to those of the twentieth century. It seemed to have escaped the Congress that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar was the greatest convert-maker in the world. It had a drawing and attractive influence that was irresistible. He was glad that the Blessed Sacrament was to be carried through the streets of London in procession, to permeate the commercial life of the city and show its people the reality of Catholic belief in the real Presence. He firmly believed that if the conscientious and right-living people of London could know in their hearts the doctrine of the real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, they would love it as Catholics did, and be as ready to give their lives for it. In the Sacrament of the Mass Catholics had the touchstone, the right hand of fellowship, the grip that made them know they were brethren; in it they had all the marks that made them one in union with the Church in every land and with the Holy Father in Rome. Referring to

Ritualism, he said Englishmen in numbers were coming back to Catholic things and to Catholicity, and the movement for the conversion of Protestants in America had resulted in the making of 25,056 converts in a few years.

SECTION B (ENGLISH)

MORNING SESSION

This sectional meeting was presided over by his Eminence Cardinal LOGUE, who was supported by the BISHOP OF NAMUR, the BISHOP OF LIMIRA (Vicar Apostolic of Southern Burma), the BISHOPS OF BIRMINGHAM, KILDARE, PHOCEA, PLYMOUTH, SELINUS, and SOUTHWARK, the Rev. F. C. BROCKMEIER, of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and many others. The following papers were read.

THE EUCHARISTIC LEAGUE

BY THE RIGHT REV. MGR. HENRY PARKINSON, D.D.

THE title which introduces the subject of this paper covers more ground than could be profitably surveyed in the time at our disposal. The expression "Eucharistic League" might properly be taken to embrace *The Priests' Eucharistic League*, *The People's Eucharistic League*, and *The Priests' Communion League*. With the first of these only, *The Priests' Eucharistic League*, I propose to deal directly; the second and third will be mentioned but incidentally.

A few introductory words will serve to provide the historical perspective in which to view the Priests' Eucharistic League.

THE FOUNDER

In the year 1868 there died in his native town of La Mure d'Isère, Pierre Julien Eymard. He was born in 1811, raised to

the priesthood in 1834, and five years later joined the Congregation of the Marists, of which in 1845 he was appointed Provincial. Impelled by a heavenly manifestation, warmly encouraged by Pius IX., and supported by the complete approval of local authorities, he founded in 1856 the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament. The new foundation had for its object the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament by priests—each priest of the Congregation taking his place once every eight hours before the altar. Besides this primary occupation, the fathers were to devote themselves in every way to the promotion of the worship of the Holy Eucharist, by study, writing, sermons, retreats, and the employment of the resources of Christian art. In the first Brief of approval granted by Pius IX. in 1858 and signed with his own hand, the Holy Father said: "The letters of the Bishops are striking witnesses of your labours for the increase of the worship of the Blessed Sacrament, and of the success of your work. May our Lord, in His mercy, bless and fructify the labours undertaken for this end, which have elicited universal praise." In 1864 he advanced his work a further step by the establishment of a similar Congregation for women, called the Sister Servants of the Most Holy Sacrament.

The Priests' Eucharistic League

He next extended the practice of the hourly adoration beyond the limits of his religious families by the foundation of an Association of Priest-Adorers among the secular clergy, in order to sanctify them by the Most Holy Sacrament. "These associates," he wrote, "will live the Eucharistic life of Jesus Christ. . . . They will remember that their first duty is one of personal adoration: *nos autem orationi instantes erimus* (Acts vi. 4); so that they may ensure by prayer the success of their ministry. And they will come down from the Eucharist like Moses from Mount Sinai, like the Apostles from the Last Supper, full of fire to announce His word and His glory: *et ministerio verbi*" (ibid.). The Blessed Jean Marie Vianney, Curé of Ars, was among the first to inscribe his name on the roll of Priest-Adorers. He spoke of the movement in terms of

enthusiasm, and foretold that "it would endure and bring much glory to our Lord."

On the 16th of January 1887 this pious association, known as *Associatio Sacerdotum Adoratorum*, or *The Priests' Eucharistic League*, was definitively approved and canonically erected by Cardinal Parocchi, Cardinal Vicar of Rome. In the same year the Bishop of Autun, afterwards Cardinal Perraud, joined the Association, and addressed to the director a letter on the practice of the Hour of Adoration, which has since been received as a classical commendation of the work of the confraternity. From that time the League has spread with amazing rapidity.

Object

Its object is the worship of the Blessed Sacrament by priests, secular or religious. "God with us" under the thin veils of the Eucharist would have us near Him, that where He is, we also may be: . . . *ut ubi sum ego et illi sint mecum* (John xvii. 24). Those whom He would receive first and oftenest are they whom He described as his friends: *Vos autem dixi amicos* (John xv. 15). From Him in the life-giving Sacrament, the beginning, centre, and end of the Catholic priesthood, they will draw the heavenly waters; from Him they will receive a brighter illumination, and a more potent influence in carrying on His work.

A closer intercourse with the source of holiness will lead to the higher sanctification of the clergy. They are all ministers of things most sacred; and their ministry is the more abundantly fertile according to the degree in which they are imbued with the spirit of Christ. Their noblest function is the Mass; their highest ministry the distribution of the Body of the Lord. With a more intimate and affectionate attachment to the Divine Master, they become more ardent and enlightened apostles in promoting in others the same close friendship with Christ through increased devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

The priest's whole office is to establish and extend the kingdom of Christ. *Adveniat regnum tuum* is his motto. *Adveniat regnum tuum*—a spiritual kingdom, one not of this world but of God. During his hour of adoration he approaches

near and stays long at the very source of spiritual power. He is filled with it, and he learns there how to draw others to it. The Eucharistic League of priests is destined to benefit both priest and people; the priest, because it brings him to a more vivid perception of the core of Christianity—the people, since through the practices of the League the priest will be eager to extend this realisation to the faithful at large.

Work

We may now proceed to inquire by what means the object of the Association is to be compassed, or in other words: What are the conditions of membership? These conditions are mainly five:—

1. To be priest, or at least in Holy Orders. This condition has recently been modified for the United States, where students in the seminaries are permitted to join the Association even before receiving the subdiaconate.

2. To make at least one full and uninterrupted hour of adoration every week before the Most Holy Sacrament, either exposed or in the tabernacle.

3. To report monthly on a prescribed schedule the performance of the weekly hour of adoration.

4. To apply once a month the plenary indulgence of the hour to the souls of deceased members of the Association.

5. To celebrate Mass once every year for the same object.

On payment of a small annual subscription, each member receives monthly the organ of the Confraternity, containing the *libellus* on which he makes the record of his hours of adoration, and presents his special intentions. The *libelli* of all the associates are placed near the Most Holy Sacrament, exposed at the central seat of the Association, as a pledge of priestly homage and fidelity.

Organisation

The management of the Confraternity is a pattern of simplicity. Each diocese may have its local director and occasional conferences. A director-general is appointed for each country, within which area diocesan conventions are held

from time to time. The entire Association is grouped under the guidance of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament, Père Eugène Couet, 205 Chaussée de Wavre, Brussels, being at the present moment the chief director. The acting director for England is the Rev. Michael P. Hanlon, St John's Seminary, Wonersh, Guildford. The director for Scotland is the Rev. Thomas N. Taylor, St Peter's College, New Kilpatrick, Glasgow. The director for Ireland is the Rev. S. Watters, St John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

Membership

The number of practising members on the list of the society in July this year was 81,050, including 10 Cardinals and 221 Bishops. Of this number upwards of 6000 have been enrolled since the Congress of Metz in August last year. The Association exists in nearly all the dioceses of France, Italy, Germany, and Austria. It is remarkably active in the United States, where it began to develop from the year 1891. Last year, 1907, the ramifications of the Association were pushed forward into South America, and are to be found in Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela. The number of Associates in England is 84.

Literature

The literature of the League is large and increasing. The official organ is published in twelve languages. The *Annales* commenced its career at Brussels in 1887, and is under the editorship of Père Eugène Couet, Director-General of the Confraternity; the *Emmanuel* began in 1895, and is now published at New York, Père Poirier, Director-General for the States, being the editor. *The Sentinel of the Blessed Sacrament* also appears in New York. It has been in existence eleven years and is now directed by Père Letellier.

Among books directly concerned with the work of the Priests' Eucharistic League we have from the pen of the founder, Père Eymard, declared Venerable by the Holy See only a few days ago:—*The Real Presence; The Month of Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament; The Month of Mary; The*

Month of St Joseph. Père Tesnière has given us: *The Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament; The Eucharistic Christ; The Eucharistic Heart; The Mysteries of the Rosary.*

The Holy Hour

The specific work of the League, its *opus magnum*, is the hour's adoration. The space of time employed should be a full and continuous hour. It is a totally different matter to make several visits, say of a quarter of an hour each, and one unbroken visit equal in duration to the sum of a number of shorter visits. Continuity allows space for thought and affections and for the reposeful embrace of the soul; it gives time for the spirit to absorb the impressions of the Divine presence; it leaves room for repetition; it makes possible acts of much greater concentration and intensity. Père Eymard, though the busiest of men, would never suffer his other occupations or the importunity of visitors to intrude upon his hour of adoration. The essential character of this act is personal. It is the spontaneous converse with God in the Eucharist. Hence the prayer should not be entirely vocal. By a special concession the recitation of the Divine Office for half the time has been permitted to professors and seminarists in cases of necessity.

The adoration is usually performed by the priest alone. When, however, it is made by the priest in company with others (whether members or not), the tabernacle may be opened if at least six lights be kept burning. In some seminaries the hour is made in common on a fixed day.

The typical method of adoration is to divide the time into equal portions, consecrating each of these in succession to acts of Adoration, Thanksgiving, Reparation, and Supplication. This fertile division lends itself readily to infinite variation. A copious supply of books and booklets exists to assist the adorer. When the hour is made with the people, the separate portions may be still further divided so as to devote five minutes to preaching or reading, five to silent prayer, and five to singing.

Advantages

The advantages of the holy hour are so apparent as to call for little or no explanation.

The hour of adoration proclaims emphatically and practically a central doctrine of the Catholic Faith; it gives prominence to those elementary acts of worship, which all must recognise as pre-eminently due to God under the veils of the Most Holy Sacrament—Adoration of His majesty, Thanksgiving for His unbounded goodness, Reparation for the perverse wilfulness of men, Supplication for all human needs.

The regular and generous performance of this spiritual exercise almost forces upon the priest an intense realisation of his exalted powers, of the excellence of his ministerial office, of the sublimity of the daily Mass, and of his personal littleness and unworthiness.

Very soon the hour of familiar conversation with the Eucharistic God will set ablaze the internal fire of devotion. The priest will appreciate more clearly and definitely the two lives he is called upon to lead—the life of ceaseless, distracting activity, urgent, absorbing, and external, and the quiet, spiritual, interior life which makes the true man of the heart. He will discriminate between the man of God and the man of affairs, the man of prayer and the man of business, the employment of means, and the direct pursuit of the end.

The persistent difficulty of the Christian is *this-worldness*, to whose malignant and insidious influence both pastor and flock are exposed. Now if there be anything in this world that is not of it, that certainly is the Blessed Sacrament. Science cannot examine it, nor philosophy explain it, nor theology fathom its wonders. Its "kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii. 36). Its operations are hidden; its fruits are spiritual; its purpose is life everlasting. In the measure in which this truth is pondered, to the same extent will the life of the Christian embody the Master's saying: "You are not of the world" (John xv. 19).

Here then we meet the point of sharpest contrast between the world and the Church, the natural and the supernatural,

XIII. wrote to one of the directors in these terms: "*Nihil existimamus sive efficacius ad excitandos animos ad sobrie justeque vivendum, sive aptius ad cœlestia munera uberrime concilianda, quam religio in illud Fidei mysterium in quo Christus divitias caritatis suæ veluti effudit. . . . Nostrum igitur duximus Sacerdotum Consociationem Eucharistiæ adorandæ late diffusam, laude prosequi et impense fovere. Christus ipse numero ac studio vos augeat.*" Pius X. has enriched the Association with unusual privileges.

This particular association is novel. But it interferes with no other; it overlaps no other. It is a division of grace peculiar, in the first instance, to the clergy. The People's Eucharistic League (likewise established by the Venerable Pierre Julien Eymard) is similar to the Eucharistic League for priests, with the difference of half an hour instead of a whole hour of adoration a week. This adoration is performed by the faithful either singly or in groups. The different watches are so arranged as to provide a perpetual guard of honour, love, and reparation before the august majesty of Christ in the Eucharist. Finally, the Priests' Communion League is an association for the effectual carrying out of the dispositions of the Decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* respecting frequent and daily communion. It is closely connected with the Priests' Eucharistic League, members of which are urged to attach themselves to the Communion League.

Meditation

Experience, I venture to say, will best answer another apparent difficulty which might present itself to some minds—the general difficulty of meditating. Those who have made a trial of the weekly hour will bear witness to the fact of some mysterious facility attaching to this act of worship. Either the spirit moves more freely in the immediate presence of its Lord, or the literature provided acts as an unwonted spur to prayerful activity, or divine help is bestowed with lavish abundance. The enormous number of faithful members could not be maintained if the practice involved anything so difficult as some may imagine.

Want of Time

The difficulty of having no leisure at one's command whence to abstract a whole hour regularly every week presents a more formidable appearance. Yet it falls to the ground before the simple fact that thousands of the nervously busy American priests find the necessary time. Perhaps one might say that if we adequately apprehended the value of this exercise and its speedy and constant effect upon the quality of our work (without involving any appreciable diminution in its quantity), the time would promptly be found. Cardinal Perraud's solution was: "Rise an hour earlier on the day of your adoration." Another might fearlessly advise one to sacrifice something or other, but to *make the time!* This hour, from the point of view of the overworked missioner, is a much needed spiritual refreshment, and a most profitable investment yielding a large interest in those departments of external work, about which we are tempted sometimes to be unwisely anxious.

The Presentation of the Libellus

True, there always remains the difficulty of the monthly presentation of the *libellus.* There is something in our spirit of independence that is offended by this regulation. Be that as it may; though it is just conceivable that our native independence may be somewhat at fault. I will pass over the spiritual motives which may be brought forward in support of the rule. But on other grounds I am persuaded that it is a necessity. It is our balance-sheet, the only evidence of our active membership. Without it our Association would offer no substantial guarantee of reality.

Practical Conclusion

I bring this paper to end with the desire that means may be adopted to make the Priests' Eucharistic League better known throughout this country; that the names and addresses of the directors be published; that the literature of the Association may be rendered more accessible, and that, if possible, an arrangement may be made for a convention of directors.

the obvious and the hidden, the wisdom and culture of men, the faith and simplicity of the children of the kingdom.

Over and above these considerations there seems to be a consensus of opinion among members that the results of this spiritual activity are in a manner open to observation and experience. It proves to be a vigorous incentive to good, freshening the spirit, and bracing the will. The work, moreover, though twice as long as the ordinary meditation, appears short, light, and easy. The notion of laboured or studious speculation does not occur to the adorer. The hour is looked upon as a period of friendly intercourse, of conversation on matters of the keenest personal interest, of congratulation and expressions of heartfelt regret.

In addition to this, what cannot fail to strike an attentive observer in running through the literature of the League or conversing with its members, is the conspicuous fact that a new state of mind seems to have been suddenly created with regard to the Blessed Sacrament and all that concerns it. This new mentality is not purely individual, bearing solely on one's personal relations to our Lord as the object of a more dutiful homage, more assiduous visits and so forth, but it becomes persistently altruistic. It is eager to enlist associates; it seeks to inflame others with its own ardour; it would bring them in crowds to visit our Lord; it would allure them to the table of the Daily Bread. In other words the vision of the mind seems to have been suddenly cleared and mysteriously rectified, so that it discerns the centre of Christian life as it really is. "As I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me" (John vi. 58).

And here I am led to mention another aspect of this attractive devotion, which must have impressed others as it has impressed me. The Eucharistic League seems to call forth and foster what I may describe as the Eucharistic faculty. The mind apprehends a wealth and depth of scriptural allusions and applications which have hitherto passed unnoticed; and the frequency with which these occur in Eucharistic literature produces the effect of reproachful surprise, as if one might have perceived the meaning oneself, but failed to do so.

Some Apparent Difficulties: Novelty

This devotion has the merit of novelty; yet the idea of novelty must not be misunderstood or exaggerated. There have long been communities of women who have dedicated their lives to the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The English Benedictine nuns, for example, who escaped from Paris in 1795, eventually (in 1829 at Connington in Dorsetshire) fulfilled their long expressed desire of perpetual adoration. The work went on afterwards at Colwich, and subsequently at the branch house of Atherstone Priory from 1859 onwards. The originality of the work of Père Eymard was, in the first place, its exclusiveness or wholehearted devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and secondly, the establishment of perpetual adoration for men. He also broke new ground when he extended the practice of the holy hour to the secular clergy, and further still in calling forth the participation of the laity in the same work by the establishment of the People's Eucharistic League. In all this there is discoverable such novelty as belongs to the true development of a germ under propitious circumstances.

The Spirit breathes where He will; and there are divisions of graces. His gifts and impulses vary with the social and intellectual condition of the world. They are adapted to the needs, the genius, and the evils of successive ages.

Assuredly there have not been wanting in the past and in our own times and in our own country apostles of the Blessed Eucharist. Such were St Paschal Baylon, St Philip Neri, St Francis of Sales, St Alphonsus, Cardinal Wiseman, Father Faber, Father Dalgairns, Father Bridgett, Frassinetti, and Cardinal Vaughan. Still these were pioneers. To-day the apostles of the Blessed Sacrament are counted by their tens of thousands. Profitless or harmful controversy has been silenced. Jansenism has received its *coup de grâce;* and as far as we may gather an omen from the last few years, we are justified in the anticipation that the twentieth century will be the age of the Blessed Sacrament.

Pius IX., when he first heard of the proposed League, exclaimed: "This idea comes from heaven." In 1896 Leo

THE PRIESTS' COMMUNION LEAGUE
FOR THE PROMOTION OF DAILY COMMUNION

By the Rev. Thomas N. Taylor (Director of the Eucharistic League)

This League, as its full title indicates, is an association of priests founded (under the special patronage of Pope Pius the Tenth) for the propagation of frequent and daily Communion. The beautiful Eucharistic encyclical of Leo XIII., in 1902, had given great impetus to the practice. Many entered warmly into the views of the Pontiff. Others held back, and presently a somewhat heated controversy arose. We are all of us now aware how an appeal was made to Peter, and how emphatically the Vicar of Christ has closed the debate. On 20th December 1905, a Decree, beginning with the words: "*Sacra Tridentina Synodus*," and marking an epoch in the history of the Blessed Sacrament, was issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Council. It broadened considerably the hitherto narrow path of the daily communicant. A right intention, excluding pride, routine, and human respect, was declared to be the sole necessary condition, together with the state of grace, for daily participation in the Eucharistic Banquet. To sit down thereat for the sake of closer union with God, or for the purpose of finding a remedy against spiritual ailments, was to communicate with a right intention. The fallacy, lurking in the teachings of not a few theologians, which converted into a recompense for virtue what the Decree assures us was primarily a medicine for sin: the fallacy which denied to frail and sorely tempted souls their "Daily Bread": that fallacy, and with it the whole fabric of Jansenism, was shattered at a blow. The voice of Trent, which the voices of Arnauld and Saint-Cyran had almost drowned, is heard again in our day. The Eucharist is an antidote against mortal sin and the remedy for daily faults. The Eucharist should be received at daily Mass, not only spiritually but sacramentally. Well might our beloved Cardinal Legate declare at the Congress of Tournai that "the Decree had appeared as a rainbow in the spiritual

firmament"; that it was a "*mot d'ordre*, a battle-cry to be inscribed on our banner in the campaign for the restoration of all things in Christ."

But Pius the Tenth and his Council were not content with a theoretical widening of the avenues to the Altar. They reaffirmed the ancient ordinance of the Catechism of Trent that "parish-priests, confessors, and preachers, are frequently and with great zeal to exhort the faithful to this devout and salutary practice of frequent and daily Communion." What had hitherto been the daily food of the shepherds was henceforth to be the daily sustenance of their flocks as far as circumstances might permit. In seminaries and in religious institutes the practice was to be especially promoted. To ensure that promotion, that frequent and fervent exhortation, the Priests' Communion League was set on foot.

About seven months after publication of the Decree, the *Sacerdotale Eucharisticum Fœdus* was canonically erected in San Claudio, the Church of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament at Rome. Immediately, to show his keen interest in the matter, Pope Pius suppressed the three years' delay *ad experimentum*, to which all such associations are subjected. On the third day he raised it to an *Archiassociatio Primaria*.

Like the Priests' Eucharistic League (or Confraternity of Priest-Adorers), the Priests' Communion League is under the ægis of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament. The same monthly bulletin—the *Annales* here, *Emmanuel* in America—is the organ of both Leagues. But whereas the primary task of the 80,000 Priest-Adorers is the weekly Hour of Adoration, the paramount aim of the Communion Leaguer, as such, is to inculcate, in season and out of season, the teaching of the Decree. In the words of its statutes, the object of this Association is "to spread the practice of frequent and daily Communion in conformity with the *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*."

All priests resolved to become missionaries of frequent Communion are eligible for the Priests' Communion League. These missionaries are many. The existence of the new-born association was merely notified to the Congressists at Tournai. In twelve months the membership had reached 12,000. Of these Spain contributed 2000, 29 of whom were Bishops. The

membership has since been doubled, and a recent letter from Brussels of Father Couet, Director-General of the Priest-Adorers, puts the total at above 25,000. The Daily Communion League has become a constellation of the first magnitude in the ecclesiastical firmament. Spain, Italy, Belgium, and the United States have shown the greatest eagerness in the matter of enrolment. A very small number proportionately hail from France, a smaller still from this side of the Channel. If America has outstripped us it is because the kindred Association of Priest-Adorers flourishes there: they have over eighty directors as against our three.

The means of apostolate are threefold: the apostolate of prayer, of the word, of the press. Let me remark at the outset that no special prayer or practice is enjoined upon the Associates. In their own fashion, in their own sphere, they are to preach the Decree and show themselves Apostles of the Daily Bread. However, a brief instruction is sent to each new member, setting before him the various methods of apostleship:—sermons on the wondrous power and yet more wondrous love of Jesus in the Eucharist: a relentless campaign against those "prejudices and vain fears" of which Leo XIII. complained in his somewhat forgotten *Mirœ caritatis*: the circulation of pamphlets in favour of frequent Communion. The instruction likewise advises the Associate to lay stress on the fact that no more is required for *lawful* daily Communion than for monthly reception of the Blessed Sacrament: it warns him to put his flock on their guard against the exaggerated dispositions required for frequent Communion in many of our spiritual books: it urges him to encourage attendance at daily Mass; and even at the cost of some self-sacrifice to celebrate Mass at an hour convenient to the faithful. The special feature of the instruction is the exhortation with regard to *Eucharistic Triduums*, of which yet fuller details are given in the letter on that subject, which the Sovereign Pontiff sent to the entire Catholic episcopate. Add to this a reference to care of First Communicants, another to assiduity in hearing confessions, and you have a summary of the methods suggested.

"By prayer, preaching, and the pen,"—so runs the wording of the statutes. The member of the League has at hand an

excellent formula, for use or propagation, in the indulgenced prayer enjoined for the Triduums, which asks for the multiplication of daily Communicants. Another brief invocation to their Patroness and Model is less well known: "O Virgin Mary, our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament, who art the glory of Christians, the joy of the Universal Church, the salvation of the world, pray for us, and stir up in all the faithful devotion towards the Most Holy Eucharist, that they may be made worthy to communicate daily." In addition to prayers such as these, or in their stead, he can make a memento at Mass, or occasionally offer his toils and trials, that through daily Communion the reign of the Eucharist may come, and all hearts be restored in Jesus Christ.

As regards preaching, there devolves in a special manner upon the Associate of the League a faithful observance of the Decree's injunction: *crebris admonitionibus multoque studio cohortentur.* He must preach the doctrine of frequent Communion unweariedly, and with a full heart. He must plead that men may assuage the thirst of which the Sacred Heart spoke to Blessed Margaret Mary. For so it befits the Keeper of Emmanuel: so it becomes the Partaker—and Breaker—of the Daily Bread. He can do this in the confessional as in the pulpit. The sacred tribunal offers a thousand opportunities for his Eucharistic propaganda. There the wise confessor and loyal associate will preach the Decree, not only for the building up of saints, but as the sure means of leading the sinner to feel disgust for his sin, and preserving him in a state of grace. Should frequent Communion be impossible for his penitent, the associate will do his best to secure a weekly Communion, or at least a fortnightly or monthly visit to the Holy Table. To communicate each day of attendance at Holy Mass, such was the primitive use and wont, such the wish of the Council of Trent; such is the prayer for his children of the Pope of the Eucharist, such has been in all days the ardent desire of the Christ. *Desiderio desideravi!*

One word about the little ones of Christ. It is here that our patience is most likely to be tried. It is here that theological reasons might make us hesitate. Yet need we be more cautious or less indulgent than Rome? This were folly. *Sed*

Roma locuta est: "The frequent reception of the Holy Eucharist is recommended according to the first Decree, even to children who have been once admitted to the Holy Table. They must not be prevented from receiving it frequently, but on the contrary, *must be exhorted to do so*, the contrary practice obtaining in some places, being hereby condemned." Thus spake the Congregation of the Council with the approval of the Holy See. There are but two conditions, a state of grace, a right intention. Where shall these find fulfilment if not in the soul that still is baptismally white, that by its devotion not infrequently shames hearts grown older and colder? Let children feed daily therefore on the Manna of the Angels, ere tempestuous passions make havoc within. The Bread of the Strong will strengthen them against that day. They will guard the innocence of childhood; but they will put away its weakness: they will grow into the full stature of the Christ, and in His might, as David smote Goliath, they shall vanquish Satan. If experience has not already taught us this, we may credit it on the authority of their Father, and the Father of all the Faithful.

Indeed, as First Communicants have their Blessed Imelda, it would seem as if God were about to seal the teaching of His Vicar, by giving a patron in the person of a child of four, to daily Communicants amongst children. She died in an Irish Convent of the Order of the Good Shepherd, on this year's Feast of the Purification. God seems to have taught her Himself, so marvellous were her sayings, so wonderful her patience amid intense suffering. For three months she had the happiness of receiving Holy Communion daily. A Jesuit Father gave it for the first time with the consent of the Bishop. His Lordship had already administered to her the Sacrament of Confirmation. She died on a Sunday, "Holy God's day," as she had often foretold. For an hour in the midst of her dreadful agony she remained in an ecstasy, and an hour later she was face to face with the Lover of little children. Favours have already been granted at her intercession. It is another proof that God's ways are not as those of men. It seems a signal token at our own very door, of the pleasure given to the Heart of Jesus by the extension to children of the Daily Communion Decree. *Ex ore infantium perfecisti laudem!*

Apart from the official positions of confessor and preacher, wherein indeed we have no choice but to cheerfully obey, the apostle of frequent Communion will find many an outlet for zeal in the channels of ordinary conversation. Perhaps the danger is rather that discretion trip up zeal than that zeal outrun discretion. Yet is not the Eucharist itself the supreme indiscretion of zeal?

There are many souls still tainted with the "Jansenistic virus," of which the Decree makes mention. We most of us know how it fares with the men of France, but French theology has left its traces in other lands. Now, however, the Church has thrown the gates wide, wider even than did the great Eucharistic Missionary, Alphonsus of Liguori. Her cry to her priestly sons is more imperatively loud, "compel them to enter, compel them, that they may have life, *et abundantius habeant.*" It was perhaps a dozen years ago that Jesus Christ said to one of His handmaidens, "I cannot understand the opposition made in some parts to frequent Communion, and I promise you a special blessing for every heart which you will convert to that practice." The words were spoken to Mary of the Divine Heart, niece of Bishop von Ketteler of Cologne, daughter of the historic house of Droste zu Vischering. We are all aware how at the instance of this Good Shepherd nun, Leo XIII. consecrated the universe to the Sacred Heart. Of a surety this special benediction of Jesus Christ is in store for the faithful member of the Priests' Communion League.

As to the press, it is not given to all to use this mighty lever, but we might do more than we do. We can advertise the papers, pamphlets, books, that treat of the matter. I know of a priest abroad who on one day sent to different addresses 4000 copies of a brochure on daily Communion written for Catholic youth. Pius X. said of its author, Father Lintelo, S.J., that in this apostolate he was the man most after his own heart. We require more literature among us upon the subject. The excellent "Notes" of Father de Zulueta, S.J., need no recommendation here; but a splendid booklet by Dr Antoni—now translated—on "the Vain Fears and Prejudices" which Leo XIII. bewailed, is less well known. It had the honour of our present

Holy Father's personal and warm approval. Then we need leaflets for diffusion among the masses.

By tongue or pen, or in the golden silence of prayer, the Leaguer labours for the cause. He remembers that blessed are the Communions which bring forth no other fruit than the preservation of the soul from mortal sin. He does not, in the words of Father Lintelo, essay to fill up a gap in the Decree by exaggeration of the *opus operantis*. He lays down the two conditions, he expounds them, he insists upon them. But beyond these, it is for him a matter of counsel, a question of the more profitable, a laudable striving after the ideal. Has not St Alphonsus written that "there is no passion so violent, so inveterate, as to resist daily Communion"? And yet another Saint reminds us that "the best preparation for to-morrow's Communion is the Communion of to-day."

Let me conclude with a rapid reference to the conditions and privileges of membership of the League. The conditions are three in number: inscription of name, subscription to the Bulletin of the League, a pledge to further observance of the Decree by prayer, preaching, and the pen. The Bulletin is identical with that of the Priest-Adorers, and the directors[1] of that Association will be most willing to facilitate enrolment or to afford information.

The most notable of the Associates' privileges is the concession, to each penitent of his who goes at least five times weekly to Communion, of a plenary indulgence once a week. He has the power of celebrating Mass until one o'clock, of giving Communion until sunset, and of granting the Papal Benediction at the end of Triduums. He may also gain for himself many plenary indulgences. But the priceless privilege is the satisfaction afforded to the Eucharistic Heart. "I have an ardent thirst to be loved of men in the most Blessed Sacrament. Few are they that endeavour to quench it." These words are the epitaph at Paray-le-Monial on the tomb of the Apostle of His Heart. Another Apostle, set in the place of the Prince of Apostles,

[1] Directors of the Eucharistic League in the United Kingdom—Rev. Fr. Hanlon, St Mary Magdalen's, Brighton; Rev. Fr. Watters, St John's, Blackrock, Dublin; Rev. Fr. Taylor, St Peter's College, New Kilpatrick, Glasgow.

Vicegerent of their King, has made himself the almsman of the thirsting Christ. He has made the rough ways plain, that *all* might come to the Crucified and give Him to drink of their love. He has levelled the steep ascents, that *all* might draw from the wells of the Saviour's Heart the waters of life. He has legislated for the sick, breaking away from an immemorial usage. He has legislated, oh! how mercifully, for the little ones of His flock. They, too, may and must be encouraged to feed their innocence on the Daily Bread. He has legislated for the masses that lie outside of cloistered walls, that marry and are given in marriage, the many that labour and are burdened, with heart aches, with the anxieties of home, with physical and mental toil. He will have none be debarred from eating frequently of the Flesh that gives life, and drinking of the Blood that has ransomed them, and will be their resurrection. We have been authoritatively told from Rome that, "the Sovereign Pontiff overjoyed at the salutary fruit, thus far derived from the Decree, is *extremely anxious* it should continue and increase." Let us be of one mind with our Father in Christ and share his anxiety! Can we not borrow somewhat of the zeal of him who has been christened the modern Apostle of the Eucharist, Father Eymard, who in himself, and through his sons, the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament, has done so much for the practice of daily Communion? For some days past these sons, and with them the Priest-Adorers, as also the Associates of the Daily Communion League, have been rejoicing because he is now the "Venerable Pierre Julien Eymard." They look forward eagerly to his Beatification. May his prayers aid us to be Eucharistic Apostles and loyal disciples of the Eucharistic Pope!

A fortnight ago last Sunday a great multitude surrounded, as Guard of Honour, the Blessed Sacrament at Lourdes. They heard the Hosannas from a hundred thousand throats that greeted the Son of David in His Eucharistic triumph. They saw the dying rise to life as Jesus of Nazareth passed by. One of the "miraculées" had received Extreme Unction a moment before the Master bade her arise. But that was as nothing to the world-wide triumph and the spiritual resurrections that will result from a loyal preaching of the Decree. Let us be

Associates of the League it has called forth! "The Love of Christ constraineth us." "And we have believed in His Love." *Caritas Christi urget nos.* May that be true of us which was written by the Evangelist of the Eucharist: *Et nos credidimus caritati ejus!*

At the conclusion of the reading of the papers, Cardinal LOGUE said they had just been privileged to listen to two very eloquent discourses on the subject of the Blessed Eucharist. He was sure they were all delighted with what they had heard. He did not intend to offer any criticism, because no criticism was possible. The only thing he could do was to praise. The subjects had been treated with great earnestness, piety, and lucidity.

His Lordship the BISHOP OF NAMUR said that obedience was one of the first laws of the Catholic Church. Although he was not an Englishman, and could not speak their language as fluently as he could wish, still he would endeavour to say something on the subjects of the papers. He was very pleased to hear that the membership of the Priests' Eucharistic League was increasing, and he was sure that as a result of the Eucharistic Congress it would be still further considerably augmented. He knew from personal experience that the number of Communions in various countries increased after such manifestations of love to the Blessed Sacrament. Six years ago they had the Eucharistic Congress in Namur, and the year afterwards they had 60,000 Communions more than the year before. He trusted that the same fruitful results would also attend the Eucharistic Congress they were then holding.

His Lordship went on to pay a warm tribute to the work being done by the Priests' Eucharistic League, and said that all bishops and priests should follow the example set them. They should not forget that our Lord expected them to be soldiers of Christ. They should not allow their Blessed Saviour to be shut up in the Tabernacle and left there by Himself. The prelates and priests of the Church should set the people the example of paying frequent visits to the Church. His Lordship concluded by associating himself with the two authors of the

papers in the wish that priests all over the world would become priest-adorers and members of the Priests' Eucharistic League.

The Rev. E. PERRIER, Director-General of the Priests' Eucharistic League, United States, was the next speaker, and after dealing with the general work of the two Leagues mentioned in the papers, said that the number of priests enrolled up to last month in the Eucharistic League was 5574. In the Priests' Communion League they had not yet so many, because it was not so well known, nor had it been so long in existence. The number enrolled in the latter up to last July was 1524.

The Rev. F. C. BROCKMEIER, Director of the League in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, said that although he came there from the sunny South to cold England, he found that the hearts of the English people were not cold. After dealing with the Priests' Eucharistic League, and the progress it had made in the United States, he said that a hundred years ago the Blessed Sacrament was not known in parts of the Archdiocese of which he is Diocesan Director, even by those who were Catholics in name. All that was now changed. Since the inauguration of the Priests' Eucharistic League, 756 priests had become members in the State of New Orleans. This was a greater number than had joined throughout England, but he was quite certain that that state of things would soon be altered. Father Brockmeier related how at one time during his priestly career he was sent to a mission where there were only seven Catholics, and they had not been afforded the great privilege of receiving the Blessed Sacrament for twenty-five years. The non-Catholics of the district generously came to his aid, and helped him to build a little church. A number of these non-Catholics subsequently became members of the true Faith, and were the most zealous members of the community.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was presided over by the Archbishop of Westminster, who had with him the Bishop of Portsmouth, the Bishop of Clazomenae, Mgr. Daniewski, and several other prominent members of the clergy.

THE APOSTOLATE OF THE EUCHARIST IN CONVENTS

By the Right Rev. Abbot F. Thomas Bergh, O.S.B.

The subject-matter of the paper which the Congress has honoured me by asking from my poor pen is, "The Apostolate of the Eucharist in Convents." Now, for nuns, no matter of what Order or Institute, the Tabernacle is essentially the very centre and fountain of religious life; the abiding Sacramental Presence of their Divine Spouse is a pledge that their dwelling-place is to Him a loved Eucharistic home; and the inviting to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament is ever a chief feature of the welcome offered to those who have the privilege of crossing their threshold. Hence it might reasonably be maintained that a religious vocation is of its very nature a call to a world-wide Eucharistic Apostolate.

The question before us, however, is to determine how and with what success her Sisterhoods have in the Church at large promoted and developed of set purpose the formal cultus of the Blessed Sacrament.

Going very far back in the history of Christianity, we find that the nuns of the early ages were conspicuous among those who clung the longest to the primitive discipline permitting the private reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in their homes by the Faithful. But that their action delayed the inevitable falling into desuetude of that first tentative effort at Daily Communion and Perpetual Adoration must remain conjectural. Later on, in those evil times when too many teachers of note discouraged frequent Communion, and,

sad to say, succeeded only too well in denying to Christians their best and truest "daily bread," the Benedictine and other religious rules insisting that all inmates of monasteries and convents should approach the altar-rails once or more in every week were a powerful stay to the torrent. We none of us forget that to a nun, St Juliana of Liège, the Church owes the Feast of Corpus Christi with all that it implies. So, too, almost involuntarily we associate the Blessed Sacrament with the wonderful lives of very many old cloistered saints. If we think of St Clare, it is as bearing the Monstrance in her hand; if of St Juliana and the Servites, as with the Sacred Host impressed on their hearts. And nearer to our own times the marvellously popular and most useful devotion of the First Friday recalls to us month after month Blessed Margaret Mary, the Visitation nun whom the Sacred Heart chose to be Its instrument for giving an impulse, perhaps the most powerful recorded in the annals of the Church, to week-day Communions.

Nevertheless, I think it will hardly be gainsaid that the Eucharistic Apostolate in convents has in the main up to quite recent times been in the direction of Expositions, Benedictions, and other forms of prolonged prayer before the Blessed Sacrament. To the good example set in this respect by communities of nuns and to the facilities afforded to the Faithful for visits in their chapels, the public cultus of the Holy Eucharist owes much. The average of Benedictions in convent chapels is strikingly higher, local circumstances and diocesan regulations being the same, than that in other churches whether secular or regular. Indeed, in Rome as in London and everywhere else, the pious Catholic who having begun his day with the hearing of the Holy Mass is desirous each evening to close it by receiving the consoling graces included in our Lord's solemn blessing, must almost perforce seek that privilege from the nuns. Nowhere, again, save in convents, is prayer before the Tabernacle *unceasing*, in the literal meaning of the word. I propose to enter here into some detail.

In very old times, before there existed a Sacred Congregation of Rites charged with the revising of such petitions to the Holy See, it would seem that the special favour which it

oftenest occurred to the minds of nuns to beg from the reigning Pontiff was that it might be permitted them just to open the Tabernacle door, and so from time to time during the day to have the consolation of looking upon their Lord hidden under the sacramental species. The Poor Clares and some other communities still enjoy this privilege, so quaint and so redolent of the simple-mindedness of the Ages of Faith. In the closing years of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1592) Pope Clement VIII. established the great Eucharistic devotion of the Forty Hours Exposition. His aim was that in every city or populous district a continuous public worship of the Blessed Sacrament should be taken up during the year by the priests and people of one church after the other, so as to ensure a truly perpetual adoration. Forthwith, during the pontificate of the same Pope there appeared an Order of nuns pledged to do single-handed what the Holy Father was asking from the combined efforts of the clergy and laity of a whole neighbourhood. Any one who has had practical experience of the strain of mind and of the bodily fatigue, to say nothing of the expense in money, entailed once in a year by the three days and two nights of the Quarant' Ore, will readily realise the magnitude of the task which the fervour of their devotion imposed on these first Sisters and still imposes on the many communities who, treading in their footsteps, undertake continuously to watch in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, not merely from a Sunday to the following Tuesday morning, but from year-end to year-end all their lives long. The Ven. Ursula of Benincasa was the foundress of the earliest known Institute of Sisters formally vowed to the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. Her nuns are strictly cloistered. By Pontifical privilege, in reciting chorally the Roman Breviary they on no day, however solemn, omit the liturgical commemoration of the Most Holy Sacrament. The Ven. Ursula's congregation does not appear to have ever crossed the Alps. But in 1625, that is a quarter of a century later, Jeanne Marie Chezard de Matel began in France the Congregation of the Word Incarnate, the members of which were to devote their lives to the honouring of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar, and to the offering of continuous prayer of reparation in

atonement for the sins of men, and especially of sacrileges against the Holy Eucharist. This particular Institute was short-lived, but the concept of reparation as a Eucharistic work appropriate for nuns was destined to take root and to flourish exceedingly.

Next in order of foundation comes the Congregation of Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament whose English house is at Taunton in the Diocese of Clifton. The Ven. Antoine Lequien of the Order of St Dominic, their founder, established these Sisters at Avignon as early as the year 1639. Twenty years later a more formal beginning was made at Marseilles, and simultaneously, in connection with the Institute, a Lay-Association of Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament was organised. Here again we have a God-inspired idea, the adequate realisation of which was reserved to times nearer to our own. One of the registers of this Association dating from the year 1708 contains more than 13,000 names. In 1850 the members in France were 31,270. Pope Pius VI. enriched the Association with many indulgences. It exists and flourishes at Taunton; but as the good Sisters themselves write to me, "the sphere around them in which it can be carried out is a very limited one." Most disinterestedly they go on to express the hope that "the Congress having to deal with the greater confraternities may form English centres for a more general and more perfect scheme of propagation of this great devotion among our laity and people." The Religious Institute itself, which was finally approved by Pope Innocent XII. in 1693, is cloistered and wholly devoted to the work of Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, there never being fewer than two Sisters, whether by day or by night, engaged in prayer before the Tabernacle. In convents of this Order there are neither daily Expositions nor public Acts of Reparation. The life of the nuns, described by them as a continuous but simple act of love of our Lord in His Holy Sacrament, corresponds in these respects to the discipline of an earlier period of Church history than our own. Their congregation, never very extended, has suffered greatly both in the great Revolution and in the persecutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The stress put from the beginning upon the practice of frequent

and daily Communion is a notable feature in their tradition. In fine, they were singularly blessed in being spared to a great extent the spiritual hardships endured in Jansenist times by most of the French Sisterhoods.

About the year 1633 a strange and naturally abortive attempt was made by the Jansenists themselves to found from Port Royal a monastery of nuns of Perpetual Adoration. The famous Mère Angélique was to be its head. It was finally given up five years later. Obviously, I mention this here only as a proof that Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was so far in the forefront of the popular devotions of the seventeenth century, as to induce the heretical leaders of the time to seek to take advantage of it for their own purposes. The ephemeral foundation of the Jansenists was speedily replaced in Paris by a Catholic work which in our own time is in the enjoyment of a life to the full as vigorous as at its commencement two and a half centuries ago. I speak of the Institute of Perpetual Adoration established by the Rev. Mother Mechtilde of the Blessed Sacrament, and of the Benedictine monasteries associated with her own in grafting its special characteristics upon their own ancient rule. In her convent in Paris the Perpetual Adoration commenced on the 25th March 1653—Anne of Austria, the then Queen Dowager of France, insisting upon herself sharing with the nuns the first hour of their age-long worship at the altar-foot. The Adoration has since been practically uninterrupted save for the inevitable break occasioned by the first French Revolution. At their profession the nuns add a fourth to the usual three vows of Religion; that of maintaining the Perpetual Adoration and of looking upon themselves as victims immolated to the glory of the Divine Spouse of their souls in reparation for the sins which outrage Him in His Holy Sacrament. Not only is the Blessed Sacrament never either by day or by night left without adorers, but each day a Sister in her turn, known as the Victim or Reparatrix, devotes her whole time to pleading before the Tabernacle for the pardon of sinners. The Institute of Mother Mechtilde has been blessed with wonderful increase. Already during her lifetime it had a house as far off as Warsaw, while more than ten thousand of the faithful had been aggregated to

its dependent Confraternity of Perpetual Adoration. On the whole it has weathered fairly well the storms of recent times. Its statistics for the present year give a total of twenty-three houses. They are for the most part situated in Northern Italy and Germany. Some of the French houses are so far unsuppressed. But the convent of these Benedictines of more immediate interest to us in the present Congress is that of Dumfries, in the diocese of Galloway, where over seventy nuns are actually engaged in the great Eucharistic work of prayer and reparation. The good Sisters have to earn their livelihood by teaching—the more honour to them for their indefatigable zeal in the service of the Blessed Sacrament.

There are other Benedictine communities which, though not forming part of Mother Mechtilde's Congregation, devote themselves with like zeal to the work of Perpetual Adoration. As a rule, in each of these the Blessed Sacrament is exposed daily from Mass to the evening Benediction, the Sisters watching through the hours of the night before the closed Tabernacle. First among them has to be mentioned the Priory of our Lady of Good Hope at Colwich near Stafford, to which community belongs the honour of having introduced the Perpetual Adoration into England. The date of the establishment amongst us by these nuns of that devotion is 1829—the year of Catholic Emancipation. There is likewise Perpetual Adoration at Atherstone Priory, a filiation from Colwich, and like it situated in the diocese of Birmingham; and in 1875 the nuns of the famous Abbey of St Scholastica at Teignmouth, in the diocese of Plymouth, gave up the school they had maintained through the centuries of persecution in order to devote themselves to the same form of Eucharistic work. It has been taken up outside the Benedictine Order by the Canonesses Regular of Newton Abbot, also in the diocese of Plymouth, who as early as the year 1860 obtained a Papal Indult allowing them to consecrate themselves wholly to the worship of the Blessed Sacrament, and in sign of it to adopt a red scapular as part of their religious habit. The practice at Newton Abbot of giving a blessed and indulgenced scapular to the members of the Association of Perpetual Adoration of which it is the centre, seems worthy of adoption elsewhere. By the foundation of Hoddesdon Priory

in Hertfordshire the Canonesses have brought their distinctive devotion almost into our very midst. In all the convents just enumerated not only is there continuous adoration, but the Victim or Reparatrix cultus obtains, and the full Divine Office is chanted (sometimes as at Newton Abbot with midnight Matins) before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, the Votive Office in its honour by Pontifical privilege taking on all Thursdays liturgical precedence of others. In regard to the Divine Office and corresponding Mass a remarkable concession of the Holy See substitutes on the first Thursday of each month the mournful but singularly beautiful Office of Reparation for sins against the Blessed Sacrament in the place of any other that may occur, and on the Thursday after Sexagesima an annual solemnity corresponding liturgically to this Office is celebrated. Mother Mechtilde of the Blessed Sacrament was, it would seem, the instrument chosen by Almighty God for the introduction of these pleasing features into the liturgy of His Holy Church; and, though in another connection, I may be pardoned for recalling the fact that it is to this great servant of God, together with the Blessed John Eudes, that is chiefly due the institution of the festival, now happily very general, of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament who at Brompton and in Leicester Square are doing valuable work in London, were originally known as Sisters of Calvary. To their credit be it said that by their assiduity in prayer before the Tabernacle they literally earned for themselves from the Faithful the glorious title they now bear. As in many other Sisterhoods specially devoted to the worship of the Blessed Sacrament, a tiny Remonstrance conspicuously worn is a feature of their costume. Their founder, the Ven. Father Vignet, was in the seventeenth century by a wonderful Eucharistic miracle converted from the errors of Lutheranism, and thenceforth made the propagation of the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament the aim of his life. Some very beautiful forms of devotion to the Holy Eucharist, less known than they deserve to be, are characteristic of this Institute; such are the Chaplet of the Blessed Sacrament and the Psalter of Praises, called the "Confiteminis" from the beginning word of each verse or aspiration.

It may fairly be contended that at the present day in no single city of Christendom is our Lord veiled only under the Sacramental species enthroned day by day over so many altars as in this poor Protestant London of ours. That we are able to make this boast we owe, no doubt, to the supernaturally guided policy of the enlightened prelates who have followed one another in the see of Westminster. Nevertheless, it is by means of our nuns that they have been enabled to assure us this pre-eminence, and the dwelling briefly upon it falls properly to the writer of the paper on the Eucharistic Apostolate in Convents.

The honour of having been the first to establish in London Daily Exposition and Benediction belongs to the Sisters of the Assumption in Kensington Square. Very interesting is the account given in the *Origines de l'Assomption*. "Hardly (says the chronicle) had Cardinal Wiseman been appointed Archbishop of Westminster than he made to God a solemn promise to do his utmost to bring England back to the Church by means of two devotions, that to the Blessed Sacrament and that to our Lady. As a great step towards the accomplishing of this, early in the year 1857, he came to Paris in the hope of finding Religious willing to make a foundation in London for the express purpose of honouring our Lord by daily Exposition and Benediction. It was our Rev. Mother Foundress who promised him a convent specially dedicated to the worship of the Blessed Sacrament. And in this intent we came to Kensington Square."

The Exposition began on the 2nd of October 1857. With charming näiveté the Sisters tell us how the Cardinal insisted upon himself celebrating the Mass of Exposition, and how touching a sermon he preached. They add: "On entering our parlour, after leaving our dear Lord enthroned in our chapel, his first words were, 'There is nothing more that I want on this earth; I have never felt so happy as to-day.'" Cardinal Wiseman put the new foundation under the charge of the Fathers of the Oratory, and Father Dalgairns, author of *The Holy Communion*, was appointed the first spiritual director of the convent. Father Faber, preaching at Benediction in the chapel on that first evening, said very emphatically: "Every religious founda-

tion is essentially a miracle of grace; but this one more than any other." To us in our spiritual abundance this may perchance seem far-fetched; rather, let us envy our fathers of fifty years ago their holy enthusiasm over the crumbs of divine favour that fell to their share.

The Chronicles of the Assumption go on to relate that the welcome given in London to their undertaking of daily Exposition seemed to open a new path to the Institute itself, and led its Superiors to take as one of its ends the honouring by continuous public Adoration the Eucharistic Mystery. In fact, it has in England spread with the Institute, and now obtains in the convents of these Sisters at Richmond (diocese of Middlesborough), Ramsgate (diocese of Southwark), and Sidmouth (diocese of Plymouth). The Assumption has, moreover, Houses of Adoration not only in France (where it began) but in Italy, Spain, Belgium, North and South America, and Oceania.

The Congregation of the Assumption was founded in 1839. In those which equally with it merit the title of Eucharistic but are of more recent institution, we shall find the spirit of an active Sacramental Apostolate more and more accentuated. Of these Institutes, each has its characteristic features, and by consequence appeals in preference to every other to some particular group of souls. The uniting, though in varying proportions, of the active life with the contemplative is an element common to them all.

Taking, and as far as may be, in chronological order the Congregations established here in England as types of the many others existing in the Catholic Church, we have, in the first place, the great Society of Marie Réparatrice, founded on the 8th of December 1854, the very day of the definition of the Immaculate Conception. The venerated foundress, Mother Mary of Jesus (Madame Emilie Baroness d'Oultremont), before her holy death in 1875 was privileged to see her work already fully approved in Rome and spread over a great part of Europe. At the present day Marie Réparatrice has convents in Italy, France, Belgium, England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, and the United States, with missions in Africa. The Mother House is in Rome, and one of the most remarkable of its foundations is that of Jerusalem.

The constitutions of the Society of Marie Réparatrice were finally approved by His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. on the 18th of April 1883. "To make reparation and to make it with Mary and through Mary to Jesus." "This," its Rule says, "is the whole plan and spirit and reason for the existence of the Society." It is also an Apostolate, but an Apostolate at which, according to a beautiful saying of their foundress, the Sisters toil "in the silence and shadow of the Tabernacle." I quote again from their book:

"The life of reparation has two objects: it tends alternately to God by prayer and praise, and to our neighbour by devotedness and Apostolic charity. The Blessed Sacrament is exposed day by day from early morning till towards evening. Two Religious relieved at intervals by two others remain before It in adoration. Thus, in the midst of cities where all the day long sin is heaped upon sin and God is forgotten, the Divine Master is receiving unceasing homage on His Throne of Love. His spouses remain with Him; they adore Him; they humble themselves at His feet; they ask pardon and pity for the unhappy ones who know not what they do, and for the more guilty ones who know it but too well. There is prayer again from midnight to one o'clock, and during the nights of Thursdays, sacred to the memory of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament and to the sufferings of Christ, Exposition until morning."

To every convent of Marie Réparatrice are attached a house for retreats, catechism classes, confraternities, sodalities—in a word all the means which experience has shown to be the most efficacious for winning souls to God.

In regard to the employment of such means the following passage from the rule of the Institute is noteworthy:—

"The Society never under any circumstances seeks to interfere with works already existing and successful. We seek Jesus Christ and to extend His Reign in souls, and nothing besides. When congregations or pious works are established in a locality, we shall bless our Lord for it and shall, in every possible way, do all we can to promote their success."

The London convent of Marie Réparatrice, now at Chiswick, was founded at Harley House, Regent's Park, and the first

Mass said there 16th November 1862, beginning the daily Exposition and Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament which has continued to our own time. Cardinal Wiseman, as we have seen, loved this devotion, established by him five years previously at Kensington. The seeing it inaugurated at Harley House, close to York Place where he resided, was one of the few consolations of the last year of his self-sacrificing life.

As in sequence of their foundation-date the various Eucharistic Sisterhoods come within our purview, we can hardly fail to be struck by the increasing dominance in their Eucharistic spirit of the idea of Reparation. The tendency may be said to culminate in the Adoration Réparatrice, of which the one object is to plead unceasingly for sinners and to make reparation, so far as man can, for the growing guilt of this poor world of ours. The life of the Sisters of Reparation is almost wholly contemplative. Indeed their beginnings were fostered and safeguarded by the Carmelites; and their very dress recalls St Teresa. In their chapels the Blessed Sacrament remains enthroned over the altar by night as well as by day; and before it each individual nun is bound to pass daily several hours in silent adoration. The Office they recite is that of the Blessed Sacrament.

The Adoration Réparatrice dates from the Paris Revolution of 1848. The Rev. Mother Marie Therèse (Theodelinde Dubouché), its Foundress, went to her reward in 1863. The Holy See definitely approved the Institute in 1865 and ratified its Rule and Constitutions in 1887. It has a foundation in Belgium; and in England, convents at Chelsea and in Liverpool. Of the Sisters' French houses it is now sadly superfluous to make mention. As was ably set forth in the report presented to the Metz Congress last year, the Adoration Réparatrice is slow to make new foundations. It aims rather at developing and perfecting those it already possesses. That in Beaufort Street, Chelsea, is to us in England of singular interest, built as it is on a site once the property of Blessed Thomas More and adjoining his residence.

The Adoration Réparatrice does not receive lady-boarders; it, however, offers facilities in houses annexed to its convents for the making of private retreats by ladies desirous of passing

some days in solitary prayer and recollectedness. Its direct Apostolate, like that of other Congregations of nuns mainly contemplative, consists in the fostering among the laity of an Association of Adoration. In that dependent on Chelsea the members pledge themselves (though of course without binding themselves thereto under pain of sin) to make regularly once a month, once a week, or once a day, as the case may be, a visit that shall last an hour or at least half an hour to the Blessed Sacrament and preferably in the convent chapel. A distinguishing feature of the Association in the Adoration Réparatrice is that it has two grades of membership. Those of its members who are able and willing to join actively in the Eucharistic Apostolate may, if they please, be as it is termed "aggregated" to the Adoration Réparatrice. They, after going through some months of probation, formally engage themselves to work in union with the Institute and accept from it a rule of life, compatible of course with the discharge of their duties in the world, yet such as befits souls really penetrated with the spirit of devotion to the Holy Eucharist in the form of Reparation. In a word they stand to the Institute itself much as Tertiaries do to their parent Order. Naturally these "aggregated associates" are ready instruments for the propagation of the Association itself; and it is well worth considering whether in the event of a project being formulated for systemising our numerous and so far autonomous Adoration Confraternities, the principle of the two degrees might not with advantage be universally adopted.

Among the merits in fine of the Adoration Réparatrice I may mention that it is to the impulse given by these Sisters that Paris owes the flourishing Lay-Association of Nocturnal Adoration so well known in connection with Notre Dame des Victoires.

We now turn to the Convent of "Adorers of the Sacred Heart" at Tyburn—one to us in England of touching interest. On the 8th of June 1585, the priest, Father Gregory Gunne, alias Stone, who had been arrested and was being examined before the Council, prophesied that in days to come a Religious House would be established at Tyburn, the place where so many Martyrs were to lay down their lives for God and His Church. The recent lamentable expulsion of Religious from France has brought about the fulfilment of the words of

the servant of God. The Adorers of the Sacred Heart, a Sisterhood founded at Montmartre by the late venerated Cardinal Richard, to expiate by prayer and penance on the Paris Martyrs' Mount the sins of 1870-1871, were helped by our own Cardinal Vaughan to transfer hither their work and their prayer. It is now their special aim by assiduous supplication to win from God the return to the true Faith of the English nation. Unlikely as it at first seemed, they succeeded in obtaining for themselves a modest home by Tyburn Gate, albeit now covered with the palatial mansions of the wealthy. The dying eyes of many a Confessor of the Faith must have rested upon the spot where three centuries later the Eucharistic Throne of His Lord was to be set up. The Sisters' Chapel is one of the very few sanctuaries in London in which the liturgical prayer of the Church—the full Divine Office according to the Roman Breviary—is regularly and solemnly chanted. It and that of the Réparation Adoratrice in Beaufort Street are the only ones in which Exposition is really continuous throughout the year, the lights burning and the Sisters worshipping by night as by day.

You will hardly look upon it as a digression if I here call attention to one very practical difficulty in the multiplying or prolonging of Expositions of the Blessed Sacrament and even in the establishing of daily Evening Benedictions. I mean the money expense entailed. In an Appendix to his eloquent Tyburn Conferences, Dom Bede Camm gives some figures which I myself have endeavoured to verify. For the providing of the rubrical lights alone, leaving incidentals altogether out of account, the cost of an Exposition and proportionately of a Benediction is approximately as follows:—

For one day and one night (24 hours)	£0	12	0
For one day	0	7	0
For one night	0	5	0
For a Triduum of days	1	1	0
For a Triduum of nights	0	15	0
For a Novena of days	3	3	0
For a Novena of nights	2	5	0
For a Novena of days and nights	5	8	0
For a Triduum of days and nights	1	16	0

The candle bill at Beaufort Street or Tyburn would work out for the year at about £220 for the Exposition alone, with the minimum of candles burning, and without reckoning extra lights for festivals or the requirements for other functions. Where, as for instance at Kensington Square, the Exposition is only from Mass in the early morning to evening Benediction the annual charge would not be much less than £130. By dint of hard work, and with the help of friends and of their private fortunes, our nuns manage to meet this with their other liabilities; but in any plan for amplifying this most approved and most grace-giving form of Eucharistic cultus, it is obvious that a very serious difficulty has to be faced. It is here not out of place to remark that in several of our convents of Perpetual Adoration, in return for the offering of a few shillings, the Sisters on a given day will apply (as they phrase it) for the intentions of the donor their prayer before the Blessed Sacrament exposed on their altar, and be very grateful for the relief thus afforded to the usually slender community purse.

I have already observed that to the best of my belief no city, even in the so-called Catholic countries, can boast of doing more than London in respect of the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament, as measured by length of Expositions and number of Benedictions. Did space allow, I would gladly go yet more into detail. But I must fain content myself with just one glance towards the East End, where £100 or £150 per annum for candles means a very great deal indeed. At Bow the zealous Sisters of Marie Auxiliatrice have daily Exposition; and so do, in the slums round the docks, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. The latter Community was founded less than thirty years ago. Their Sisters are already to be reckoned by thousands; they have over a hundred convents spread the whole world over, from the deserts of Mongolia through Europe and Africa to the Pacific shores of America; and what is more, they have a whole bevy of martyrs, whose cause is going through the preliminaries of Beatification. May not all this be looked on as a visible sign of God's blessing following an energetic Eucharistic Apostolate?

The nature of the life-service rendered to the Most Holy Sacrament by the Sisters of the Institutes hitherto mentioned,

being in the main an Apostleship of Prayer, needs to be supplemented by the toil of other workers. In conformity with a law which seems almost universal in the history of the Catholic Church, Divine Providence has supplied the want. Side by side with the cloistered or semi-cloistered Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament, other devoted women have been called by Almighty God to make of the gathering together of worshippers and of the beautifying of Altars and Tabernacles their acceptable life-work.

An Association organised for the purpose of furthering the cultus of the Most Holy Sacrament and for providing poor churches with vestments and other requisites for Mass and Benediction, since singularly blessed by Almighty God, was begun in the forties of the last century by Ann de Meeus, a Belgian lady, deservedly numbered among the holiest of the servants of God in our age. Somewhat later she became the Foundress of the Religious Institute of Perpetual Adoration and of Work for poor Churches—a Congregation having for its aim the furthering of the cultus of the Blessed Sacrament, both by increasing the number of the faithful pledged regularly and devoutly to visit it, and by providing for the Liturgical needs of the churches wherein it is reserved.

The centre of the one work and of the other is in Rome, and the Constitutions governing them were definitely approved by Pope Leo XIII. in 1872. The London House of the Institute, founded in 1890 by Bishop Butt of happy memory, is at Balham—a flourishing community destined with God's blessing to be the parent of many others.

One of the official manuals of the Institute tells us:

"The calling of the Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration is twofold: for they must not only be adorers but also missionaries of the Blessed Sacrament, by devoting themselves to all the works which may contribute to its glory, and which are compatible with a life of retirement and of intimate union with our Divine Lord."

Again: "The Association of Perpetual Adoration, which was the parent of the Religious Institute of the same name, and the cause of its foundation, is essentially the most powerful auxiliary of the Institute and its work of predilection. By its

means the Institute strives to arouse faith and love towards the Most Adorable Sacrament, not only in the poor missions which are assisted by it, but also in the towns where the Association is established and even in the most distant missions abroad. The Association attains this end by the hours of Adoration made by its members, by its work for poor churches and grants of church requisites, and by the solemnity which it endeavours to give to the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and to the Forty Hours' Prayer. The design of the Institute is to work for all these ends, not only by means of its own members, but by obtaining the co-operation of as many persons as possible, and thus to enkindle in souls the love of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament and zeal for His glory."

The development of the Association of Perpetual Adoration and of Work for poor Churches directed by the Sisters has been remarkable. It has about 136 centres in Italy, 80 in Belgium, 17 in Holland, 79 in Germany, 25 in Austria, 11 in Hungary, 23 in the United States, etc., etc. It was introduced into the British Isles in 1879, and is now canonically established in the dioceses of Westminster, Salford, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Leeds, Middlesbrough, and Liverpool in England; in those of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Galloway, in Scotland; in Dublin and Cork in Ireland.

The rules of the Associations of Perpetual Adoration and of Work for poor Churches, whether their meetings are held in the convents of the Institute or elsewhere, are few but practical. Very wisely a free hand is given to each group of Adorers, and the lay-element is prominent in its organisation. The President and Councillors are not Religious. It is only stipulated that the Superior of the Convent should be one of the Vice-Presidents, and that the Spiritual Director should always be a priest chosen by the Bishop. Two checks introduced by the Holy See have been found sufficient to ensure that local associations do not depart from the guiding principles of the particular Eucharistic work they undertake. The first of these checks is the rule: "To a poor parish or mission grants are made in all cases subject to the authorisation of the Bishop, to whom in the first place all applications are submitted, nor dealt with until sanctioned by him."

The second is formulated in one of the clauses of the Pontifical Decree of 1st February 1879:

"The Arch-Association of Perpetual Adoration is one in name and in object with the Religious Institute of the Sisters. It is subordinate to the Institute as to its head, and in virtue of the Constitutions approved for it by the Holy See must always remain so subject."

The statutes of each Association further emphasise this wise principle: "The Institute is the centre and the bond of all the Associations. It endeavours to maintain everywhere the observance of the rules; to foster that spirit of unity and zeal which is the life of each Association, and to perpetuate the tradition of the ideas which animated the beginnings of both the Religious Institute and its dependent Associations. With this end the Constitutions of the Institute approved by the Holy See expressly authorise the Superiors of the same to visit officially all Associations without exception."

One particularly admires the straightforward and business-like way in which the Sisters and their Associations carry on the work for poor churches. The reports printed each year are satisfactorily detailed so as to show, not only the money received and the corresponding expenditure, but the particular churches or missions benefited, and precisely what was done for each, even down to the colour of the vestments supplied.

I will give a few figures. As early as the date of the half-Jubilee of the work in 1897, it was found that no fewer than 192,898 members had been formally enrolled, and that it had distributed close upon 9,000,000 francs (say £360,000) worth of vestments, etc., to about 3000 poor churches or missions. These figures have, of course, since been largely exceeded. The statistics made up-to-date of the work in the British Isles may appropriately be quoted by way of example.

Since its introduction into these countries the London Association has made grants of vestments and of other altar-requisites to 760 missions or churches situate in Great Britain to the value of £13,420, 15s. 3d. In addition it has made grants to Foreign Missions estimated at £3726, 7s. These grants included 258 chalices, 335 ciboriums, and 136 Remonstrances. As a return gift, suggested in the true spirit of the

Eucharistic Apostolate, in more than sixty of the poor churches benefited, a monthly Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament has been established.

These figures are taken from the Balham Report, but the work is, as indicated above, sufficiently elastic to allow of its being fruitfully carried on elsewhere than in the immediate neighbourhood of a convent of the Institute.

Thus, in the diocese of Shrewsbury we find a flourishing Association of Perpetual Adoration and of work for poor churches, established in 1885, and now numbering some eighty members. It alone has distributed vestments and the like to the value of over £1500. Its reports not only give an account of the periodical meetings, and publish the balance-sheets, but enumerate also the Expositions of the Blessed Sacrament arranged for, in order that the members may in a body discharge the primary obligation of the Association, that of making monthly an hour's visit.

Again, in the diocese of Middlesbrough, the local Association of Perpetual Adoration and of Work for poor Churches during the thirteen years of its existence has spent as much as £1019, 18s. 5d. on vestments for poor missions irrespective of the needlework of the members, about 150 in number, which was given gratuitously. Writing last month to the Lady Secretary, his Lordship the Bishop of Middlesbrough said: "The Report is most gratifying in every way. In common with all my priests *without exception*, I appreciate most highly the work the Association has accomplished." Indeed, everywhere the Association of Perpetual Adoration and of Work for poor Churches is popular with clergy and laity alike.

For a Catholic desirous of practically co-operating in the Eucharistic Apostolate the readiest means of so doing is in most cases to become a member of one of the Associations organised in connection with the Institute of which I am speaking. The passing of one hour each month in prayer before the Tabernacle in some church or chapel, and the contributing something in money, in kind, or in time, towards the beautifying of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament is the little that is asked for, in return for a number of Indulgences and of other spiritual privileges, and for the satisfaction of

feeling oneself engaged in a work very dear to the Heart of the Divine Dweller in the Tabernacle. The parting words of the late lamented Bishop of Shrewsbury when presiding a year ago over the annual meeting of the Associates of his Diocese may appropriately be quoted here: "Almighty God (he said) could have renewed the robes of His ministers and the clothing of His altars, as He did the garments of Israel in the desert; and yet He has vouchsafed to plead weakness and poverty that He might admit even such as we are to a share in the work that is His, and that we might be blessed thereby."

I turn in the last place to the Eucharistic Apostolate in Convents, as carried on by Institutes of which the Congregation of our Lady of the Cenacle may be taken as the type. Daily Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is one of the privileges of its houses; but the work of the Sisters is essentially active. They strive by all the means in their power to make the Holy Eucharist known and loved, and in particular devote themselves to preparing children for their First Communion and to the promoting of frequent Communion among the young. Founded in France in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Society of Our Lady of the Cenacle has been blessed with considerable increase. It is established in Rome, and has convents in many parts of Europe and America. There are flourishing Cenacles in London, in Manchester, and in Liverpool. Characteristic of the Institute is the organising in its convents of Retreats, arranged to succeed each other as far as possible without break. These Retreats are preached in the usual manner by a secular priest or by a religious. Each Retreat is made to respond to the spiritual requirements of the definite class of persons to whom it is addressed. Those which principally interest us to-day are the First Communion Retreats and the so-called "Retreats of Perseverance."

In Rome, the Sisters, when preparing children for their First Communion, receive them into the Cenacle in relays of from twenty to thirty, each set remaining in the Cenacle from a Monday to the Saturday following, on which day the First Communion is made. The plan is an ideal one, though not everywhere practicable in all its details. Thus, in England the First Communion Cenacle Retreats last three days only, and

the number of children attending them varies considerably. For instance, according to the statistics of the Manchester Cenacle, which I have before me, twelve children's retreats were preached there during the three months, March to June, of the present year. The attendance at some of the retreats was as low as eleven, while in others it ran into three figures. No doubt, as common sense insists, social status cannot altogether be ignored in the arranging for the receiving of children to board together even for a few days in a convent. The total of First Communicants prepared by the Manchester Sisters during the three months for the most important act of child-life was 658. The good work is in the best sense a popular one.

There is no need for me to enlarge in this place on the value of a systematic retreat with its apparatus of set sermons and set meditations, for supplementing and consolidating the results obtainable from an ordinary school First Communion class. Such advantage is patent. The three quiet days away from school and home, passed in surroundings that appeal continuously to the higher instincts of the child's soul, will often account for all the difference between a fervent and serious First Communion and one which is the reverse.

In this branch of the Cenacle work there is naturally a question of ways and means involved; though by no means so difficult of solution as might at sight appear. From this point of view the "three days at the Cenacle" stands in the same category as the familiar "Summer Day at the Seaside." As a rule, it will not cost as much. And, even if it did, it comes once only in a child's lifetime. Besides those for First Communion, the good Sisters have succeeded in organising regular retreats for elder children still at school, which have been fairly well attended. Several retreats of the kind for girls from eleven to fourteen years of age are announced for the coming months at the Stamford Hill Cenacle.

The Retreats of Perseverance stand in another category. The frequent neglect of the Sacraments by children after leaving school is the evil they seek to combat. They are attended by young people just launched in the world, and happily often result in the resolving by the retreatant upon

a plan of life in which regular Communion is a prominent feature.

The Manchester Cenacle offers eleven distinct Retreats of this kind to be preached during the second half of the present year. It will be seen, therefore, that the Sisters of the Cenacle are opening up Eucharistic work in a new and most hopeful direction, and may fairly look to our Congress for very special recognition and appreciation.

I make no pretensions whatever to having done more in this paper than indicate the lines on which the Eucharistic Apostolate is in our time carried out in convents. I have chosen as types those Institutes about which, because established in our midst, it was easy to obtain reliable information at first hand. Obviously many religious congregations doing very important Eucharistic work in other countries have had to be passed over. Thus, for instance, though in former Congresses a detailed account was given of the work of the Apostolines or Ladies of St Juliana, who are somewhat widespread in Belgium, I must perforce content myself here with calling attention to the stress they put in their Eucharistic Apostolate on securing the help of young ladies trained in their convents to take catechism classes and to labour among children attending non-Catholic schools. The results obtained, particularly in regard to the frequenting of the Sacraments, have been remarkable.

That the Eucharistic Apostolate in Convents is a living work, and that it is both energetically developed and increasingly fruitful in consoling results, I trust I have demonstrated. The Apostolate is, and must ever be, multiform, for the work itself is complex. Moreover, there are more ways than one of arriving at an identical result. From century to century fresh paths are being opened out. Time-worn tracks are continually being broadened and straightened. And some there are who will always tread in the very footsteps of their fathers, and find their blessing therein. The Catholic Church is ever both abreast of the times and unflinchingly tenacious of her own traditions. Of her Eucharistic Apostolate, as of every other of her God-inspired enterprises, that will always be true which in the beginning was said of her: "She bringeth forth from her treasure-house both new things and old."

GUILDS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE HOLY EUCHARIST

By the Very Rev. Canon Lawrence Cosgrave.

The town of Preston is known both for its Catholicity and for those famous associations or brotherhoods which go by the name of Guilds; and it is for this reason, doubtless, that I have been called upon to read you a paper on Guilds and their relation to the Holy Eucharist.

The Preston Catholic Guilds by their constitution, government, and membership command our attention, and have a special interest for us in this, that they are a revival of the Catholic Guilds of mediæval England. They have the same lofty ideals, serve the same great ends, and are moulded on the self-same principles. They supply the bond which knits to the Church the rising youth of our land, inspiring them with that loyalty to, and love of, our holy religion and all connected with it which was so characteristic a feature of the Guilds in the Middle Ages. But above all, as I hope to show you, they foster in the most practical way, the supreme value of the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, and the fruits and blessings of regular and frequent Communion.

The Catholic Church has always set the greatest store on external organisation. Adopted by Christ, and perfected by the apostles under the direction of the Holy Spirit, it has at all times and in all places been found eminently useful—nay absolutely essential—for the well-being of the one Church of Christ. That this is so will be evident to one who reads closely her wonderful history during the past nineteen hundred years. Indeed it is testified to by even those without her fold. To promote any good work and guard it against the withering blasts of popular opinions and sentiments, or to foster devotion in any truly practical manner, organisation is a necessary factor. It is the story of the great Religious Orders which have sprung up and been organised at various crises in the Church's earthly life, and which still continue in unity and harmony the spirit and work of their first founders. Similarly is it the story of the

confraternities, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods which have come into being, whether they be for the good work of charity or for the increase of faith or piety.

Before proceeding with the subject in hand, it may be well to give you a brief account of the Guilds in pre-Reformation days. The early history of the Guilds is shrouded in obscurity. It has been claimed for them that they were an Anglo-Saxon institution, but there is evidence to show that they were of much greater antiquity; indeed, traces can be found of them at a very early period of the history of mankind. In the old Roman Republic there undoubtedly existed what would now be termed guilds. Before the Empire, there flourished voluntary associations—by name, *collegia privata*—which with their Magister or President, their Quæstor or treasurer, their Curia or meeting hall, their corporate property, priests, sacrifices, and processions, were clearly the direct ancestors of the mediæval Guilds, as we know them. Members helped to support their poorer brethren, contributions were exacted, the members assembled to bury the dead. Some associations, De Rossi tells us, not only buried, but bought lands for interments; indeed, what is an interesting fact for us, it has been stated that the Catacombs were bought for a Roman Burial Guild, and thus sheltered the early days of the Christian Church.

That these Roman Collegia, existing in Britain during the Roman occupation of the island, remained when the Romans left our shores, and were gradually assimilated by the races which came later, may be taken as proved. Mr Toulmin Smith, in his *Traditions of the Old Crown House*, tells us that in the old laws of King Alfred and King Ina, the universal existence of guilds is treated as a matter of well-known fact, and that it is taken to be a matter of course that everyone belonged to some guild. Guilds flourished most perhaps during the Anglo-Saxon period. As early as 860, we know of a Guild of cnihts in London, and the same seems to have continued its existence for centuries after the Norman Conquest. In *Domesday Book* there is mention of a Guild of clerks at Canterbury, and of the Guild Hall of the burgesses of Dover. After the introduction of Christianity, our forefathers, recognising the value of Guilds to cope with the needs of existing social and

commercial life, established them throughout the length and breadth of this land, on a deeply religious and truly Christian basis. The associations or brotherhoods thus formed, bound together all classes of men, and became in a short time the foundation of all social life and activity of Catholic England.

From existing accounts we find that these associations developed into two classes—Craft or Trade Societies, and Religious, or as they are often called, Social Guilds.

The former were for every trade and profession: jewellers, workers in metal, bakers, butchers, masons, and drapers. The members were united by the strictest rules and customs, and each Guild had its own special uniform, corporate seal, and place of meeting. In many cities each guild lived together in the same street or quarter round their Guild Hall, where they often assembled to discuss their common interests, to enquire into the observance of the statutes, or to share in the joys of brotherly gatherings.

Their main object was to guard the interests of their trades, and to provide temporal relief for members in times of loss and distress, sickness and death; in fact, they provided for all the various accidents and vicissitudes of life. "The guild," says Dr Brentano in his *Essay on Guilds*, p. 133, "stood like a loving mother, providing and assisting at the side of her sons, in every circumstance of life, and she cared for her children after death." They are said to have corresponded to some extent to our modern Trades Unions, but with this marked difference, that whilst the members of the one unite to assert the rights of labour against capital, the members of the others were bound together to protect themselves against the competition of non-members, to obtain a market for their wares, to guarantee the work produced, and to secure the absence of all fraud and deception. Every product from the hands of a Guild member was to be perfect, "for the honour of God and the welfare of man." Thus the jewellery business, which presented a special temptation to cheating, was kept under vigilant eyes. To check the deceits which had crept into the jewellery trade, an Act was passed in 1403, providing that: "Whereas many artificers, imagining to deceive the common people, do daily make brooches, rings, beads, candlesticks, etc., of copper and lead,

like to gold and silver, a penalty is decreed on those who pass for gold and silver what is but copper and lead. A man should see whereof a thing is made, for to eschew deceit."

Here are some of the chief articles approved for the Pinners Guild of the city of London:—

1. No foreigner to be allowed to keep a shop for the sale of pins.

2. No foreigner to make pins without previous examination and approval of the officers of the Guild.

3. No master to receive another master's workman.

4. If a servant or workman, who has served his master faithfully, fall sick, he shall be kept by the Guild.

5. Work at the craft at nights, on Saturdays, and on the eves of Feasts, is strictly prohibited.

6. Sunday closing is rigidly enforced.

In addition, spurious pins and other ware were to be searched for and destroyed; and masters were punished for employing children not fully apprenticed, and so on.

The officers of each Guild were chosen every year by ballot, and comprised the Chief Warden, Assistant Warden, Bursar, and Writer or Secretary. To these was added a Committee or Council, elected by the votes of the members themselves. The funds at the disposal of the Guilds were derived chiefly from voluntary subscriptions, entrance fees, gifts, and legacies. The Guilds also often became the trustees of lands and property, which they held and administered, either for the purpose of the Guild or for some specific purpose, determined by the will of the original donor.

Purely religious or ecclesiastical guilds, existing for the sole purpose of promoting religious practices and observances, were the exception. There were a few, but they formed a very slight proportion of the whole number of associations known as Religious Guilds. Such, for example, was the Guild of Corpus Christi, whose main object was to foster devotion to the Blessed Sacrament by adoration, processions, etc.

But whatever the various immediate ends for which the Guilds were founded, all were animated by one and the same spirit. Wise social charity and brotherly aid were to be the predominant features in all alike. Their division was more a

matter of convenience than of any real distinction, for all had the same general characteristics, whether Craft, Social, Merchant, or Religious. Above all, no Guild was divorced from the ordinary religious observances practised by such bodies in those days. Religion was prominent in all gatherings, and up to the great Apostasy, even the most secular Guilds resembled a religious brotherhood. In this combination of religion with social life consisted the great mark of differentiation which divided the old Guilds from modern Trade Unions.

Each of the Guilds had its own Patron Saint, to whom it usually founded an altar, and who as often as not gave it its name. Thus the Drapers claimed our Lady, St Mary, Mother of the Holy Lamb. Fishmongers, as we might expect, adopted St Peter. St Dunstan was the Patron of Goldsmiths, and St John the Baptist of the Merchant Taylors. The first place was given to the observance of religion; solemn processions were organised to the Guild churches, their festivals were kept on the feast day of their Patron Saint, which always began with Mass. They erected costly altars and placed stained-glass windows in our great cathedrals. Glancing through the accounts preserved to us of the mediæval Guilds, one cannot help being struck by the high estimation, which all, irrespective of kind, set upon their faith and particularly upon their devotion to, and love of, the Holy Mass. Take, for instance, the Guild statutes of Garlekhithe, London. They began:—"In worship of God Almighty our Creator, and His Mother, St Mary, and all Saints, and St James the Apostle, a fraternity is begun by good men, etc." All in the brotherhood were to be "of good life, condition, and behaviour," "to love God and Holy Church, and their neighbours as the Holy Church commands." One of the most common sources of Guild expenses was the preparation for taking a fitting part in the great annual religious pageant, or procession, on Corpus Christi Day. Sums of money were spent in making and ornamenting wax torches. We are told that each member carried a small taper, whilst four great torches were borne by hired men who received a shilling each for their trouble. The Skinners seemed to have distinguished themselves in this celebration. "There were borne before them more than 200 priests in surplice and copes, and then the torches of wax burning

bright, and above 200 clerks and Skinners in their best liveries." (*The City Companies*, Arundell, p. 116).

Each of the Guilds had its own Chaplain to say Mass for them. The Grocers about the reign of Edward III. appointed a priest to say Mass daily. We read that his salary was raised to £6, 13s. 4d., besides his yearly charge for bread and wine and candle; for singing Mass, 2s.

Then again, in an account of the anniversary feast of the Holy Cross at Abingdon, we find that the fraternity held their feast on the 3rd of May, when they used to have 12 priests to sing a Dirige (Office for the Dead), to whom they gave 4d. apiece; they had also 12 minstrels, who had 2/3, besides their diet and horse-meat. Frequently mention is made of sums of money paid for "Trentals," or 30 Masses to be said on successive days, and for wax-lights used at the altar.

Dr Brentano, in his Essay (p. 134), remarks: "In this respect the craft guilds of all countries are alike: and in reading their statutes one might fancy that the old craftsmen cared only for the well-being of their souls."

The passing of the Guilds makes melancholy reading. It is a story of avaricious greed and shameful robbery under the mask of legal formalities, and we need not dwell on it. In a word, they were summarily strangled out of existence. Begun under Henry VIII. by the Act for the dissolution of colleges, which term included "free chapells, chauntries, hospitalles, fraternities and guilds," it was completed by an Act of Edward VI., 1547, by which the property of the poor and thrifty was swept into the pockets of the king and his favourities. This last Act is entitled "an Acte whereby certaine chauntries, colleges, free chapells and the possessions of the same, be given to the King's Majestie." In it were included the Guilds. The reason of the confiscation is given —superstition: "By devising and phantasinge vayne opynions of Purgatorye, and Masses satisfactorye, to be done for them which be departed, the which doctryne and vayne opynion by nothing more is mayntayned and upholden than by the abuse of trentalls, chauntries, and other provisions made for the contynuance of the said blyndness."

In an admirable little essay on the English Guilds in the Middle Ages, by Fr. Strappini, which I have made free to use in

this paper, we read: "I think we may grieve for the Guilds and hold them in kindly remembrance. In many ways they fought their battles for our benefit, and life is smoother for us because they have trodden down the rough places. . . . Will they ever rise again? We might indeed reproduce the outward form of the craft guilds, but could we breathe into them again that animating spirit of faith which was the unseen and spiritual source of their highest ideals, and the bond of union which prompted all their kindly care for their living members, and their many prayers and charities for the welfare of the souls of their dead?"

It is the glory of Catholic Preston to have attempted to revive, with some measure of success, the Social or Religious Guilds of the Middle Ages. It may not, it is true, be in the same outward garb, for the conditions of social and religious life in these days are wholly dissimilar to what they were in the times of our Catholic forefathers, but certainly that spiritual bond of union with its animating spirit of faith does exist in a very high degree among the members of the Preston Guilds. The same fraternal charity reigns among them, there is the same loving care for the welfare of their departed brethren; the Mass and the Holy Eucharist are, as of old, to them the same supreme act of worship and the same heavenly banquet, from which they draw their supernatural life and vigour.

In no town in England is there, I suppose, so large a number of descendants of Catholic families that have never lost the Faith; and therefore in no other spot, perhaps, could the old Guild traditions be so congenial to the habits and wishes of the people. It is now more than seventy years since St Wilfrid's and St Mary's—the only Catholic churches then in Preston—undertook to reproduce, on somewhat similar lines, those wonderful associations or brotherhoods which had for centuries flourished in England, and been the mainstay of our Faith in every populous centre of the country. Unlike their predecessors, our modern Guilds are not organisations for the furtherance of common trade interests, or for the securing of certain rights and liberties which individually it is impossible to obtain; they do not cover the same wide field of relief and social reform, nor do they play the part of extensive insurance

agencies. They are simply benefit societies for the temporal relief of members in time of sickness and at death. Beyond this, as things are at present, they cannot go in the material order, and it would be folly to attempt it. Were England again to become, as in the days of long ago, united in the one true fold of Christ—a consummation we all most ardently long for—then indeed we might hope to see, in place of Trades Unions, excellent though they be, Labour Parties and Socialistic Societies, those social, craft, or merchant Guilds, not only in their outward form, but animated with their truly Christian ideals, and breathing the same wise spirit of charity and brotherly aid.

But that which the Preston Guilds do possess in common with the mediæval Guilds, and which to all Catholics must be the greatest source of pride and congratulation, is the love they foster for our holy religion and the devotion they inspire for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Before proceeding I may be permitted to speak for a moment of the organisation and constitutions of our modern type of Guild. It will, I feel sure, better than aught else, impress on you the wisdom, whatever men may say to the contrary, of securing spiritual advantages by allying them with those which are temporal.

Each new church as it arose—St Ignatius', St Augustine's, St Walburge's, St Joseph's, the English Martyrs', and the Sacred Heart—followed the lead that had been given by the two senior churches, so that to-day the members of the various guilds in the town number some 6220.

Attached to each church there are at least four or five distinct Guilds, each with its own Chaplain, Officers, and Council. There is one for boys from 8 years of age; another for youths from 16; one for men from 18; there is a fourth for girls from 8; and a fifth for young women from 18. As of old, each Guild is presided over by a Council, varying in numbers according to the membership. The chief Officers, elected each year by the votes of the associates are the Warden, Vice-Warden, Bursar, and Secretary. The supreme authority in each Guild rests with the Chaplain. To become a member of any Guild, it is necessary for the candidate to be a good practising Catholic, and to have from the Guild Surgeon a certificate of freedom from bodily

infirmity. Gross misconduct, such as fraud, felony, perjury, theft, immorality, or any like serious offence of which they may be convicted in a court of justice, entails instant expulsion. There is an entrance fee of from 1/- to 5/-, according to age. No person is eligible to the Guilds after 35, except as an honorary member, who on payment of an annual subscription varying from 2/6 to 10/-, receives the spiritual but not the temporal benefits. The subscriptions are paid weekly by the members, and are as follows:—Boys and girls 1½d., young men and young women 2½d., and in the case of men it is either 4d. or 5d. per week, at the option of the members, who upon admission choose the higher or lower scale.

In case of sickness resulting in disability to work, the weekly relief allowance is at the rate of 1/- per week for each halfpenny of weekly contribution. Thus boys and girls who subscribe 1½d. receive 3/- per week sick allowance. Contributions of 2½d. entitle the member to 5/- a week, whilst the members of the Men's Guild receive 8/- or 10/-. An allowance is made, too, at death, varying likewise according to the subscription, at the rate of £1 for each halfpenny of weekly contribution. On the death of a boy or girl the parents or guardians receive £3; in the case of a young man or young women it is £5; whilst in the case of men it is either £8 or £10. A further allowance is also made upon the death of a first wife to the husband, of £5 or £6, to help him to defray the funeral expenses.

The rules governing sick- and death-pay are very stringent, and none strive to have them more faithfully adhered to than the members themselves. Financially the Guilds are firmly established, and have considerable funds at their disposal—the accumulated savings of years. These moneys wisely invested not only furnish a yearly income, but they give a sense of security which attracts members to the Guilds, knowing as they do that they have in them the full advantages to be derived from other modern Benefit Societies, such as the Oddfellows, Foresters, etc.

A word on the festive side of the Guilds may not be considered out of place. Speaking generally, each has its yearly social gathering, when supper is provided, followed by an entertainment to which the clergy of the church and the honorary

members are invariably invited. But the gala day of the Preston Guilds is Whit Monday; it is their review day. The various Guilds in the town meet, each in its own church, where after assisting at Holy Mass, they are treated to a suitable discourse by their Chaplain. Then all converge to the central square of the town and thence walk in procession through the principal thoroughfares from 10 to 12 o'clock. Each Guild has its own peculiar uniform, all the members wearing a coloured sash of silk or satin, and around each neck a cord or ribbon from which is suspended a crucifix or medal. At the head of each Guild is borne a costly and massive crucifix, there being 25 such in the whole line. At intervals of every few yards, painted or richly embroidered banners are carried, portraying events in the life of Christ, the Holy Eucharist, our Blessed Lady, or one or other of the Saints. The churches vie with one another in the display of banners and uniforms, and I venture to say that the lowest estimate of the actual money paid by each Church on these two counts alone will average £2000, making a total of at least £12,600 spent by the various Guilds. Add to this the money spent each year by some 6000 members in providing their own outfit, and some idea may be obtained of the money represented by the Whit-Monday procession. In Preston the display is unique. In other towns there are processions of confraternities and school children, and the number walking may be greater, but in Preston no one walks in the procession who is not a member of one or other of the Guilds, the Clergy of course excepted, and the Guilds are most jealous of this privilege. The town is proud of the display. Catholics and non-Catholics look on with respect and reverence. The traffic in the principal thoroughfares is temporarily stopped, and the chief constable with a large body of the police keeps the course clear.

We are fortunate in Preston, both from a religious and social point of view, to have such an organisation. With a tradition of more than seventy years, it is the backbone of the religious life of the town. It welds together our people and builds them in a solid mass to school and church. It is peculiarly suited to an industrial centre, where at a comparatively early age our boys and girls begin to earn. At twelve

or thirteen years of age our young people go to the cotton factories and are in receipt of weekly wages; thus it is possible where several in a family are wage-earners, that children as young as eight can afford a weekly contribution to their Guild, thus providing effectual help for parents when it may be most needed.

As a rule the Guilds meet each week in one or other of the parochial school-rooms. The Chaplain presides, opening and closing the meeting with prescribed devotions. At the conclusion of the business portion of the proceedings, he usually addresses the members, calling attention to any abuses or failure of compliance with the Guild Rules, or giving praise and encouragement as he deems advisable. By carefully noting non-attendance and non-payment of subscriptions, he can detect the first symptoms of carelessness and indifference, especially in the case of those who are in their later teens. Often his kindly admonition is a salutary check to what might otherwise be a downward career, and a shipwreck of the Faith. But above all, he has on these occasions an opportunity of impressing on his hearers, the undoubted blessings of regular Communion and of exhorting them to its devout reception.

He is ever urging on them the faithful compliance with the Rule of the Guild, which says that each brother and sister shall receive the august Sacrament on his or her appointed Sunday. Each month the Guilds have their own Sundays for Holy Communion — one for the girls and young women, another for the boys, and a third for the men. The fourth is set aside for mothers and married women, for whom there is no Guild. By such an arrangement it is easy for the members of a household, largely composed of Guild members, to observe a fixed Sunday order, thus facilitating the monthly Communion of each communicant in the family; it means the minimum of friction and inconvenience in either Church or home. The habit of regular monthly Communion is particularly noticeable in families where father and children are members of one or other of the Guilds. But this is not all. The rule lays down the very least that the brothers and sisters should aim at. They are encouraged as far as their duties and station will permit, to approach the Holy Table more frequently,

and thus draw down upon themselves and their homes, inestimable graces and blessings, and furnish to the rest of the parish a powerful example of piety and fidelity, which must bear abundant fruit. Consequently it is not surprising to find a large number approaching the altar rails each and every Sunday, nay often too on week-days, when opportunity arises. As a rule it is impossible for the majority of our people in Preston to receive oftener than once a week, on account of the conditions of labour prevalent in the town. Most of them must start work in the factories at 6 A.M.; but if you arrange for a Mass at five o'clock, as happens on the first Fridays, or if the mills are stopped, you will marvel at the numbers who claim the privilege of fortifying themselves with the Bread of Life. I have had on some occasions as many as 500 communicants at the five o'clock Mass, all mill hands, men and women arrayed in working attire, and four-fifths of them members of one or other of the Guilds. I grant that this was exceptional, but it is edifying and encouraging. Of late, too, the mills have been running only four days a week, with the result that there is quite a large number at Mass and Holy Communion on Saturdays and Mondays, again most of them Guild members. The total number of Communions in 1907 in the diocese of Liverpool was 1,955,012; of these, Preston accounted for 235,560.

The influence of the Guilds, however, is not confined to Holy Communion. Whenever the Blessed Sacrament is concerned in any of our devotions, the Guild Members are ever to the fore. Take for instance a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, we are always sure of having a considerable number whose delight it is on such occasions to give expression to their lively faith in their hidden Lord. Like their forefathers of old, they will form a guard of honour, and with their magnificent and costly banners, will escort Him in His triumphal march. Quarant' Ore and Exposition afford like opportunities for their marked devotion. The Men's Guild claim it as their own peculiar privilege to be allowed to be on guard during the long night-watches. The times for each one's watching are arranged and posted up some days before, and the priest need have no fear, but that the silent hours will have their complement of devout and earnest worshippers. The

children take their turns during the day, and the young women in the evening, from 6 P.M. to 10 P.M. It is no mean task for these young men and women, after a day of toil in a stifling mill, to give up an hour of their recreation or sleep, and spend it before their Lord and Master when the world is gay or slumbers, and "the lone lamp softly burns and a wondrous silence reigns." Who can measure the blessings which flow to a parish from such a sacrifice?

Their influence too is felt not only within the strict limits of the Guild; it is carried beyond and extends to their relations with their neighbour. It is of the members of the Guilds that our admirable institution of the Christian Doctrine Confraternity is largely composed. Full of zeal for the spiritual welfare of souls, they are ever ready to co-operate with their pastors for the salvation of others. During the time of Lent, they generously give up their evenings to visiting the careless and indifferent, and strive to lead them to their Easter duties. They will arrange to call for them, accompany them to Church, and thus enable them to make their peace with God. But week after week their good work goes on, their love of the Holy Sacrifice displaying itself in the evident care they take of the children. They lead them to and from Mass, take charge of them in Church, and in the case of those who are absent, make a point of interviewing the parents with the object of securing regular attendance. Deeds not words is the thought which inspires them; and none can deny that they are fitted for their position as apostles, by the spiritual training they receive as members of the Guilds.

Speaking of the Holy Mass, I must not forget to mention that each month the rules of the Guilds demand that the Holy Sacrifice shall be offered for all living and deceased members. It is also offered in time of sickness, and three Masses are said if death ensues, and twice a year, in May and November, for all deceased members. In this way are the traditions of the old Guilds preserved, and a Catholic brotherhood of help, spiritual and temporal, provided in health, sickness, and death.

What wonder then that our people value their Guilds and take a laudable pride in them! Some little while ago, an old lady more than eighty years of age was an onlooker at the

Whit-Monday Procession. "I walked every year," she said to me with tears in her eyes, "from the time I entered the Guild as a girl, until I was married, and to-day I have counted my children, my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren taking part in it, and in all they number sixty-four." "God bless you," was my reply, "may your holy pride descend to your children and to your children's children!"

SECTION C (FRENCH)

MORNING SESSION

An intimation having been received that this meeting would be honoured by a visit from the CARDINAL LEGATE, the Hall was crowded, and many persons were unable to obtain admittance. Abbot CABROL, the president of the section, invited the ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS to take the chair until the arrival of the Legate. With His Grace on the platform were:—Cardinal SANCHA Y HERVAS, Archbishop of Toledo; the Slav Archbishop DVORNIK, of Zara; the ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAI; the BISHOPS OF ANGERS, LANGRES, ST BRIEUC, and VERDUN; and also the BISHOPS OF KILDARE, MAZZARA, NEWPORT, POZZUOLI, and SALFORD.

While the first paper was being read, the CARDINAL LEGATE, accompanied by the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, arrived, and took the chair.

LE VÉNÉRABLE BÈDE TÉMOIN DE LA FOI EUCHARISTIQUE DANS L'ÉGLISE ANGLO-SAXONNE

Par le P. X. le Bachelet, S.J.

S'il est un nom qu'on ait le droit d'évoquer, quand il s'agit de déterminer la foi de l'Église anglo-saxonne, c'est assurément celui du Vén. Bède; Bède, dont les écrits, au jugement d'un anglican qu'il me faudra combattre, "forment un copieux répertoire de tradition religieuse nationale,"[1] et que, pour cette raison, le même écrivain appelait "le flambeau de la vieille Angleterre" et "le père de notre théologie nationale."[2] Peut-être le Rév. Soames ne se montrait-il si prodigue d'éloges, que dans la persuasion où il était d'avoir trouvé dans les ouvrages du saint moine de Jarrow des armes contre les doctrines de l'Église romaine, surtout en ce qui touche à l'Eucharistie. Le jugement n'en reste pas moins vrai: pour l'Église anglo-saxonne, Bède est un témoin hors ligne, à un double titre: et comme historien de cette église naissante;[3] et comme docteur vénéré dans cette même église pendant sa vie et après sa mort.

I. Foi en l'Eucharistie, et pratique de la sainte Communion dans l'Église anglo-saxonne

Passons rapidement sur nombre de témoignages, très précieux à d'autres points de vue, mais qui, pour nous, restent trop généraux. Qu'il y ait eu dans l'Église anglo-saxonne, et cela dès le début, foi en l'Eucharistie et pratique de la sainte communion, c'est un fait dont témoignent l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* du Vén. Bède et les vies de saints personnages qu'il a écrites.[4]

[1] H. Soames, *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 101, 3rd ed., London, 1844.

[2] H. Soames, *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCXXX.*, pp. 371, 372; Oxford, 1830.

[3] S. Augustin aborda en Angleterre l'an du Christ 597. Bède naquit en 673, et mourut en 735.

[4] Toutes les références se rapporteront à l'édition des œuvres de Bède

Des neuf questions posées au Pape S. Grégoire par l'apôtre des Anglo-Saxons, deux, la huitième et la neuvième, sont relatives à la communion eucharistique et à la célébration de la messe.[1] C'est en voyant l'évêque de Londres, Mellitus, distribuer à l'autel l'Eucharistie, que les fils et successeurs, païens, du roi Sabert conçoivent et formulent le désir, impérieux autant qu'aveugle, de recevoir, eux aussi, le pain blanc, *panem nitidum*, des fidèles.[2] N'est-ce pas, du reste, le même usage qu'attestent ces expressions courantes: *communicare more solito*;[3] *communicantibus qui aderant*?[4]

Personnellement, le Vén. Bède fut un grand apôtre de la communion fréquente, entendue dans la plénitude du mot. Dans sa lettre à saint Ecgbert, archevêque d'York, il recommande à ce prélat de veiller soigneusement à ce qu'on donne aux fidèles divers enseignements de grande importance, en particulier, "combien il est salutaire pour toute sorte de chrétiens de recevoir chaque jour le corps et le sang du Seigneur; pratique en usage, vous le savez, dans l'Église du Christ en Italie, en France, en Afrique, en Grèce, et dans tout l'Orient."[5] Tout le passage serait à citer, car c'est une page glorieuse pour le docteur anglo-saxon, et il n'était que juste de la rappeler en ce congrès eucharistique, célébré à Londres quelques années seulement après un acte pontifical consacrant pour ainsi dire les principes du Vén. Bède sur la communion fréquente.

Mais quel était l'objet précis de cette croyance? qu'est, pour Bède, l'Eucharistie? Là est la question vitale.

Aux trois ou quatre textes invoqués par les adversaires[6] pour prouver que le moine bénédictin de Jarrow fut un bon anglican, qui ne croyait ni à la transubstantiation, ni à la présence réelle dans le sens catholique du mot, ni par conséquent à la réception physique du corps et du sang de

publiée dans la Patrologie latine de Migne, t. xc.-xcv. On trouvera en appendice le texte latin des passages plus longs et plus importants qui seront cités ou traduits au cours de cette étude.

[1] *Hist. eccl.*, i., 27, t. xcv., col. 62.

[2] *Hist. eccl.*, ii., 5, col. 90. [3] *Ibid.*, iv., 14, col. 195.

[4] *Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum*, l. ii., t. xciv., col. 726.

[5] *Epist.*, ii., t. xciv., col. 665. Voir l'Appendice, n. 1.

[6] H. Soames, *An Inquiry* . . ., serm. vii., "Transubstantiation," p. 371 *et seq.*

Jésus-Christ dans la sainte communion, des catholiques éminents, comme Lingard,[1] le chanoine Rock,[2] le P. Bridgett,[3] ont opposé un nombre à peu près égal de textes; mais personne, que je sache, n'a fait l'inventaire complet des écrits du saint docteur, pour en tirer l'ensemble de sa doctrine sur l'Eucharistie. Et pourtant, rien de plus instructif qu'un tel inventaire; car en dehors des quelques témoignages, d'ailleurs très expressifs, qu'on emprunte habituellement aux homélies de Bède ou à ses commentaires sur les Évangiles, que d'endroits disséminés dans les autres écrits, où d'une parole, d'un fait, d'une figure de l'Ancien Testament, la pensée du commentateur va droit à l'Eucharistie! par exemple, quand il se trouve en face du pain et du vin offerts par Melchisedech, ou du *panis pinguis* d'Aser, ou du pain sanctifié que mangea David.

La doctrine eucharistique qui résulte de cet inventaire, peut se grouper autour de quatre séries d'expressions ou dénominations dont se sert le Vénérable et que nous indiquerons successivement.

II. L'Eucharistie, pain sacré, pain de vie

Et d'abord, la sainte communion, c'est la *réception du saint* ou *sacré mystère.*[4] L'Eucharistie, c'est le *pain sacré,*[5] l'*aliment spirituel,*[6] le *pain vivant,*[7] le *pain de vie,*[8] le *vin* ou la *coupe du calice du Seigneur,* la *coupe de vie,*[9] le *mystère de la vie céleste.*[10] Pour les mourants, c'est le *viatique,* le *viatique du salut,* le *viatique céleste*[11]: idée particulièrement chère à notre docteur,

[1] J. Lingard, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* t. i., c. vii., p. 287 *et seq.;* London, 1845.

[2] Dan. Rock, *The Church of our Fathers,* t. i., pp. 16, 18, 57, 108; London, 1903.

[3] T. E. Bridgett, *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain,* t. i., pp. 88, 92, 95 *et seq,* 120 *et seq.;* London, 1881.

[4] *Hist. eccl.,* i., 27, col. 66.

[5] *Ibid.,* ii., 5, col. 90.

[6] *In Lucam,* l. vi., c. xxii., t. xcii., col. 597.

[7] *De tabernaculo,* c. xiv.; *In Samuelem,* l. iii., c. vii., t. xci., col. 498, 644.

[8] *Hist. eccl.,* ii., 5, col. 90.

[9] *In Matth.,* l. iv., c. xxvi., t. xcii., col 113; *In Esdram,* c. vii., t. xci., col. 854; *Vita metrica S. Cuthberti,* voir ci-dessous.

[10] *In Samuelem,* l. i., c. v., t. xci., col. 513.

[11] *Hist. eccl.,* iv., 24; v., 14, col. 215, 254.

si l'on en juge par le relief qu'il donne à la réception du viatique dans les saintes morts qu'il raconte,[1] en particulier celle de S. Cuthbert, qui se fait porter à l'autel et meurt pour ainsi dire en se communiant de ses propres mains:—

> Ast ubi flammicomos ardescens lucifer ortus
> Attulit, ecce sacer residens antistes ad altar
> *Pocula* degustat *vitæ*, *Christique* supinum
> *Sanguine* munit iter, vultusque ad sidera et almas
> Sustollit gaudens palmas, animamque supernis
> Laudibus intentam lætantibus indidit astris.[2]

Quelle mort triomphante aux yeux de Bède! Par contre, recontant la fin désespérée d'un mauvais religieux, il jette ce dernier trait: *Mort sans le viatique du salut*![3]

Dans cette première série de dénominations, la nature intime du pain eucharistique n'apparaît pas encore, mais elle transpire déjà, même quand des expressions plus précises ne s'ajoutent pas pour en déterminer la portée; car ce pain est quelque chose de tellement saint, que le Vén. Bède ne se lasse pas de rappeler, dans les termes les plus solennels, la pureté requise pour le recevoir dignement. A propos du pain sanctifié que le prêtre Achimelech donna à David affamé, mais après s'être assuré que lui et ses gens étaient purs, le commentateur fait cette réflexion: "Si l'on exigeait si rigoureusement la pureté dans celui qui devait toucher à un pain figuratif, sanctifié par les mains de Moïse, quel souci ne faut-il pas avoir de la pureté, quand il s'agit du pain que le Christ a pris entre ses mains saintes et vénérables, qu'il a consacré pour en faire le sacrement de son corps, qu'il nous a livré en souvenir de sa mort et dont la réception nous est un principe de vie éternelle?

[1] Dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*, Ceadda, l'enfant du monastère de Salseu, Sainte Hilda, Cæddon, iv., 3, 14, 23, 24, col. 177, 195, 211, 214; dans la *Vita Abbatum*, l. ii., Saint Benoît Biscop, t. xciv., col. 723. Plusieurs de ces cas sont instructifs. Ainsi, la communion en viatique de l'enfant de Salseu se fait évidemment sous la seule espèce du pain, car c'est une parcelle de l'hostie consacrée à l'autel qui lui est envoyée par le prêtre, *de eodem sacrificio dominicæ oblationis particulam deferri mandavit*. De même pour Cæddon, qui reçoit dans sa main l'Eucharistie, *qua accepta in manu*.

[2] *Vita metrica S. Cuthberti*, c. xxxvii., t. xciv., col. 591.

[3] "Talia dicens sine viatico salutis obiit," *Hist. eccl.*, v., 14, col. 254.

Oh! comme il faut toujours avoir présentes à l'esprit ces paroles de l'apôtre: *Quicumque manducaverit panem, vel biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat.*" [1]

III. L'Eucharistie, Sacrement du Corps et du Sang de Jésus-Christ

Le texte qui vient d'être cité nous amène à la seconde série des expressions eucharistiques familières au Vén. Bède, expressions plus fréquentes et plus importantes aussi dans la controverse anglicane. L'Eucharistie, c'est le *sacrement du Christ* ou *de la passion du Seigneur*,[2] les *mystères de son corps et de son sang*;[3] plus couramment, *le sacrement du corps* ou *de la chair et du sang du Seigneur*.[4] Quelques épithètes s'attachent parfois au mot de sacrement, comme celles d'*inestimable*, d'*inviolable*,[5] ou même de *si grand* et *si terrifiant*.[6]

Empruntons un exemple de ces dénominations à l'un des passages invoqués par le Rév. Soames. Dans son commentaire sur le chapitre xxvi. de S. Matthieu, le docteur anglo-saxon commente ainsi les paroles *Cœnantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem*, etc.: "Après avoir solennisé l'antique Pâque, instituée pour commémorer la délivrance d'Égypte de l'ancien peuple de Dieu, Jésus passa à la nouvelle, que l'église devrait désormais célébrer en mémoire de sa rédemption; à la chair et

[1] *In Samuelem*, l. iii., c. viii., sur ces paroles de i. Reg. xxi., 6: *Dedit ergo ei sacerdos sanctificatum panem*, t. xci., col. 651. Voir aussi, l. i., c. v., col. 513; *De tabernaculo*, c. xiv., col. 498; *De muliere forti libellus*, sur ces paroles des Prov. xxxi., 27: *Panem otiosa non comedit*, col. 1050.

[2] *In Joannem*, c. vi., t. xcii., col. 719; *In* 1^am^ *epist. S. Joannis*, c. v., t. xciii., col. 114; *In Cantica*, l. iii., c. iii., n. 13, t. xci., col. 1126.

[3] *Hist. eccl.*, i., 27, col. 65; *Super Parabolas*, c. ix., t. xci., col. 967; *In Marcum*, l. iv., c. xiv., t. xcii., col. 271; *In Lucam*, c. xxii., t. xcii., col. 595.

[4] *In Matth.*, c. vi.; c. xii.; c. xxvi., t. xcii., col. 32, 63, 513; *In Joann.*, c. vi., x., xiii., t. xcii., col. 719, 771, 811; *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xiv., t. xciv., col. 75; *Vita abbatum*, l. ii., t. xciv., col. 723.

[5] *In Marc.*, c. xiv., t. xcii., col. 271.

[6] *In Luc.*, c. xxii.; in honorem *tanti tamque terribilis* sacramenti, t. xcii., col. 597.

au sang de l'agneau il substitua donc *le sacrement de son corps et de son sang.*" [1]

Mais la thèse anglicane ne sortira-t-elle pas de cette expression? *Sacrement* signifie *signe sacré;* au signe sacré de la délivrance du peuple juif qu'était l'agneau pascal, le Christ substitue un signe sacré de la rédemption qu'il a opérée, le pain et le vin devenant par la consécration son corps non physique, mais mystique, sacramentel. Ainsi raisonne le théologien protestant que nous venons de nommer.[2]

Qu'une telle glose soit manifestement contraire à la vraie pensée du Vén. Bède, la suite de cette étude le fera voir. Contentons-nous maintenant d'indiquer brièvement où gît l'équivoque, car il y a équivoque. Le sacrement est un signe sacré, oui; mais par rapport à quoi? Est-ce par rapport à l'élément qui constitue le sacrement lui-même, ou n'est-ce pas plutôt par rapport à un effet de sanctification, propre au sacrement? Ainsi, le baptême est pour Bède, comme pour l'Église romaine, le *sacrement de l'eau;* faut-il entendre: le signe sacré de l'eau, en ce sens que l'eau baptismale serait simplement signifiée, ou bien le signe sacré de notre régénération spirituelle, signe sacré qu'est l'eau même du baptême? La réponse n'est pas douteuse. Pareillement, l'expression de *sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi* s'entend du signe sacré de notre croissance spirituelle, signe sacré qu'est le corps même et le sang du Christ sous la figure du pain et du vin, *suæ carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in panis ac vini figura substituens,* suivant les propres termes du saint docteur dans son commentaire sur S. Luc, à l'endroit parallèle.[3]

Et si l'on demande pourquoi cette figure du pain et du vin, Bède nous répond en faisant appel au rapport d'analogie qui existe entre les effets du pain et du vin matériel et ceux du corps et du sang de Jésus-Christ, pain et vin eucharistique: " Parce que le pain fortifie la chair et que le vin contribue à la formation du sang dans la chair, ils se rapportent mystiquement l'un au corps, l'autre au sang du Christ." [4]

[1] *In Matth.*, c. xxvi., t. xcii., col. 113, et aux endroits parallèles de S. Marc et de S. Luc. [2] H. Soames, *An Inquiry . . .*, pp. 373, 407.
[3] *In Luc.*, c. xxii., t. xcii., col. 596. Voir l'Appendice, n. 11.
[4] *In Matth.* et *Luc.*, loc. cit.

L'idée de sacrement n'enlève donc rien à la réalité substantielle du corps et du sang qui sont sous les saintes espèces. C'est là, d'ailleurs, la seule interprétation que permettent les dénominations eucharistiques que nous allons voir maintenant.

IV. L'Eucharistie, Corps et Sang du Seigneur

La troisième série comprend les expressions, très fréquentes dans les écrits du docteur anglo-saxon, où le mot *sacramentum* disparaissant, l'Eucharistie devient simplement *le corps* ou *la chair du Seigneur* ou *du Christ*,[1] *le sang du Christ, le sang du calice du Christ qui nous sanctifie*,[2] *le corps et le sang, la chair et le sang du Seigneur* ou *du Christ*,[3] *le Seigneur Jésus*, vrai pain dont la manne antique était la figure.[4] La sainte communion est, en conséquence, *la réception du corps et du sang du Seigneur, la participation à son sang ;*[5] et, de la part du prêtre, *la communication* ou *l'administration du corps et du sang du Christ.*[6]

C'est souvent dans un seul et même texte que le Vén. Bède substitue à l'expression de *sacrement du corps et du sang du Christ* celle de *corps et sang du Christ.* Parlant, par exemple, de la bouchée de pain que Jésus tendit à Judas, il fait cette remarque: "Ce n'est pas alors que Judas reçut *le corps du Christ ;* car déjà le Seigneur avait distribué *le sacrement de son corps et de son sang* à tous les disciples, Judas étant du nombre, comme on le voit par le récit de S. Luc."[7] *Corps du Christ*

[1] *In Luc.*, c. xv., t. xcii., col. 525 ; *In Joann.*, c. vi., xiii., t. xcii., col. 720 811 ; *In Genesim*, c. xlix. : "Aser cujus panis pinguis factus est : caro scilicet illius, quam si quis manducaverit, non morietur in æternum," t. xci., col. 282.

[2] *Vita metrica S. Cuthberti*, loc. cit. ; *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xxii., t. xciv., col. 119.

[3] *In Genesim*, c. xxi., t. xci., col. 259 ; "Convivium, caro Christi et sanguis" ; *In Luc.*, c. xv., xxii., t. xcii., col. 256, 597.

[4] *In Joann.*, c. vi., "Panem quem significavit manna, ipsum scilicet Dominum Jesum," t. xcii., col. 713.

[5] *Epist. ad Ecgbertum*, t. xciv., col. 665 ; *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 3, t. xcv., col. 177.

[6] *In Joann.*, c. vi., t. xcii., col. 178 ; *Super. Acta Apost.*, c. xix., t. xcii., col. 982.

[7] *In Joann.*, c. xiii., t. xcii., col. 811.

sous l'espèce du pain et *sacrement du corps du Christ* sont donc une seule et même chose pour le docteur anglo-saxon.

Répétera-t-on que tout cela doit s'entendre au figuré, non du corps et du sang physique du Sauveur, mais de son corps et de son sang mystique, sacramentel, c'est-à-dire du pain et du vin consacrés?—Et la preuve? Car non seulement Bède n'avertit jamais ses auditeurs ou ses lecteurs qu'il parle au figuré, mais dans plusieurs cas, son langage n'aurait pas de sens, s'il parlait ainsi. De celui qui s'approche indignement de la sainte table, il dit, dans son commentaire sur S. Luc: "A l'exemple de Judas, il livre *le Fils de l'homme*, non pas à la vérité aux Juifs pécheurs, mais cependant aux pécheurs, c'est-à-dire à ses propres membres, dont il se sert pour violer cet inestimable et inviolable corps du Seigneur."[1]

Non moins inintelligibles seraient les dénominations que le saint docteur attribue à l'Eucharistie considérée dans ces rapports avec le sacrifice de la messe.

V. L'Eucharistie, Sacrifice ayant pour victime et pour prêtre Jésus-Christ, qui s'offre de nouveau sur l'autel a son père, en changeant le pain et le vin en son corps et en son sang

Les expressions ont ici une saveur anglo-saxonne que reconnaîtront ceux qui sont initiés au style eucharistique de l'époque, tel qu'il apparaît dans les documents liturgiques et conciliaires, ou dans les canons pénitentiaux.[2] L'Eucharistie, c'est *la victime du corps et du sang du Seigneur*,[3] *le sacrifice de l'oblation du Seigneur*,[4] *le breuvage de l'oblation du Seigneur*, qui scelle notre consécration chrétienne.[5] Com-

[1] *In Luc.*, c. xxii., t. xcii., col. 597.

[2] L'Eucharistie est désignée sous le terme de *sacrificium* dans les canons pénitentiaux de S. Théodore, du Vén. Bède et autres. Haddan et Stubbs, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, t. iii., p. 187, 332, Oxford, 1871; *cf.* Lingard, au sujet du terme "housel," ouvrage cité, t. i., p. 325.

[3] *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xiii., t. xciv., col. 72.

[4] *Hist. eccl.*, iv., 14, t. xcv., col. 195.

[5] *Hexæmeron*, l. ii.: "Hic est ordo nostræ in Christo consecrationis, ut primo fonte vitæ lavemur, ac deinde ad sacrum altare dominicæ oblationis libamine reficiamur," t. xci., col. 104.

munier, c'est *participer à l'oblation sacrosainte des mystères du Christ.*[1]

Qu'est donc, pour Bède, l'oblation sacrosainte? Elle dit d'abord une *victime*, la *victime salutaire, l'hostie salutaire;* car tels sont les termes dont le Vénérable se sert le plus habituellement dans ses œuvres historiques, quand il parle de la messe. Au jour anniversaire de la mort du roi Oswald, on offre pour lui la *victime de la sainte oblation.*[2] S. Cuthbert nous apparaît inondé de larmes de dévotion, pendant qu'il offrait à Dieu le sacrifice de la *victime salutaire.* Les deux Ewald, missionnaires en Frise, munis d'une petite table en guise d'autel portatif, offrent chaque jour à Dieu le sacrifice de la *victime salutaire.*[3] S. Céolfrid, de même, faisait à Dieu chaque jour l'offrande de *l'hostie salutaire.*[4] Enfin, parmi les moyens de délivrer les âmes du purgatoire, nous trouvons l'offrande de *l'hostie salutaire.*[5]

Or, cette victime salutaire, cette hostie salutaire, c'est *Jésus-Christ même,* son corps et son sang. Bède nous montre les fidèles allant du baptistère à l'autel pour y être consacrés par la *victime singulière du corps et du sang du Seigneur.*[6] C'est le *sacrifice de sa chair et de son sang* que, dans la plénitude des temps, Notre Seigneur a offert à son Père, et qu'il a nous enjoint d'offrir nous-mêmes sous la figure du pain et du vin.[7] Telle est l'oblation du nouveau Testament, dont le sacrifice de Melchisedech fut la figure.[8] Que d'allusions, rapides mais expressives, dans les commentaires du saint docteur! "Offrons en sacrifice l'oblation du pain et du vin, c'est-à-dire *du corps*

[1] *Hist. eccl.*, ii., 5, t. xcv., col. 90; *In Matth.*, c. xxvi., t. xcii., col. 112-13.

[2] *Hist. eccl.*, iii., 2, t. xcv., col. 118.

[3] *Hist. eccl.*, v., 10, t. xcv., col. 244.

[4] *Vita abbatum*, l. ii., t. xc., col. 730.

[5] *Homil*, l. i., hom. iv., t. xciv., col. 130. Dans *l'Histoire ecclésiastique*, nombreux passages où la valeur propitiatoire, pour les vivants et pour les morts, du sacrifice de la messe, est nettement affirmée ou supposée. Voir, en particulier, iv., 22, t. xcv., col. 206.

[6] *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xiii., t. xciv., col. 72; *In Joannem*, c. ii., t. xcii., col. 660.

[7] *In Esdram*, c. xii., t. xci., col. 876.

[8] *Hexæmeron*, l. iii., t. xci., col. 151. Voir l'Appendice, n. 3.

et du sang.[1]—Chaque jour *l'agneau* est offert pour nous.[2]—Sur l'autel s'offre l'oblation, c'est-à-dire *le corps du Christ* dans l'église."[3] Parlant du veau gras que le père de famille fait tuer pour fêter le retour du prodigue: "C'est, dit-il, *le corps et le sang du Seigneur*, qu'on offre au Père et qui nourrit l'église entière."[4]

Et pour qu'on ne soupçonne pas dans cette offrande une simple commémoraison du sacrifice accompli jadis au Calvaire, ajoutons ces paroles caractéristiques: "Nous *immolons de nouveau* à Dieu pour notre salut *le corps sacrosaint* et *le sang précieux de l'agneau*, qui nous a rachetés de nos péchés."[5] Aussi Bède voit-il dans le sépulcre vénérable où reposa le corps inanimé du Sauveur, l'image de l'autel chrétien, et il en tire cette conséquence: "Comme les anges, au rapport de la Sainte Écriture, se tenaient auprès du corps du Sauveur couché dans le sépulcre, ainsi devons-nous croire à la présence de ces bienheureux esprits au moment de la consécration, alors que se célèbrent les mystères de son corps sacré."[6]

Le prêtre, enfin, qu'est-il? Sans doute le ministre que nous voyons à l'autel, ordonné qu'il a été, suivant Bède, pour consacrer les mystères du Seigneur[7]; mais au dessus de lui, ou plutôt en lui apparaît le grand prêtre, "*Jésus* qui, sans nul doute, est *présent sur l'autel, pour y consacrer les oblations.*"[8]

[1] *In Genesim*, c. xiv., t. xci., col. 233.

[2] *In Exodum*, c. xii., t. xci., col. 307.

[3] *In Numeros*, c. v., t. xci., col. 361.

[4] *In Luc.*, c. xv.: "Vitulus enim ille in corpore et sanguine dominico, et offertur Patri, et pascit totam domum," t. xcii., col. 526.

[5] *Homil.*, l. ii., hom. i.: "Missarum solemnia celebramus, corpus sacrosanctum et pretiosum Agni nostri sanguinem, quo a peccatis redempti sumus, denuo Deo in profectum nostræ salutis immolamus," t. xciv., col. 139.

[6] *In Luc.*, c. xxiv., t. xcii., col. 623. Cf. *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xxii.; l. ii., hom. iv., t. xciv., col. 118, 151.

[7] *Epist. ad Ecgbertum:* "Ad consecranda in altari dominica sacramenta ordinatus," t. xciv., col. 658. Aussi, quels accents d'indignation dans l'humble et doux moine de Jarrow, quand il parle du prêtre qui, mal disposé, s'approcherait de l'autel! Il semble que, pour lui, ce soit pécher contre le saint Esprit. *De tabernaculo*, c. xiv.; *In Samuelem*, l. i., c. vi., t. xci., col. 498, 516.

[8] *In Luc.*, c. xxii., t. xcii., col. 598. Voir l'Appendice, n. 2.

Et pour réunir en un seul texte ces trois idées d'oblation, de victime, et de prêtre, dont le Christ est le point convergent, rappelons la touchante prière, adressée à ses frères par le grand moine de Jarrow mourant: "Rendez-moi, je vous en supplie, le service de vous souvenir de moi, après ma mort, là où chaque jour le *Christ est prêtre et victime d'expiation.*" [1]

Qui ne voit dès lors ce que signifie, pour Bède, communier à l'oblation sacrosainte, et comment cette dernière série de dénominations eucharistiques exclut radicalement l'idée d'une présence purement métaphorique de Jésus sur l'autel et dans la sainte hostie?

Que reste-t-il, si ce n'est de trouver sous la plume du docteur anglo-saxon ce qui détermine la nature de la consécration opérée sur l'autel, et donne en même temps le fondement dernier de la présence réelle, la conversion eucharistique? La voici, dans un passage de l'homélie pour le troisième dimanche après l'Epiphanie, où l'*Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi,* est commenté. Le texte mérite d'être intégralement rendu: "Il ne nous a pas seulement lavés de nos péchés dans son sang, quand il l'a répandu pour nous sur la croix, ou quand nous avons été purifiés dans l'eau du baptême, le mystère de sa sainte passion; mais il continue à ôter les péchés du monde chaque jour. Oui, chaque jour il nous lave de nos péchés dans son sang, quand la mémoire de sa bienheureuse passion se renouvelle à l'autel, quand par l'ineffable consécration de l'Esprit il y a passage du pain et du vin au sacrement de sa chair et de son sang, *cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur,* et qu'ainsi son corps et son sang sont, non plus occis ou répandu par les mains des infidèles pour leur perdition, mais reçus dans la bouche des fidèles pour leur salut." [2] Puis le saint docteur explique comment la figure de l'ancien agneau pascal est ici pleinement réalisée.

On comprendra qu'en face de ce passage et de celui déjà cité, où Jésus-Christ apparaît comme immolé de nouveau sur nos autels, l'auteur de l'article consacré au Vén. Bède dans

[1] *Vita Bedæ*, auctore anonymo pervetusto, t. xc., col. 52.

[2] *Homil.*, l. i., hom. xiv., t. xciv., col. 75. Voir l'Appendice, n. 4.

le *Dictionary of National Biography*,[1] se soit cru obligé de faire cet aveu : " Assurément, ces discours présentent une haute idée du sacrement de la Cène du Seigneur." Pour nous, catholiques qui voyons ce texte sous la lumière de tous ceux qui précédent et dans sa relation à la doctrine eucharistique du saint docteur prise intégralement, il y a là plus qu'une " haute idée de la Cène du Seigneur " ; il y a la doctrine de la présence réelle stricte et, le mot excepté, de la transsubstantiation.[2]

Cependant, le commentaire sur le chapitre vi. du quatrième Évangile ne s'oppose-t-il pas à une conclusion aussi absolue ? " Le père de notre théologie nationale, objecte-t-on, maintient que ceux qui mangent la chair du Christ et boivent son sang, demeurent en lui, et qu'il demeure en eux. Par conséquent, ceux qui ne sont pas spirituellement unis au Sauveur ne jouissent pas du privilège de se nourrir de son bienheureux corps et de son sang." [3] Entendez par là : La communion au corps et au sang du Christ n'est pas physique, mais spirituelle, métaphorique.

Voici le passage en question ; il se rapporte au verset 57 : *Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo.* Bède commente : " Donc manger cette chair et boire ce breuvage, c'est demeurer dans le Christ, et avoir le Christ demeurant en soi. Par conséquent, celui qui ne demeure pas dans le Christ, et en qui le Christ ne demeure pas, celui-là sans nul doute ne mange pas spirituellement sa chair, bien qu'il touche des dents d'une façon sensible et charnelle le sacrement du corps et du sang du Christ ; au contraire, c'est pour sa propre condamnation qu'il mange et boit le sacrement d'une si grande chose, puisqu'il ne craint pas de s'approcher, impur, des sacrements du Christ, que seuls les purs reçoivent dignement." [4]

Ce qu'il faut remarquer tout d'abord, c'est que dans ce texte il n'y a pas, comme on le suppose à tort, opposition entre

[1] Vol. iv., p. 103, article signé W. H. [the Rev. William Hunt].

[2] On trouve encore, dans une phrase de l'homélie xiii. et du commentaire sur S. Jean, c. ii., à propos du miracle du Cana, une expression qui, étudiée dans le contexte, me paraît une *allusion* transparente à la conversion eucharistique : *vino quidem de aqua facto, et quidem meracissimo*, t. xciv., col. 72 ; t. xcii., col. 660.

[3] H. Soames, *An Inquiry . . .*, p. 372.

[4] *In Joann.*, c. vi., t. xcii., col. 719. Voir l'Appendice, n. 5.

manger spirituellement et ne pas manger du tout le corps de Jésus-Christ; le deux termes de l'opposition sont manger spirituellement et manger non spirituellement, c'est-à-dire d'une façon purement sensible et charnelle. Remarque d'autant plus importante que, pour Bède, le sacrement du corps du Christ et le corps du Christ sous la figure du pain, c'est tout un.

Ceci posé, pour savoir ce que le saint docteur entend par manducation spirituelle, par opposition à la réception purement physique du corps du Sauveur, il suffit de se reporter, quelques lignes plus haut, à l'endroit où le commentateur explique ces mots du verset 50: *Hic est panis de cœlo descendens, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur.* Ayant en vue cet effet du sacrement, il écrit: "Oui, pour ce qui est de la vertu du sacrement, et non pour ce qui est du sacrement sensible; pour qui mange intérieurement, et non pour qui mange extérieurement; pour qui mange en son cœur, et non pour qui ne se sert que des dents." Qu'est-ce à dire? L'un reçoit l'effet du sacrement, et l'autre ne le reçoit point. En d'autres termes, manger spirituellement, c'est recevoir le sacrement avec son effet, effet d'union à Jésus Christ par la charité et la grâce; manger non spirituellement, c'est encore recevoir le sacrement, mais sans son effet. Rien dans cette doctrine qui suggère une manducation spirituelle au sens anglican, c'est-à-dire métaphorique.[1]

Nous ne saurions mieux conclure cet exposé sommaire de la doctrine eucharistique du grand docteur anglo-saxon, qu'en nous reportant par la pensée à son lit de mort, pour entendre quelque chose de ses *novissima verba.* Et pour qu'elles restent siennes autant que possible, empruntons-en l'expression au très ancien biographe qui nous les a rapportées: "Docet eos non posse aliter dare experimentum Christi in se inhabitantis, nisi per spiritum sanctæ ac individuæ charitatis. Ut qui communione cœlestis panis unum Christi corpus efficiuntur, ab unitate ipsius corporis spiritu dissensionis non separentur."[2]

[1] Je laisse de côté une phrase, d'ailleurs susceptible d'une saine interprétation, où il est dit qu'à la dernière cène, Jésus "donna à ses disciples *la figure* de son corps et de son sang." Ce texte est tiré d'un commentaire sur le Psaume iii., inséré à la vérité parmi les œuvres du Vén. Bède, t. xciii., col. 495, mais dont l'authenticité est plus que douteuse.

[2] *Vita Bedæ*, auctore anonymo pervetusto, t. xc., col. 51.

DOCUMENTS

TEXTE DES PASSAGES PLUS IMPORTANTS, CITÉS OU TRADUITS DANS L'ARTICLE

I.

EPISTOLA II., AD ECGBERTUM ANTISTITEM,
t. xciv., col. 665-6.

. . . Eorum quoque qui in populari adhuc vita continentur sollicitam te necesse est curam gerere, ut sicut in primordio hujus epistolæ præmonuimus, sufficientes eis doctores vitæ salutaris adhibere memineris, et hoc eos inter alia discere facias . . . quam salutaris sit omni christianorum generi quotidiana dominici corporis ac sanguinis perceptio, juxta quod Ecclesiam Christi per Italiam, Galliam, Africam, Græciam, ac totum Orientem solerter agere nosti. Quod videlicet genus religionis, ac Deo devotæ sanctificationis tam longe a cunctis pene nostræ provinciæ laicis per incuriam docentium quasi prope peregrinum abest, ut hi qui inter religiosiores esse videntur, nonnisi in Natali Domini et Epiphania et Pascha sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare præsumant, cum sint innumeri innocentes et castissimæ conversationis pueri et puellæ, juvenes et virgines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo controversiæ, omni die dominico, sive etiam in Natalitiis sanctorum apostolorum, sive martyrum, quo modo ipse in sancta Romana et apostolica Ecclesia fieri vidisti, mysteriis cœlestibus communicare valeant. Ipsi etiam conjugati, si quis sibi mensuram continentiæ ostendat, et virtutem castitatis insinuet, idem et licenter possint, et libenter facere velint. . . .

II.

IN LUCÆ EVANGELIUM EXPOSITIO, CAP. XXII.,
t. xcii., col. 596-8.

Et accepto pane, gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit eis, dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Finitis paschæ veteris solemniis, quæ in commemorationem antiquæ de Ægypto liberationis agebantur, transiit ad novum, quod in suæ redemptionis memoriam Ecclesia frequentare desiderat. Ut videlicet pro carne agni vel sanguine, suæ carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in panis ac vini figura substituens, ipsum se esse monstraret, cui *juravit Dominus et non pœnitebit eum, tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech* (Psalm cix.). . . .

Similiter et calicem, postquam cœnavit dicens: Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, quod pro vobis fundetur . . . Quia ergo panis carnem confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. . . .

Verumtamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa. Et

quidem Filius hominis secundum quod definitum est vadit, verumtamen væ illi homini per quem tradetur. . . . Prædicit et pœnam, ut quem pudor non vicerat, corrigant denuntiata supplicia. Sed et hodie quoque et in sempiternum, væ illi homini qui ad mensam Domini malignus accedit, qui, insidiis mente conditis, qui, præcordiis aliquo scelere pollutis, mysteriorum Christi secretis participare non metuit. Etenim ille in exemplum Judæ Filium hominis tradit, non quidem Judæis peccatoribus, sed tamen peccatoribus, membris videlicet suis, quibus illud inæstimabile et inviolabile Domini corpus violare præsumit. . . .

III.

Hexæmeron, l. iii.,
t. xci., col. 151

[*Gen.* xiv. 18]. *At vero Melchisedech rex Salem proferens panem et vinum* (*erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi*) *benedixit ei.* . . . Qui etiam genere suo [et] sacrificii sui, cujus et Abraham dum benediceret participem fecit, oblationem novi Testamenti præmonstravit, quam Dominus noster in sacramentum sui corporis et sanguinis et ipse primus obtulit, et Ecclesiæ semper in remissionem peccatorum offerendam reliquit: in cujus participatione singulari omnes promissionis filios benedicendos esse perdocuit: adeo ut nemo absque hujus consortio vitæ consors possit esse perennis: *Nisi enim manducaveritis* inquit, *carnem Filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis: qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam æternam* (Joan. vi., 54).

IV.

Homiliæ genuinæ, l. i., homil. xiv.
In Dominica tertia post Theophaniam,
t. xciv., col. 75.

. . . *Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi . . . qui dilexit nos*, inquit [Joannes] *et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo* (Apoc. 1). Non solum autem lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo, quando sanguinem suum dedit in cruce pro nobis, vel quando unusquisque nostrum mysterio sacrosanctæ passionis illius baptismo aquæ ablutus est, verum etiam quotidie tollit peccata mundi. Lavat itaque nos a peccatis nostris quotidie in sanguine suo, cum ejusdem beatæ passionis ad altare memoria replicatur, cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili spiritus sanctificatione transfertur: sicque corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem. Hujus recte figuram agnus in Lege paschalis ostendit, qui semel populum de Ægyptia servitute liberans, in memoriam ejusdem liberationis, per omnes annos immolatione sua populum eumdem sanctificare solebat, donec venerit ipse cui talis hostia testimonium dabat, oblatusque Patri pro nobis in hostiam

odoremque suavitatis, mysterium suæ passionis oblato agno in creaturam panis vinique transferret, sacerdos factus in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech. . . .

V.

In S. Joannis Evangelium Expositio, cap. vi., t. xcii., col. 717, 719.

[v. 50]. *Hic est ergo panis de cœlo descendens, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur.* Sed quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum; qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. . . .

[v. 57]. *Et qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo.* Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio non manducat spiritualiter ejus carnem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi; sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumit ad Christi accedere sacramenta, quæ alius non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est. . . .

LE DOGME DE LA TRANSSUBSTANTIATION ET LA CHRISTOLOGIE ANTIOCHIENNE DU V^E^ SIÈCLE

Par le Rev. Jules Lebreton, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris.

Les théologiens qui, tout en confessant la présence réelle, attaquent la doctrine de la transsubstantiation, s'appuient principalement sur l'analogie du dogme de l'incarnation: de même que la nature divine n'a point absorbé l'humanité, mais se l'est unie, de même, pensent-ils, le corps du Christ laisse subsister avec lui la nature du pain et du vin. Ils croient d'ailleurs que cette analogie a été explicitement affirmée par un certain nombre de Pères ou d'écrivains ecclésiastiques qui représentent authentiquement la tradition chrétienne.

Cette argumentation, développée par Pusey dans son livre sur la présence réelle,[1] a été reprise par le Dr Gore dans ses

[1] *The Doctrine of the Real Presence* (Oxford, Parker, 1855), pp. 83-91.

dissertations[1] et dans son ouvrage sur le corps du Christ.[2] Je voudrais présenter ici une critique de cet argument, en insistant surtout sur les autorités patristiques, qui lui donnent le meilleur de sa force.[3]

Le Dr Gore cite (*Dissertations*, pp. 274-6) l'auteur de la lettre à Césaire attribuée à S. Jean Chrysostome, Théodoret, le pape Gélase, S. Augustin, Ephrem d'Antioche;[4] Pusey avait cité aussi Facundus d'Hermiane.

A première vue, cette liste fait impression, et semble nous apporter le témoignage de la chrétienté entière : Constantinople, la Syrie, l'Afrique, et Rome. Regardée d'un peu plus près, elle perd beaucoup de valeur.

Nous devons d'abord en retrancher l'autorité de S. Augustin ; même si nous concédons l'authenticité du passage que l'on nous

[1] *Dissertations on subjects connected with the Incarnation* (London, Murray, 1895, 3rd edit., 1907), pp. 274-6.

[2] *The Body of Christ* (London, Murray, 1901, 3rd edit., 1902), p. 113.

[3] Bien des théologiens ont traité avant moi ce sujet, et certains l'ont fait excellemment. Je dois mentionner au moins les dissertations érudites des auteurs de *La Perpétuité de la Foi* (t. iii., l. 5), la discussion vigoureuse de Franzelin (*de Eucharistia*, th. x.), l'exposé historique de Mgr. Batiffol (*Études d'Histoire et de Théologie positive*, II.[3], pp. 277-84, 319-24). Le sujet étant délicat, ces différents auteurs sont rarement unanimes ; tout en me servant de leurs travaux, j'ai cru pouvoir imiter leur indépendance.

[4] Le Dr Gore ajoute Rupert, abbé de Deutz, mais avec quelque hésitation ; cette hésitation est parfaitement motivée. Rupert a écrit, il est vrai, le passage suivant que cite M. Gore : *in Exod.*, ii., 10 (P. L., clxvii., 617) : "Sicut naturam humanam non destruxit, cum illam operatione sua ex utero uirginis Deus Verbo in unitatem personae coniunxit : sic substantiam panis et uini, secundum exteriorem speciem quinque sensibus subiectam, non mutat aut destruit, cum eidem Verbo, in unitatem corporis eiusdem, quod in cruce pependit, et sanguinis eiusdem, quem de latere suo fudit, ista coniungit. Item quomodo Verbum a summo demissum caro factum est, non mutatum in carnem, sed assumendo carnem : sic panis et uinum, utrumque ab imo subleuatum, fit corpus Christi et sanguis, non mutatum in carnis saporem siue in sanguinis horrorem, sed assumendo inuisibiliter utriusque diuinae scilicet et humanae, quae in Christo est, immortalis substantiae ueritatem." Ce passage, à lui seul, n'est pas concluant : ceux mêmes qui tiennent la transsubstantiation, n'enseignent pas que le pain soit "mutatus in carnis saporem," ni le vin "in carnis horrorem ;" et ils peuvent dire par conséquent, au sens où semble l'entendre Rupert, que Dieu ne

oppose,—et cette authenticité est très mal attestée,[1]—nous n'y trouvons rien qui implique la négation de la transsubstantiation. Alger écrit, dans son traité du *Sacrement du corps et du sang du Seigneur*, i., 6 (P. L., clxxx., 754): "Errantes quidam . . . dicunt ita personaliter in pane impanatum Christum, sicut in carne humana personaliter incarnatum Deum . . . Ex quadam enim similitudine Beati Augustini in libro sententiarum Prosperi, suam sumunt et defendunt haeresim, qua dicit: Sacrificium Ecclesiae duobus confici duobusque constare, sicut persona Christi constat et conficitur ex Deo et homine."

La doctrine de la transsubstantiation n'est point blessée par cette doctrine; nous aussi nous pouvons dire: *Sacrificium Ecclesiae duobus conficitur duobusque constat.* Il restera ensuite à débattre si, par l'élément sensible ici mentionné, il faut entendre les espèces sensibles, ou la substance du pain et du vin; la formule proposée ne tranche pas ce point, et la comparaison de l'incarnation ne le décide pas davantage.

Cette autorité étant écartée, il nous reste à discuter les cinq autres; nous étudierons leur origine, puis leur portée.

I.

Malgré leurs provenances multiples, elles ne nous font connaître qu'une école et une époque—l'école antiochienne du V^e^ siècle.

La prétendue lettre de Chrysostome à Césaire ne fait plus

change pas "substantiam panis et uini, *secundum exteriorem speciem quinque sensibus subiectam.*" Le même Rupert écrit d'ailleurs, dans son *De diuinis officiis*, ii., 3 (clxx., 35): "Panem ipsum et uinum in corpus et sanguinem suum transferendo suscipit," et il conclut ainsi sa *Lettre apologétique à Cunon* (clxix., 203): "Crediderunt enim deceptori diabolo in eo quod non uidebant. . . . Credamus e contra fideli saluatori Deo in eo quod non uidemus, scilicet panem et uinum in ueram corporis et sanguinis transisse substantiam, et comedentes atque bibentes uiuamus in aeternum." *Cf.* Rocholl, art. "Rupert" dans la *Realencyklopädie* de Herzog-Hauck, xvii., 240.

[1] Cette phrase de deux lignes est citée pour la première fois par Alger, qui la dit tirée des sentences de Prosper; or elle ne se trouve pas dans ce recueil. M. Gore reconnaît le fait, et dit en parlant de cette phrase: "It does not exist in our copies of Prosper's sentences, but may well be genuine." On voit qu'il ne se fait pas illusion lui-même sur l'authenticité du passage.

aujourd'hui illusion à personne; on reconnaît avec Lequien[1] qu'elle est écrite non contre Apollinaire, mais contre Eutychès, et qu'elle dépend très probablement de l'Ἐρανιστής de Théodoret.[2]

Le traité de Gélase se présente dans de tout autres conditions; son authenticité, niée jadis, ne fait plus de doute aujourd'hui; mais ce qui n'est pas moins bien établi, ce sont ses attaches antiochiennes.

A ce traité est jointe, sous forme d'appendice, une liste d'autorités patristiques; or depuis longtemps on a remarqué que cette collection était d'origine grecque: non seulement la plupart des textes cités sont empruntés à des Pères grecs, mais les textes des deux seuls Pères latins cités, S. Damase et S. Ambroise, sont non des originaux, mais des traductions latines d'une traduction grecque.[3]

M. Saltet, étudiant de plus près ce dossier patristique, a établi qu'il était d'origine antiochienne;[4] et, le comparant avec ceux que Théodoret a insérés dans son Ἐρανιστής, il a conclu que les deux auteurs avaient puisé à une source commune; il a enfin identifié cette source avec un florilège patristique composé en 431 par l'épiscopat d'Antioche.[5]

M. Saltet ajoute (p. 753): "Le fait que le pape Gélase a

[1] "Dissertatio III[a]," dans ses *Dissertationes Damascenicæ* (P. G., xciv., pp. 315-22. Sur l'histoire de la controverse on peut consulter Dom Chr. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Louvain, 1907), pp. 272-6; il conclut son exposé en constatant que "de nos jours, personne ne la défend plus (l'authenticité de cette lettre)."

[2] La position des adversaires est celle de l'Ἐρανιστής: "Dicunt post unitatem non oportet dicere duas naturas" (P. G., lii., 759); les thèses soutenues sont celles de Théodoret: la nature divine est *inconuertibilis* (757, *cf.* Théodt., i., ἄτρεπτος), *impassibilis* (758, *cf.* Théodt., iii., ἀπαθής), *inconfusa* (758, *cf.* Théodt., ii., ἀσύγχυτος). Les rares textes allégués sont les textes classiques chez Théodoret et dans son école. Cf. *infra*, p. 331.

[3] *Cf.* Saltet, "Les sources de l'Ἐρανιστής de Théodoret," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, vi. (1905), p. 528, n. 1, et p. 516, n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 528, n. 2.

[5] M. Saltet présente cette identification comme certaine. Dans une étude postérieure, M. Cavallera a relevé quelques inexactitudes dans le description faite par M. Saltet des fragments d'Eustathe (*Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, viii., p. 486, n. 4); ces critiques peuvent amener à corriger la reconstruction tentée du florilège de 431; je ne pense pas qu'elles ébranlent le reste de l'argumentation.

emprunté à une source grecque le recueil patristique qui termine son traité, nous fait conjecturer que le traité lui-même dépend d'une source grecque." Il confirme cette conjecture en remarquant que la doctrine eucharistique, rappelée ici pour éclairer la christologie, est exposée dans le même sens et dans le même but chez Théodoret et chez le pseudo-Chrysostome, et il pense que cette rencontre n'est pas fortuite, l'idée ainsi exprimée étant très rare dans la littérature patristique ou plutôt, pense-t-il, ne se rencontrant pas ailleurs.

Pour le moment, je laisserai de côté cet argument;[1] je pense d'ailleurs que d'autres indices confirment efficacement la conjecture proposée: je signalerai surtout le §13, celui qui précède immédiatement la mention de l'eucharistie: il me semble devoir être rapproché d'un fragment de Théodore de Mopsueste cité par Facundus d'Hermiane, dans le livre même où celui-ci parle de l'Eucharistie:

"Numquidnam cum homo ex anima constet et corpore, quorum duas naturas esse non dubium est, non adunatione naturali una persona et unus est homo? Amplius dicimus: certe et *interiorem hominem* et *exteriorem* scripturae divinae saepe testatur auctoritas, et tamen non ideo duo homines in uno, sed una persona et unus est homo. Unde *interior* et *exterior* ad significationem dicitur qualitatum, non ad euidentiam personalem duorum. Quanto magis in illa ineffabili adunatione indiuisibili numquamque soluenda. . . ."

Cf. Théodore de Mopsueste, *Aduers. Apollin. IV.* (ap. Facund. Herm., ix., 4; éd. H. B. Swete,[2] ii., pp. 318, 319).

"Quoniam autem et iuxta nos homo dicitur ex anima et

[1] Je remarquerai cependant, en passant, que l'origine commune de l'analogie eucharistique chez Théodoret et chez Gélase, ne se trahit pas seulement par le fond de l'argumentation, mais par l'emploi de certaines expressions caractéristiques: Théodoret appelle les éléments eucharistiques les σύμβολα, εἰκόνες, ἀντίτυπα, dont le corps du Christ est l'ἀρχέτυπος; Gélase de même: *imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi.* Ces expressions ne surprennent guère sous la plume d'un théologien d'Antioche, au V^e^ siècle; elles sont beaucoup moins conformes à la tradition romaine.

[2] "Fragments of the dogmatic works of Theodore," publiés en appendice dans *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, by H. B. Swete, Cambridge, 1880, 1882.

corpore constare, et duas quidem dicimus naturas, animam et corpus, unum uero hominem ex ambobus compositum; ut conseruemus unum esse utrumque, oportet confundere naturas? . . . Manet naturarum diuisio, alia quidem anima est, alia uero caro, et illud quidem rationale est, illud autem inrationale. Unus autem homo utrumque, alterutrum uero in seipso homo numquam dicitur absolute et proprie, nisi forte cum aliquo additamento, sicut *interior homo* et *exterior homo*, non absolute homo, sed *interior* et *exterior;* ut adpareat aliud quidem interius hominis, aliud uero exterius. Ita et in Domino Christo dicimus."

L'union de l'âme et du corps dans l'homme est fréquemment comparée par les Pères à l'union des deux natures dans le Christ, mais le rapprochement du texte de S. Paul (2 Cor. iv. 16) sur l'homme intérieur et l'homme extérieur est beaucoup plus rare, et la rencontre des deux auteurs dans un raisonnement si peu obvie ne me semble pas fortuite.

On remarque d'ailleurs chez Théodoret, Gélase, pseudo-Chrysostome, et Facundus d'Hermiane, un emploi des mêmes textes d'Écriture sainte qui suppose pour le moins une inspiration commune et des adversaires communs.[1]

Ces indices convergents, rapprochés de ce fait certain que le

[1] Dans l'Ἐρανιστής, un des textes favoris du monophysite est, 1 Cor., ii., 8 : *Si enim cognouissent, numquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent* (P. G., lxxxiii., 276-77); *cf.* Gélase, 15 (p. 543), ps.-Chrysost. (lii., 759). S. Léon (*ep.* xxviii., 5), après S. Augustin, cite ce texte, mais comme un argument, non comme une objection. Inversement la thèse des deux natures est défendue par Joan., viii., 40 : *Quid me quaeritis occidere, hominem qui ueritatem locutus sum uobis?* Théodt. (120), Gélase, 9 (537), ps.-Chrysost. (758), Facund. Herm., ix., 3 (P. L., lxvii., 753); il est remarquable que ce texte, alors classique, ne se trouve pas une fois cité dans la *Doctrina Patrum*.—L'argument que les monophysites voulaient tirer de Joan. i., 14 (*et Verbum caro factum est*) est presque toujours réfuté, de la même manière, par la citation du contexte (*et habitauit in nobis*); cette réponse, donnée déjà par Théodore de Mopsueste (*ap.* Facund. Herm., ix., 5; *cf.* éd. Swete, ii., p. 300), est reprise par les Orientaux dans leur critique du Ier anathématisme de S. Cyrille (P. G., lxxvi., 320) : τὸ γενέσθαι σάρκα τὸν λόγον, τὴν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ σκήνωσιν καλῶς ἐκλαμβάνομεν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων διάνοιαν; elle se retrouve chez Théodoret (72), chez pseudo-Chrysostôme (759), chez Facundus (762) et, semble-t-il, chez Gélase (531).—On pourrait multiplier ces exemples.

dossier patristique de Gélase est de source antiochienne, nous permettent de conclure, au moins avec une grande probabilité, que son traité a été écrit lui aussi sous des influences antiochiennes.[1] On ne s'en étonnera pas si l'on se rappelle que pendant le pontificat de Gélase, un monophysite, Palladius, était patriarche d'Antioche (488-98), et que les évêques orthodoxes de Syrie cherchèrent un appui auprès de Gélase, qui leur répondit par une longue lettre d'exhortation et d'enseignement, la dernière que nous possédions de lui.[2] On comprend dès lors qu'en composant son traité sur les deux natures, il ait eu particulièrement en vue l'Église de Syrie, et que non seulement dans la composition de son florilège patristique, mais aussi dans la rédaction de son traité, il se soit inspiré des auteurs orthodoxes qui faisaient autorité à Antioche.

Le traité de Facundus d'Hermiane *pour la défense des trois chapitres*,[3] se réclame ouvertement des théologiens d'Antioche. M. Saltet a montré (*l.c.*, p. 749, *cf.* 747) que l'enquête patristique, qui remplit le livre onzième de ce traité, avait été inspirée par un mémoire des évêques du patriarcat d'Antioche, réunis en synode, entre 434 et 444, pour défendre la doctrine de Théodore de Mopsueste ; le chapitre même (ix. 5) où se trouve la mention de l'Eucharistie, est rempli de citations de Théodore, et consacré uniquement à en défendre l'orthodoxie.

Ephrem d'Antioche est, comme Facundus, postérieur d'un siècle au concile d'Ephèse et aux controverses qu'il souleva ; mais son œuvre, tout antiochienne, dépend entièrement des auteurs de cette époque.[4]

Nous sommes donc amenés à conclure, avant même d'étudier la doctrine eucharistique des auteurs qu'on nous oppose, que les écrits où on la rencontre, appartiennent tous à la même école et sont rédigés sous la même influence.

[1] Je ne prétends pas exclure toute influence romaine, en particulier celle de S. Léon. Mais cette influence paraît moindre, et l'on ne peut la constater dans la question qui nous occupe : on ne trouve pas chez S. Léon l'analogie eucharistique invoquée par Gélase.

[2] *Ep.* 43 (p. 471, *et seq.*). Ces faits ont été déjà rappelés par M. Saltet (*l.c.*, p. 748), qui en a très justement indiqué la portée.

[3] Ce traité fut composé à Constantinople, entre 546 et 551.

[4] Voir les fragments réunis par Migne (P. G., lxxxvi., 1, 2103-10) et ceux qui sont cités par Photius (*ibid.*, ciii., 957-1024).

Ces conclusions sont confirmées par l'étude de cette doctrine elle-même : dans tous ces écrits, la théologie eucharistique n'est pas exposée pour elle-même, mais rappelée pour éclairer par son analogie la doctrine christologique des deux natures. Or cette analogie, qui est marquée par tous ces auteurs, ne se rencontre, à ma connaissance, nulle part ailleurs. Dans le très riche florilège patristique, recueilli à la fin du VII[e] siècle, sous le titre de *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi*, on cherche en vain des passages parallèles à ceux que nous étudions ; bien des analogies sont invoquées pour éclairer l'union des deux natures : on lui compare l'union de l'âme et du corps, du feu avec le fer embrasé, de l'huile avec le corps qu'elle oint, de l'or avec le bois doré, des quatre éléments entre eux, des trois personnes de la Trinité,[1] on ne rencontre pas l'exemple, classique chez nos théologiens d'Antioche, de l'union du corps du Christ avec les éléments eucharistiques.

Cette comparaison,[2] et le doctrine qu'elle implique, appartient donc à un groupe très restreint d'écrivains [3] et ne peut être présentée comme traditionnelle.

II.

Ce premier point étant acquis, il reste à déterminer la portée exacte de cette analogie.

Le premier auteur à étudier est Théodoret : si l'étude précédente est exacte, c'est chez lui que cette doctrine est la plus originale ; c'est chez lui aussi qu'elle est la plus développée. On la rencontre dans trois passages de l'Ἐρανιστής, dont il sera utile de donner ici la traduction :

Après avoir fait remarquer au monophysite que Notre-Seigneur avait, en diverses circonstances, appelé métaphorique-

[1] On trouvera l'indication de tous ces passages dans l'édition de la *Doctrina Patrum* de M. Diekamp (Münster, 1907), p. 361.

[2] Je parle ici de la comparaison, telle qu'elle se présente dans ces écrits, entre les natures unies dans le Christ, et les deux réalités unies dans l'Eucharistie. D'autres comparaisons entre l'incarnation et l'Eucharistie sont, au contraire, très traditionnelles.

[3] Peut-être pourrait-on aller plus loin, et rechercher la source d'où cette doctrine dérive (Théodore de Mopsueste, ou les évêques du patriarcat d'Antioche, ou Théodoret, etc.). Je ne l'essaierai pas ici.

ment son sang du vin et son corps du pain, l'orthodoxe poursuit (P. G., lxxxiii., 56):

"Dans l'institution des mystères, il a appelé le pain son corps et le vin son sang.—En effet.—Mais, naturellement, le corps ne peut être appelé que corps, et le sang ne peut être appelé que sang.—J'en conviens.—Or notre Sauveur a changé ces noms: il a donné à son corps le nom du symbole, au symbole le nom de son corps; de même s'étant appelé lui-même la vigne, il a appelé le symbole son sang.—Tu dis vrai; et je voudrais bien savoir la raison de ce changement de noms.—L'intention est évidente pour les initiés aux mystères. Le Christ a voulu que ceux qui participent aux divins mystères ne s'attachent pas à la nature de ce qu'ils voient, mais, par suite du changement des noms, croient à la transformation opérée par la grâce. Car lui qui a appelé son corps naturel froment et pain, et qui s'est nommé lui-même la vigne, il a honoré les symboles visibles du nom de corps et de sang, non pas qu'il ait changé la nature, mais parce qu'il a ajouté la grâce à la nature."[1]

Au second livre, il reprend la même doctrine, et la développe plus longuement (pp. 165-9):

"Dis-moi, les symboles mystiques, qui sont offerts à Dieu par les prêtres, de quoi sont-ils les symboles?—Du corps et du sang du Seigneur.—Du corps réel, ou non réel?—Du corps réel.—Très bien; car il faut qu'existe l'archétype de l'image. Les peintres, en effet, imitent la nature, et dessinent l'image de ce qu'ils voient.—C'est vrai.—Si donc c'est du corps réel que les divins mystères sont le symbole, le corps du Seigneur est encore maintenant un corps, il n'a pas été changé en nature divine, mais rempli de gloire divine.—C'est bien à propos que tu as

[1] Ἐν δέ γε τῇ τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα. Οὕτως ὠνόμασεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ σῶμα σῶμα ἂν εἰκότως κληθείη, καὶ τὸ αἷμα αἷμα. Ὡμολόγηται. Ὁ δέ γε Σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος· οὕτως ἄμπελον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, αἷμα τὸ σύμβολον προσηγόρευσεν. Τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθῶς εἴρηκας. Ἐβουλόμην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς. Δῆλος ὁ σκοπὸς τοῖς τὰ θεῖα μεμυημένοις. Ἠβουλήθη γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ, διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς, πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγενημένῃ μεταβολῇ. Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς.

parlé des divins mystères; car par eux je te montrerai que le corps du Seigneur est converti en une autre nature. Réponds donc à mes questions.—Je répondrai.—Avant l'épiclèse sacerdotale, comment appelles-tu le don offert?—Je ne dois pas le dire clairement, car il y a sans doute ici des non initiés.—Réponds donc énigmatiquement.—L'aliment fait de tels grains.—Et l'autre symbole, comment l'appelons-nous?—Ce nom aussi est commun, et signifie un breuvage.—Mais après la consécration, comment les appelles-tu?—Corps du Christ, et sang du Christ.—Et tu crois participer au corps et au sang du Christ?—Je le crois.—Ainsi donc que les symboles du corps et du sang du Seigneur sont une chose avant l'épiclèse sacerdotale, et après l'épiclèse sont transformés et deviennent une autre chose, ainsi le corps du Seigneur après l'Ascension a été transformé en la substance divine.—Tu es pris dans tes filets; car après la consécration les symboles mystiques ne perdent pas leur nature propre; ils demeurent dans leur substance première, dans leur apparence, dans leur forme, ils sont visibles et tangibles, comme ils l'étaient auparavant. Ce n'est que par la pensée qu'on atteint ce qu'ils sont devenus, on les croit tels, on les adore, comme étant ce qu'on les croit. Compare donc à l'archétype son image, et tu verras la ressemblance. Car il faut que la figure ressemble à la réalité. Et en effet ce corps a sa forme première, son apparence, sa figure, et, en un mot, sa nature de corps; mais, après la résurrection, il est devenu immortel, et supérieur à la corruption, et il siège à la droite, et il est adoré par toute la création, comme étant appelé le corps du Seigneur de la nature.—Mais le symbole mystique perd son appellation première; car il n'est plus nommé comme auparavant, mais il est appelé corps. Il faut donc que la réalité soit appelée Dieu et non pas corps.—Tu me sembles ignorer que [le symbole] est appelé non seulement corps, mais pain de vie." [1]

[1] Je ne puis transcrire ici tout ce texte; j'en citerai seulement la partie essentielle: l'objection du monophysite et la réponse de l'orthodoxe: *Ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ Δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν. Ἐάλως αἷς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τα μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν*

Au troisième livre, Théodoret reprend encore une fois le même argument, pour faire reconnaître au monophysite que ce n'est point la divinité qui a souffert, mais le corps du Christ (pp. 269, 272):

"Rappelle-toi ce que le Seigneur [à la Cène] a pris et a rompu, et de quel nom ensuite il l'a appelé.—À cause des non initiés, je le dirai mystiquement. Ayant pris et rompu et distribué à ses disciples, il dit: 'Ceci est mon corps, donné pour vous,' ou, selon l'Apôtre, *rompu;* puis: 'Ceci est mon sang, le sang de la nouvelle alliance, répandu pour beaucoup.'—Il n'a donc pas parlé de sa divinité, en présentant la figure de sa passion?—Non pas.—Mais de son corps et de son sang?—C'est vrai.—C'est donc son corps qui a été cloué à la croix?—Il le semble."

La portée christologique de ces trois passages est très nette: ils établissent pour Théodoret que, même aujourd'hui, après l'Ascension, la distinction des deux natures subsiste dans le Christ, et que son corps est toujours un corps véritable, et n'a point été changé en la divinité.

La doctrine eucharistique, ici impliquée, est plus difficile à déterminer.

Elle affirme d'abord, très clairement, que ce n'est pas, immédiatement et directement, la divinité du Christ, mais son corps, qui nous est donné dans l'Eucharistie.[1]—Sur la relation

νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Παράθες τοίνυν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ ὄψει τὴν ὁμοιότητα. Χρὴ γὰρ ἐοικέναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν τύπον. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει, καὶ σχῆμα, καὶ περιγραφὴν, καὶ, ἁπαξαπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν· ἀθάνατον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γέγονε καὶ κρεῖττον φθορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἠξιώθη καθέδρας, καὶ παρὰ πάσης προσκυνεῖται τῆς κτίσεως, ἅτε δὴ σῶμα χρηματίζον τοῦ Δεσπότου τῆς φύσεως.

[1] *Cf.* Nestorius, *Sermo* ix. (ap. Marium Mercatorem, P. L., xlviii., 828, 829): "Audite dictis intenti: Qui manducat, ait, carnem meam, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Memento quod de carne est, quod dicitur: Sicut misit me uiuens Pater, me uisibilem. Numquid a me carnis nomen appositum est, ut me male interpretari querantur: Qui manducat, inquit, carnem meam, et bibit meum sanguinem. Numquid dixit: Qui manducat diuinitatem meam, et bibit meam diuinitatem? sed: Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo." Cf. *Sermo* ii. (766), viii. (828). Nestorius appelait de même le corps du Christ antitype de

qui existe entre le corps du Christ et les éléments eucharistiques, le premier passage et le troisième pourraient nous induire en erreur, et nous faire conclure seulement à une présence symbolique ou figurative. Ce serait se méprendre sur la pensée de Théodoret, ainsi que l'indique très clairement le deuxième fragment : chez lui, comme chez les théologiens antérieurs qui avaient employé ces expressions, les mots *τύπος*, *σύμβολον*, *ὁμοίωμα* ne sont pas exclusifs d'une présence réelle ; il est certain cependant qu'ils sont dangereux : nous le constaterons bientôt chez Facundus d'Hermiane ; dès avant l'époque de Théodoret, le danger est senti, et on a commencé à écarter ces expressions,[1] qui seront plus tard officiellement condamnées.[2]

Le point le plus difficile et le plus controversé est la nature de l'élément sensible permanent dans l'Eucharistie : s'agit-il de la substance du pain et du vin, ou seulement de l'ensemble des propriétés sensibles ? D'une part, on remarque que Théodoret affirme expressément que les éléments eucharistiques ne perdent pas leur nature propre (*οὐδὲ . . . τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως*) et qu'ils demeurent dans leur substance première (*μένει ἐπὶ τῆς*

l'Eucharistie : *Sermo* ii. (766) ; *cf.* Leont. Byzant., *Aduers. Nestor. et Eutych.* iii., 6 (P. G., lxxxvi., 1364).—Mais, par suite de sa christologie, Nestorius était amené à nier la vertu vivifiante de l'Eucharistie que Théodoret, au contraire, n'a jamais niée.

[1] Macarius Magnes, *Ἀποκριτικός*, iii., 23 (éd. Blondel, pp. 105, 106) : *εἰκότως λαβὼν (ὁ Χριστὸς) ἄρτον καὶ ποτήριον εἶπε· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου. Οὐ γὰρ τύπος σώματος οὐδὲ τύπος αἵματος, ὥς τινες ἐρραψώδησαν πεπωρωμένοι τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀπὸ γῆς δ' ὁ ἄρτος ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ οἶνος.* On cite généralement ce passage tel qu'il est rapporté par Jean, patriarche d'Antioche au XII^e^ siècle (Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesm.*, i., 548) ; on doit remarquer que cet écrivain, en l'isolant de son contexte, en a modifié la portée.

Du texte de Macaire on rapproche souvent ce texte de Théodore de Mopsueste (*in Matth.*, xxvi., 26 ; fragment tiré d'une chaîne ; P. G., lxvi., 713) : *οὐκ εἶπε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ σώματός μου, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ αἵματός μου, ἀλλὰ, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ὁρᾶν τοῦ προκειμένου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴς γενομένης εὐχαριστίας εἰς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα μεταβάλλεσθαι.* Ce passage me paraît exactement parallèle à celui que nous lisions au I^er^ livre de Théodoret (*ἠβουλήθη . . . μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ . . . πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγενημένῃ μεταβολῇ*) ; il faut noter d'ailleurs que Théodore ne réprouve pas l'usage du mot *σύμβολον*, il remarque seulement que, pour la raison qu'il indique, le Christ ne l'a pas employé à la Cène.

[2] Concil. Nicaen., II., Act. vi. (Mansi, xiii., 265).

προτέρας οὐσίας); d'autre part, on objecte que quand il veut expliquer et développer sa pensée, il se borne à énumérer des qualités sensibles : ces éléments gardent leur apparence (σχῆμα), leur forme (εἶδος), ils restent visibles (ὁρατά) et tangibles (ἁπτά).

Si on veut éclairer, comme on le doit, cette doctrine eucharistique, par la christologie à laquelle est comparée, on voit que ce qui caractérise proprement la thèse soutenue par le monophysite et combattue par Théodoret, c'est l'absorption de l'humanité par la divinité : il se la représente (p. 153) comme une goutte de miel jetée dans la mer, et qui s'y perd aussitôt en s'y mêlant ; dès lors, une fois l'incarnation opérée, on ne peut distinguer dans le Christ les propriétés des deux natures : l'orthodoxe demande : Σὺ γὰρ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖς φύσεως ἑκατέρας τὰ ἴδια ; le monophysite répond : μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν οὐδαμῶς (140). Cette antithèse marque nettement la position respective des deux adversaires. Leur controverse n'est pas une discussion métaphysique, portant immédiatement sur la distinction ou l'identité de deux substances ; elle est moins profonde, elle a pour objet précis les propriétés des deux natures (τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἴδια, *cf.* p. 145) plutôt que les natures elles-mêmes. Aucun des deux adversaires d'ailleurs ne distingue ce double point de vue ; ils passent immédiatement de la propriété à la nature, et prouvent l'une par l'autre ; ainsi, dans le passage du livre II. cité plus haut : " Le corps [du Christ] garde sa forme première (εἶδος), son apparence (σχῆμα), sa figure (περιγραφήν), et, en un mot, sa nature de corps (τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν)." [1]

La question étant ainsi posée, on trouvait dans l'Eucharistie une analogie facile à utiliser, mais facile aussi à fausser. L'orthodoxe pouvait aisément faire constater à son adversaire la permanence des qualités sensibles, et cela suffisait à son but ; mais il pouvait aussi être entraîné à passer des propriétés à la substance, et il semble bien que Théodoret n'ait pas échappé à ce danger : dans la même phrase où il affirme la transforma-

[1] Je ne puis qu'indiquer brièvement cette position de la question ; on la trouvera beaucoup plus minutieusement décrite dans N. Gloubokovskij, *blajennui Theodorit, episkop kirrskij* (Moscou, 1890), ii., pp. 162 *et seq.* Dans cette étude, d'ailleurs si complète, l'auteur a laissé de côté la théologie eucharistique de Théodoret.

tion (μεταβολή) subie par les éléments eucharistiques, il affirme que le Christ "n'a pas transformé la nature, mais a ajouté la grâce à la nature." οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς (p. 56). Cette affirmation nous impose, je crois, de prendre à la lettre, les expressions φύσις et οὐσία employées par Théodoret soit dans ce passage, soit dans les autres.

Je n'oserais appliquer les mêmes remarques au traité de Gélase:[1] il insiste moins sur la permanence de la nature, davantage sur sa transformation (14, éd. Thiel, pp. 541, 542):

"Sacramenta, quae sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi diuina res est, propter quod et per eadem diuinae efficimur consortes naturae; et tamen esse non desinit substantia uel natura panis et uini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis euidenter ostenditur hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in eius imagine profitemur celebramus et sumimus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in diuinam, transeant Sancto Spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes tamen in suae proprietate naturae; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cuius nobis efficientiam uirtutemque ueraciter repraesentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum uerumque, permanere demonstrant."

Il est aisé de remarquer l'étroite parenté de ce fragment avec ceux de Théodoret cités plus haut: dans ce traité, comme dans l'*Eranistes*, les éléments eucharistiques sont dits l'image et la similitude du corps du Christ, la présence réelle étant d'ailleurs, ici comme là, affirmée très énergiquement. D'autre part, la permanence des éléments sensibles est invoquée ici encore pour éclairer et confirmer la permanence de la nature humaine dans le Christ. Enfin ici, comme chez Théodoret, cette permanence s'allie avec une transformation véritable; mais entre les deux auteurs il faut reconnaître la différence

[1] Ce n'est pas, à coup sûr, que ce traité doive être, par son origine même, soustrait à la discussion. Même si, dans sa partie christologique, il portait le caractère d'une définition dogmatique, il ne l'aurait certainement pas dans son enseignement eucharistique: cette doctrine n'est là que touchée indirectement, et pour éclairer, par son analogie, le dogme de l'incarnation.

signalée plus haut: Gélase insiste beaucoup plus que Théodoret sur le terme et, par conséquent, sur la nature de cette transformation; il dit sans doute: *esse non desinit substantia uel natura panis et uini;* mais il ajoute: *ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in diuinam, transeant Sancto Spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes tamen in suae proprietate naturae.*[1] Il me paraît naturel d'interpréter la première phrase par la seconde, d'entendre, par conséquent, par la permanence de la "substance" et de la "nature," la permanence des "propriétés de la nature," et de laisser ainsi un sens intelligible à cette "transformation en la substance divine;" je ne prétends pas assurément que, dans ce dernier membre de phrase, le mot de "substance" doive s'entendre avec une rigueur philosophique, mais je pense aussi que rien n'autorise à prêter à ce terme un sens technique dans la première phrase (*esse non desinit substantia*), et à le lui refuser dans la seconde (*in diuinam transeant substantiam*). En résumé, je crois que le texte de Gélase, qui d'ailleurs reste obscur, doit probablement s'interpréter ainsi: les éléments eucharistiques, tout en gardant leurs propriétés naturelles, sont changés en une "chose divine," et nous font ainsi participer à la nature divine. Nous n'avons pas ici la doctrine précise de la transsubstantiation, mais nous avons moins encore la théorie de l'impanation.

Le texte de pseudo-Chrysostome est moins explicite que celui de Gélase, et se rapproche davantage de celui de Théodoret (P. G., lii., 758):

"Unus filius, unus dominus, idem ipse procul dubio unitarum naturarum unam dominationem, unam potestatem possidens, etiamsi non consubstantiales exsistunt, et unaquaeque incommixtam proprietatis conseruat agnitionem, propter hoc quod inconfusa sunt duo. Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus; diuina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis; dignus autem habitus Dominici corporis appellatione,

[1] Pour cette dernière phrase, Thiel note des variantes entre les éditions: Coustant lit: *permanente tamen suae proprietate naturae;* d'autres, qu'il ne nomme pas: *permanente tamen in suae proprietate naturae;* lui-même propose: *permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura.*

etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus Filii praedicamus."

Il est facile de reconnaître la similitude d'idée et, en partie, d'expression [1] qui rapproche ce passage de ceux que nous lisions plus haut dans l'Ἐρανιστὴς ; il est plus difficile d'en déterminer exactement la portée. Cependant, en l'absence de tout correctif,[2] il semble qu'il faille prendre à la lettre la phrase *natura panis in ipso permansit*, et y voir une négation pure et simple de toute conversion substantielle.

Facundus d'Hermiane semble aller plus loin encore dans la négation et menacer non seulement la transsubstantiation, mais la présence réelle (P. L., lxvii., 762) :

"Adoptionem quoque filiorum suscepisse Christum si antiqui doctores Ecclesiae dixisse monstrarentur, nec ipsi nec omnis Ecclesia, quae tales doctores habuit, iudicari deberet haeretica. Nam sacramentum adoptionis suscipere dignatus est Christus, et quando circumcisus est, et quando baptizatus est ; et potest sacramentum adoptionis adoptio nuncupari : sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus eius et sanguinem dicimus ; non quod proprie corpus eius sit panis et poculum sanguis ; sed quod in se mysterium corporis eius sanguinisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum uocauit. Quocirca sicut Christi fideles, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius accipientes, corpus et sanguinem Christi dicuntur accipere, sic et ipse Christus, sacramentum adoptionis filiorum cum suscepisset, potuit recte dici adoptionem filiorum suscepisse."

[1] On peut comparer en particulier les derniers mots (*dignus autem habitus Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit*) avec ce passage cité plus haut : οὗτος (ὁ Σωτὴρ) τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Lequien pense que S. Jean Damascène (*de fide orth.*, iv., 13, P. G., xciv., 1145) a cité cette lettre à Césaire, et l'a interprétée dans le sens de la transsubstantiation : ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ, διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. Il me paraît certain en effet que S. Jean Damascène a affirmé la transsubstantiation, mais je ne pense pas qu'il ait cité la lettre à Césaire. Pusey est d'un avis contraire (p. 83, n. 1) : "This epistle to Cæsarius is quoted without doubt by Damascene."

On constate à première vue que ce passage est fort différent des autres, et l'on peut douter que Pusey ait vu juste en y retrouvant la même théorie : sans doute la doctrine eucharistique sert, ici encore, à interpréter la christologie ; mais ce que l'auteur a en vue, ce n'est plus de faire comprendre la dualité des natures dans le Christ, par la distinction du corps et des éléments sensibles dans l'Eucharistie ; c'est de rendre acceptable l'expression de Théodore de Mopsueste sur l'adoption du Christ, en lui prêtant un sens sacramentel. Si l'on considère que le chapitre d'où est tiré ce passage, est intégralement consacré à interpréter des documents antiochiens, on peut supposer que Facundus s'en est inspiré aussi en parlant de l'Eucharistie ;[1] mais il est très possible aussi que cette théorie sacramentaire soit d'origine africaine.

Quelle que soit sa source, on reconnaîtra aisément que ce n'est pas la transsubstantiation qu'elle met en question, mais la présence réelle ; le danger n'est pas de distinguer deux natures dans l'Eucharistie, mais de ne plus y voir que le symbole du corps du Christ. Gallandi, dans sa note sur ce passage, réclame notre indulgence pour l'auteur : "Quodsi durius hic fortasse uel obscurius quippiam elocutus uideatur, dignus est uenia, et qui a benigno interprete uicem officii recipiat, quod ipse aliis studiose, quorum dicta notabantur, non semel exhibuit." Volontiers nous nous associons à ce vœu, et nous souhaitons à Facundus un avocat aussi zélé qu'il l'a été lui-même pour Théodore.

Ephrem d'Antioche n'a sur l'Eucharistie qu'une mention très brève, et qui se rattache beaucoup plus étroitement aux textes discutés plus haut (P. G., ciii., 980) :

"[S. Jean] reconnaît, et fait connaître aux autres, un seul Christ dans une substance tangible et intangible, visible et invisible. C'est dans l'une et dans l'autre la même personne, mais nul homme raisonnable ne dira que le tangible et l'intangible, le visible et l'invisible aient la même nature.

[1] On peut comparer : "Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum uocauit," avec Théodore de Mopsueste, *in Mt.*, xxvi., 26 (*supra*, p. 337, n. 1), et avec les deux passages de pseudo-Chrysostôme et de Théodoret rapprochés plus haut (pp. 333 *et seq.*, et 340).

De même le corps du Christ reçu par les fidèles ne se dépouille pas de sa substance sensible, et reste inséparable de la grâce immatérielle. Le baptême aussi, qui devient tout entier spirituel et est un, garde la propriété de la substance sensible, je veux dire de l'eau, et ne perd pas ce qu'il devient." [1]

Ce texte, dont je n'ai pas besoin de montrer la parenté avec ceux de Théodoret, nous fait constater mieux qu'aucun autre le danger de ces analogies et la difficulté de leur interprétation. Si l'on veut entendre à la rigueur le passage que je viens de citer, on en conclura que pour Ephrem d'Antioche, il y a parité entre l'Eucharistie et le baptême, l'un et l'autre sacrement contenant, avec une substance sensible, une grâce spirituelle. Si l'on n'accepte pas cette interprétation,—et ni Pusey ni Gore ne la donnent,—on devra se contenter d'une analogie beaucoup moins précise, et se borner à constater dans le Christ, dans l'Eucharistie, et dans le baptême une dualité non autrement définie, où l'on distingue un élément sensible et un élément divin: ainsi entendue, cette doctrine sera reçue par tout le monde. Si l'on veut enfin, comme les théologiens anglicans que je critique, exclure par ce texte la transsubstantiation tout en maintenant la présence réelle, on devra presser la première analogie (entre le Christ et l'Eucharistie) et négliger la seconde (entre l'Eucharistie et le baptême): c'est là, semble-t-il, un procédé arbitraire.

Si nous considérons d'ensemble tous ces textes,—en laissant de côté celui de Facundus d'Hermiane,—nous voyons que tous tendent à établir la même thèse: le Christ a toujours eu, et il conserve aujourd'hui encore, après l'Ascension, une nature humaine véritable, visible, tangible, etc. Tous cherchent à établir cette thèse par l'analogie de l'Eucharistie: ils font constater que, même après la consécration, on y trouve non seulement le corps du Christ, mais aussi un élément visible et tangible qui y est demeuré. On voit que la question est tout autrement

[1] *Τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν ἐν ψηλαφητῇ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτῳ οὐσίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὁρατῇ καὶ ἀοράτῳ γνωρίζει τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδέναι διδάσκαλος γίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἑνὸς προσώπου ἑκάτερον, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναται νοῦν ἔχων ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητοῦ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτου καὶ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου. Οὕτω καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετος μένει χάριτος. Καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικὸν ὅλον γενόμενον καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος, λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν.*

posée alors, qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui entre ceux qui tiennent la transsubstantiation et ceux qui la nient; mais on comprend aussi combien il était facile, alors surtout, de confondre la permanence de la substance avec celle des qualités sensibles.

Un siècle environ après Ephrem d'Antioche, Anastase le Sinaïte, réfutant à son tour les monophysites, se laissait entraîner à une confusion contraire: pour leur prouver que le corps du Christ, avant sa résurrection, n'était pas incorruptible, il les conviait à une expérience étrange (*Hodegos*, xxiii., P. G., lxxxix., 297):

"Apportez-nous, leur disait-il, un peu de la sainte Eucharistie prise dans votre Église, que vous dites la plus orthodoxe. Nous mettrons en toute révérence le saint corps du Christ et son sang dans un vase, avec honneur; si d'ici quelques jours, il n'est ni corrompu, ni altéré, ni changé, il sera évident que votre doctrine est vraie, et que le Christ est en effet, depuis son incarnation, de toute façon incorruptible; s'il est corrompu ou changé, il faudra convenir ou bien que vous ne communiez pas au vrai corps du Christ . . . ou bien qu'avant sa résurrection, le corps du Christ est corruptible, comme étant immolé, mis à mort, blessé, partagé, mangé."

Ni l'orthodoxe ni le monophysite ne remarquent l'étrange confusion qu'ils commettent entre les propriétés sensibles de l'hostie consacrée et celles du corps du Christ avant sa résurrection. Au reste, cette confusion n'est pas sans précédent ni sans parallèle: Anastase nous rapporte ailleurs une argumentation analogue d'Ammonius d'Alexandrie,[1] et lui-même développe encore sous une autre forme le même argument au chapitre xiii., de l'*Hodegos*.[2]

[1] *Hodegos*, xiv. (lxxxix., 248D): "Ceux qui attaquent le concile de Chalcédoine . . . prétendent que ce n'est pas une nature ni par conséquent une réalité que le corps du Christ, qui est vu, qui est saisi, qui grandit, qui est emmaillotté, qui est circoncis, qui est touché, qui est lié, qui est souffleté, qui est tué, qui est percé, qui est porté, qui est enseveli, *qui est immolé, qui est rompu, qui est partagé, qui est mangé, qui est broyé, qui est distribué*."

[2] Pp. 208-9: "Timothée blasphème lorsqu'il dit: "La seule nature du Christ, après son incarnation, c'est sa divinité. Si, en effet, la divinité seule est le Christ, et si la divinité ne peut être ni vue, ni touchée ni immolée, ni partagée, ni mangée, il est évident que Timothée nie, comme

Ainsi donc, pour combattre le monophysisme, deux écoles d'écrivains ont tiré du dogme eucharistique deux arguments très différents; les uns raisonnent ainsi: le pain, même après la consécration, reste visible et tangible; de même l'humanité du Christ retient ses propriétés naturelles et n'est pas absorbée par la divinité. Les autres disent: le pain consacré, qui est le corps du Christ, est sujet à l'altération et au changement; ainsi le Christ a eu sur terre un corps passible et mortel. Présentées sous cette forme, ces deux analogies respectent l'intégrité du dogme eucharistique, mais l'une et l'autre a ses dangers: la deuxième, sous la plume d'Ammonius et d'Anastase, attribue au corps historique du Christ toutes les altérations accidentelles de l'hostie; la première, interprétée par Théodoret ou pseudo-Chrysostome, implique un véritable "dyophysisme" eucharistique: elle étend indûment à la substance du pain la permanence qu'elle reconnaît justement aux propriétés sensibles. La discussion qui précède aura fait comprendre pourquoi cette confusion me paraît improbable chez Gélase et douteuse chez Ephrem d'Antioche.

Ces confusions ne surprendront pas l'historien; elles lui font constater ce que bien d'autres indices révèlent: au V^e^ siècle, le dogme de la conversion, depuis longtemps professé dans l'Église grecque et latine,[1] n'a pas encore reçu toute sa précision,

les Juifs, le sacrifice et la communion des saints mystères ; il ne croit ni ne confesse qu'existe en réalité le corps et le sang du Christ visible, créé, terrestre, que le prêtre présente au peuple en disant: Le corps et le sang de Notre-Seigneur, Dieu, et Sauveur Jésus-Christ. Car si la seule nature du Christ est la divinité, et si la nature divine ne peut-être *ni saisie, ni rompue, ni partagée, ni morcelée, ni répandue, ni epuisée, ni transformée, ni broyée avec les dents*, il faut que Timothée tombe dans un de ces deux abîmes: ou prétendre que la divinité peut pâtir et changer, ou nier que ce soit le corps et le sang du Christ qu'il offre, qu'il mange dans le sacrifice mystique et qu'il donne au peuple.'"

[1] Pour me contenter de ces deux exemples, on le rencontre déjà certainement, en Occident, chez S. Ambroise (*de mysteriis*, 50-4, P. L., xvi., 405-7) et, en Orient, chez S. Cyrille de Jérusalem (*catech.*, xxii. (*mystag.*, iv.), 2, 6, 9, P. G., xxxiii., 1097-1105). Le théologien luthérien Plitt (*de Cyrilli Hier. orationibus quæ exstant catecheticis*, Heidelberg, 1855, p. 150), après avoir cité ces passages, ajoute: "His, quae supra laudaui, plane et aperte transsubstantiationem doceri quis, quaeso, infitiari poterit? Nam si ego discipulis meis in catechesi

et l'on ne distingue pas nettement dans les éléments eucharistiques ce qui est converti et ce ce qui demeure: on est donc facilement entraîné, lorsqu'on parle de la permanence des propriétés sensibles, à admettre en même temps la permanence de la nature, et, inversement, quand on expose le changement de la substance, on oublie parfois que les qualités sensibles demeurent.

On constate aussi par ces controverses qu'entre le dogme christologique et celui de l'Eucharistie il y a sans doute des analogies étroites, mais non pas identité complète de dessin. C'est ainsi que l'union de l'âme et du corps dans l'homme est fréquemment, et même dans le symbole de S. Athanase, comparée à l'union des deux natures dans le Christ; il est certain cependant que dans les deux cas, la relation des termes entre eux n'est pas la même ni non plus l'unité qui en résulte. Ce mémoire aura fait mieux comprendre, je l'espère, qu'on ne peut s'autoriser de la tradition patristique pour pousser plus loin, au détriment de la transsubstantiation, l'analogie des deux doctrines, christologique et eucharistique. Il aura atteint ce but s'il a contribué à mettre en lumière les deux points suivants:—

1° La théologie qui conclut de la distinction des deux natures dans le Christ à la permanence de la substance du pain et du vin dans l'Eucharistie, ne peut s'appuyer sur une tradition universelle et prolongée; les quelques auteurs dont elle se réclame, appartiennent tous à l'école antiochienne du V^e^ siècle, ou en dépendent.

2° Parmi ces auteurs, Théodoret et pseudo-Chrysostome semblent tenir en effet le raisonnement qu'on leur prête, le témoignage d'Ephrem d'Antioche est douteux, celui de Gélase l'est plus encore: celui de Facundus d'Hermiane doit être écarté du débat.

dicerem: 'Ut Christus in nuptiis Canae celebratis aquam in uinum transmutauit, ita in Eucharistia uinum in sanguinem transmutat; quod uos in Eucharistia editis et bibitis, gustum quidem panis et uini habet, nihilominus autem neque panis est neque uinum, sed corpus et sanguis Domini,' quis, quaeso, dubitaret quin transubstantiationem ego docerem?"

Father P. Mahé, S.J., Jersey, read a Paper on "La Doctrine de la Vivification par l'Eucharistie dans les premiers Siècles.

Cardinal Sancha y Hervas expressed his pleasure at being the messenger of Catholic Spain to England and to its French visitors, and his delight in being present in England at the great manifestation of faith and love that the Congress had called forth. He once more recurred to the subject of frequent Communion, earnestly exhorting all to adopt the practice, and telling of its rapid growth in Spain since the decree of the Holy Father.

His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, speaking in French, expressed his satisfaction at seeing so large a gathering, composed in great part of the sons and daughters of France. It was evidence that deep down in their hearts there was intense love for the Blessed Sacrament.

His Eminence Cardinal Vannutelli, in a few words, congratulated the various speakers upon the interesting discussion which had grown out of the papers read. He had other engagements that morning, but before leaving the Hall he desired to say how pleased he was with the enthusiasm displayed in the object of the gathering and the devotion which was shown for the Holy Eucharist. His Eminence then imparted his blessing to all present, and as the distinguished Prelate left the building he was accorded a most hearty ovation.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Monseigneur EMARD, Bishop of the recently constituted diocese of Valleyfield, Canada, took the chair. Mgr. BRUCHESI, Archbishop of Montreal, who was to have presided, arrived shortly after the proceedings had commenced, and though on his arrival the Bishop of Valleyfield desired to vacate the chair, His Grace would not consent to his Lordship doing so. Other prelates on the platform were:—The BISHOPS OF ARRAS, BETHSAIDA, CLIFTON, NAMUR, OLINDA, POZZUOLI, and VERDUN.

In the course of the afternoon His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER again visited the Hall, and the whole assemblage stood to receive him. At the close of the reading of the papers, His Grace urged his hearers not to forget the ultimate end of the Eucharistic Congress, namely, an increased love for our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, shown by more fervent and more frequent Communions. And in this connection His Grace recommended an association which has for its object daily Communion and daily visits to the Blessed Sacrament. The name of this association is the "Guard of Honour to the Sacred Heart." The members choose for themselves some fixed hour of the day in which they will make a visit of reparation to the Blessed Sacrament, which, said His Grace, is a simple way of honouring our Lord, who is so much forgotten and neglected.

LES RITES DE LA CONSÉCRATION ET DE LA FRACTION DANS LA LITURGIE CELTIQUE DE LA MESSE

PAR LE R. P. L. GOUGAUD, O.S.B.

COMME dans les formes de la piété privée et de l'ascétisme, comme dans la discipline ecclésiastique, le particularisme religieux des Celtes s'est donné carrière dans les rites et les formules de la liturgie de la messe.

Un fragment placé à tort sous le nom de Gildas le Sage et rédigé probablement au VII^e siècle nous apprend que les Bretons avaient, en ce temps-là, une façon de célébrer la messe contraire aux usages romains: *Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici, non solum in missa, sed in tonsura etiam.*[1]

Nous voyons par le *Catalogue des saints d'Irlande*, pièce datant, au plus tard, du milieu du VIII^e siècle, et dont M. Edmund Bishop se montre disposé à admettre les données liturgiques,[2] que le premier ordre de saints irlandais (*Ordo sanctissimus*), comprenant les auxiliaires et les premiers successeurs de S. Patrice jusqu'en l'an 544, ne connut qu'une Pâque, qu'une tonsure, et qu'une seule façon de célébrer la messe (*unam missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram de aure usque ad aurem sufferebant*), mais que le second ordre (*Ordo sanctior*), et le troisième (*Ordo sanctus*), qui durèrent respectivement jusqu'en 598 et 665, renoncèrent à l'unité primitive et diversifièrent la liturgie (*diversas missas celebrabant*).[3] Voilà pour la Bretagne et pour l'Irlande.

L'Ecosse eut aussi ses singularités liturgiques. La reine Ste. Marguerite, la réformatrice de la discipline et du culte dans ce pays, au XI^e siècle, s'occupa de réformer les cérémonies de la messe. De quelles défectuosités étaient-elles entachées? On l'ignore. Le biographe de la reine parle seulement, sans pouvoir préciser lui-même, de "rites barbares" employés par certains prêtres dans la célébration des mystères: *Nescio quo ritu barbaro missas celebrare consueverant.*[4]

Aussi bien, je n'ai pas l'intention d'exposer aux membres du congrès eucharistique les traits essentiels de la liturgie

[1] Gildas, "Epistola altera," dans Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1869, t. i., pp. 112-3. Voir sur la date de cet écrit la note de la p. 108.

[2] "Notwithstanding the depreciatory terms in which Zimmer from his point of view speaks of the *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, I believe its liturgical notices to be substantially correct" (Dom A. B. Kuypers, *The Book of Cerne*, Cambridge, 1902: "Liturgical note" by E. Bishop, p. 239, n. 1).

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.*, t. ii., Part II., pp. 292-3.

[4] Theodoric, *Vita S. Margaritæ*, cc. viii. *et seq.*, chez Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.*, t. ii., Part I., p. 158. *Cf.* John Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, London, 1894, p. 284.

celtique, ce qui serait tout à fait hors de propos, ni même les particularités de cette liturgie par rapport aux cérémonies de la messe en général. On a publié sur ces matières, tant dans les Iles Britanniques qu'en France, des travaux qui ont déjà éclairci plus d'un point. Je me propose simplement d'employer les courts instants qui me sont départis à faire connaître, ou plutôt à rappeler, puis à interpréter, relativement à deux parties seulement de la messe, la *consécration* et la *fraction*, certains textes anciens de provenance irlandaise, qui nous font connaître des usages liturgiques intéressants, dont on chercherait, il me semble, vainement l'équivalent en dehors des chrétientés celtiques.

Un liturgiste anglais distingué, le Rev. F. E. Warren, auteur de *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, ouvrage paru en 1881, mais encore très utile à consulter, malgré plusieurs hypothèses aventureuses, a émis, au sujet de la consécration, une théorie qui me paraît des plus contestables. Selon lui, dans le monastère fondé vers l'an 563, dans l'île d'Iona, sur la côte occidentale de l'Ecosse, par l'Irlandais S. Columba, on aurait couramment pratiqué la concélébration, ou plutôt la *coconsécration* (*joint consecration*), deux ou plusieurs prêtres s'unissant pour prononcer ensemble les paroles sacramentelles et consacrer ensemble,[1] comme cela s'est anciennement pratiqué à Rome dans la liturgie papale,[2] comme cela se voit encore au cours de l'ordination des prêtres. Il ne sera pas bien difficile de montrer que l'unique texte sur lequel repose cette théorie s'applique, non point au rite de la *consécration*, mais bien à celui de la *fraction*, de sorte que, s'il se pratiqua quelque chose d'insolite à Iona, ce fut la *cofraction*, et non pas la *coconsécration* : la différence est de quelque conséquence. Cette démonstration faite, je mentionnerai quelques curieux usages relatifs à la fraction reçus dans certaine église irlandaise médiévale.

Le texte produit par M. Warren est emprunté au livre I^er^, chapitre 44, de la *Vita Columbæ*, écrite par Adamnan, huitième successeur de S. Columba, qui gouverna l'abbaye d'Iona de 679

[1] F. E. Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.

[2] Bona, *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo*, lib. i., cap. ix., t. ii. (Augustæ Taurinorum, 1749), pp. 21 *et seq.* *Cf.* L. Duchesne, *Les Origines du culte chrétien*, 2^e^ éd., Paris, 1898, p. 167, n. 2 (Trad. angl. sur la 3^e^ éd., p. 175, n. 2).

à 704.[1] Comme la traduction qu'en a donnée notre auteur, est fautive précisément dans les deux passages les plus importants pour l'intelligence du sens, je citerai d'abord intégralement le texte latin, puis le ferai suivre de la traduction anglaise de M. Warren : on saisira aisément les erreurs commises.

Voici ce que raconte Adamnan :—

" Alio in tempore, quidam de Muminensium provincia proselytus ad sanctum venit ; qui se in quantum potuit occultabat humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus : sed tamen sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die Dominica a sancto iussus Christi corpus ex more conficere, sanctum advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem eius, sic eum compellat, ' Benedicat te Christus, frater ; hunc solus, episcopali ritu, frange panem : nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio ? ' "[2]

M. Warren traduit :—

" On one occasion a stranger from the province of Munster, who concealed, through humility, the fact that he was a bishop, was invited, on the next Sunday, by Columba, *to join with him* in consecrating the body of Christ, that as two priests they might break the bread of the Lord together. Columba, on going to the altar, discovered his rank, and addressed him thus : ' Christ bless thee, brother : *consecrate* alone as a bishop ; now we know that thou art of episcopal rank. Why hast thou endeavoured to disguise thyself so long, and to prevent our giving thee the honour due to thee ? ' "[3]

On voit que l'expression *frangere panem*, qui est le nœud de la discussion, est rendue la seconde fois dans la traduction par *to consecrate* (*consacrer*), comme si la consécration et la fraction étaient deux rites équivalents. Il est vrai que l'auteur

[1] Adamnan, *Vita Columbæ*, éd. J. T. Fowler, Oxford, 1894, pp. LXXX. *et seq.*

[2] Adamnan, *loc. cit.*, éd. Fowler, pp. 56-7.

[3] Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9. Les deux passages fautifs, sont soulignés. M. Warren a eu tort, en outre, de passer sous silence les mots par lesquels l'évêque invite, à son tour, S. Columba à s'approcher de l'autel.

de *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* prétend, une vingtaine de pages plus haut,[1] qu'une fraction du pain avait lieu à la consécration et était même une partie intégrante de ce rite,[2] et aussi que l'expression *frangere panem* avait le même sens, dans la langue liturgique des Celtes Chrétiens, que la formule *missarum solemnia celebrare;* mais c'est précisément ce qu'il faudrait démontrer. De fraction lors de la consécration, il n'y a nulle trace dans les livres liturgiques de l'église celtique qui nous sont parvenus. M. Warren ne cite qu'un texte à l'appui de son assertion, et ce texte est justement celui d'Adamnan (livre 1er, chap. 44) qui nous occupe actuellement. C'est pécher par pétition de principe et s'enfermer dans un cercle sans issue.

Je n'ignore pas que dans les Actes des Apôtres, chez S. Ignace d'Antioche et dans d'autres documents de l'antiquité chrétienne, la *fractio panis* s'entend de la liturgie eucharistique tout entière;[3] mais jamais dans la *Vita Columbæ*, ni, à ma connaissance, dans aucun autre texte de provenance celtique, l'expression *fractio panis* n'a eu ce sens. Il arrive à Adamnan de parler quatre fois, dans sa *Vie de S. Columba*, de la célébration du saint sacrifice, j'ai recueilli les formules dont il se sert en ces circonstances, ce sont les suivantes:—*Christi corpus conficere* (i. 45, p. 57); *Sacra eucharistiæ mysteria consecrare* (iii. 17, p. 147); *Sacræ oblationis mysteria ministrare*

[1] Warren, p. 109 et n. 2; voir encore p. 96.

[2] La fraction immédiatement avant la consécration, au moment où le prêtre prononce les mots: *il le brisa* (*le pain*), a été usitée dans la liturgie des Jacobites Coptes et dans celle des Jacobites Abyssins (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, t. i., pp. 177 et 232). Mais, vu l'absence de rubriques dans les plus anciens canons des liturgies occidentales, on ne peut affirmer qu'une réelle fraction ait jamais eu lieu, en occident, au mot *fregit*. Tout ce que l'on peut dire, c'est que certains livres liturgiques du XIIIe au XVIe siècle prescrivent à ce moment soit d'entamer un peu l'hostie, soit de faire semblant de la rompre, soit de la presser entre les doigts, soit simplement de la toucher (*cf.* D. Claude de Vert, *Explication des cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1720, t. i., p. 262; J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass* (Henry Bradshaw Society), London, 1904, pp. 259-61).

[3] *Act.*, ii., 42; v., 46. Ignace, *Epist. ad Ephesios*, xx. (P. .G, v., 661-2); *Recognitiones*, *Rufino Aquil. interprete*, vi., 15 (P. G., i., 1356); *cf.* W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, Part I. et II., 2e éd., London, 1876, pp. 9-10.

(i. 40, p. 52); *Sacra eucharistiæ mysteria conficere* (i. 40, p. 52). On ne peut supposer qu'exceptionnellement, dans le seul passage que nous essayons d'interpréter, Adamnan se soit départi de sa façon coutumière de s'exprimer.

Le fait qu'il rapporte se comprend d'ailleurs parfaitement si l'on se contente de donner aux mots leur sens obvie, en reconnaissant qu'il y est question d'une *cofraction* prenant place entre la consécration et la communion, tandis qu'il est beaucoup plus difficile, sinon impossible, de l'expliquer si l'on y voit la description d'un acte de *coconsécration*. Voici comment je comprends Adamnan. Le modeste évêque étranger, hôte d'Iona, ayant été invité par S. Columba à consacrer, le dimanche, le corps du Christ, invita à son tour le saint abbé, au moment de la fraction, à rompre avec lui, comme les us du lieu permettaient à deux prêtres de le faire ensemble, le pain du Seigneur. Columba s'approche de l'autel, regarde l'étranger en face et dit : "Que le Christ vous bénisse, mon frère, rompez seul ce pain, comme il appartient à un évêque, car nous savons maintenant que vous êtes évêque. Pourquoi nous l'avoir caché jusqu'ici ? Assurément pour qu'on ne vous rendît pas l'honneur qui vous est dû ?" Ce qui ressort de ce récit, c'est que, selon l'usage d'Iona, un prêtre pouvait se joindre au célébrant, si celui-ci était simple prêtre, pour rompre avec lui le pain consacré, tandis que, si c'était un évêque qui célébrait, sa dignité exigeait qu'il accomplît seul le rite de la fraction.

Je dis que c'était là l'usage d'Iona. Rien n'autorise à généraliser cette coutume. Aucun monument liturgique ne la mentionne. Cependant M. Warren, non content d'attribuer à l'abbaye d'Iona le prétendu rite de la *coconsécration*, a eu la hardiesse de l'étendre à l'église celtique tout entière, et en ceci même, il s'est fait des partisans. Un historien de l'église d'Irlande, le Rev. Ch. Olden, adoptant presque littéralement sa conclusion, écrit : "A peculiarity of the Irish Church was the custom of joint consecration by two priests." [1]

[1] Ch. Olden, *Church of Ireland*, London, 1895, p. 140 ; Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, n. 2 ; J. Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, pp. 238-9, entrent dans les vues de Warren relativement à Iona sans les discuter, de même le savant auteur du compte rendu de l'ouvrage de Fowler dans l'*Academy* du 12 Octobre 1895, p. 293.

Ce qui semble s'être pratiqué dans l'église celtique, du moins dans les monastères, où plusieurs prêtres se trouvaient réunis, c'est l'usage d'élire l'un d'eux, le plus digne ou un étranger de passage que l'on voulait honorer, pour célébrer le saint sacrifice en la présence de tous les autres prêtres et de toute la communauté, assistant à la liturgie en simples fidèles. C'est ainsi que l'on voit par trois fois les choses se passer dans la *Vie de S. Columba*[1] et une autre fois dans un récit de la *Vie de S. Brendan.*[2] Le moment de la communion venu, les prêtres s'approchant de l'autel, ou bien se communiaient eux-mêmes, ou bien recevaient la communion des mains du célébrant. L'Antiphonaire de Bangor nous a conservé l'hymne que l'on chantait à ce moment, *Ymnum quando commonicarent sacerdotes*, c'est l'hymne bien connue :—

"Sancti venite
Christi corpus sumite"[3]

—vulgarisée en Angleterre par la traduction du Dr J. M. Neale : "Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord."[4] Voilà certes un usage qui ne concorde en aucune manière avec la concélébration imaginée par M. Warren.

Les détails qui nous sont fournis sur les cérémonies de la consécration par quelques pénitentiels et ouvrages liturgiques d'origine celtique rendent encore moins plausible la théorie que nous critiquons. Le pénitentiel de Cumméan inflige une pénitence de cinquante coups au prêtre coupable d'avoir bronché une fois en prononçant l' "oraison du Seigneur" dite *periculosa : Si titubaverit sacerdos super orationem dominicam, quae dicitur periculosa, si una vice quinquaginta plagas . . .*[5] Pour la même faute, le pénitentiel de Bobbio impose un jour de

[1] Adamnan, *Vita Columbæ*, i., 40, 45 ; iii., 17.

[2] "Vita Brendani," cap. xv., dans le *Livre de Kilkenny*, citée par Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual*, 157 n.

[3] *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F. E. Warren (Henry Bradshaw Society), Part II., London, 1895, pp. 10-11.

[4] *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, London, 1904, p. 271.

[5] Cumméan, *De mensura pœnitentiarum*, xiii. (Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländische Kirche*, Halle, 1851, p. 491 ; Migne, P. L., lxxxvii., 997).

pénitence au pain et à l'eau.[1] Quelle est donc cette " périlleuse " oraison dominicale qu'il fallait réciter avec une si impeccable perfection ? Est-ce le *pater ?* On l'a cru, mais à tort.[2] L'oraison en question n'est autre que la prière de la consécration : deux traités gaéliques sur la messe, composés au X^e^ ou au XI^e^ siècle, l'un placé à la suite du *Missel de Stowe*, l'autre inséré dans le *Leabhar Breac*, le prouvent clairement.[3] Le traité de Stowe s'exprime ainsi : " A la prière : *Accepit Jesus panem*, etc., le prêtre s'incline trois fois en signe de repentance. Il offre le calice à Dieu, et le peuple s'agenouille. Que nulle voix ne se fasse entendre alors de peur de le troubler, car il ne faut point que son ésprit soit détourné de Dieu durant cette prière ; c'est pour cela qu'on l'appelle *periculosa oratio*." [4] " Il faut, dit en

[1] Can. xlvii., chez Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. 411 ; Migne, P. L., lxxii., 578.

[2] M. Warren s'est rendu coupable de cette méprise (*op. cit.*, p. 98).

[3] Le traité renfermé dans le même manuscrit que le *Stowe Missal* (Roy. Irish Academy, D. II., 3, fol. 65^b^-67^a^) a été édité avec traduction anglaise par M. Whitley Stokes : 1°, dans *The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal*, Calcutta, 1881 ; 2°, dans la *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, t. xxvi., 1882, pp. 497-519 ; 3°, dans le *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, Cambridge, 1903, t. ii., pp. 252 *et seq.* M. G. F. Warner se propose d'en donner très prochainement une nouvelle édition a la suite du *Missel de Stowe* dans un volume de la Henry Bradshaw Society. Selon M. Wh. Stokes (*Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, loc. cit.*, p. 498 ; *Thesaur. Pal.*, p. 28) cet opuscule n'a pu être écrit avant le X^e^ siècle et la copie de Stowe daterait du XI^e^ ou XII^e^ siècle. Suivant le Rev. MacCarthy, l'opuscule serait contemporain de la seconde main du missel qu'il date du VIII^e^ siècle (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, t. xxvii. ; *Polite literature and antiquities*, t. vii., Dublin, 1877-86, p. 148). La recension du *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 126 ; p. 251 ^a1^ du facsimile), MS. du XIV^e^ siècle, est plus corrompue que la précédente. Une double édition accompagnée d'une traduction anglaise en a été donnée par le Dr Wh. Stokes dans l'ouvrage et le périodique ci-dessus indiqués (N^os^ 1 et 2). E. O'Curry en a traduit quelques passages dans ses *Lectures on the manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 376 *et seq.* Le Rev. Duncan Macgregor a fondu les textes de Stowe et du *Leabhar Breac* dans une traduction unique publiée dans les *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, t. iii., Part XI., 1898, pp. 293-340. On trouvera enfin les deux traités édités par le Dr MacCarthy à la suite de son édition du *Stowe Missal* (*op. cit.*, pp. 245-65).

[4] Wh. Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, t. ii., p. 253.

des termes un peu différents le *Leabhar Breac*, que l'esprit du prêtre ne soit distrait de Dieu en rien, pas même en un *vocabulum* de cette prière . . . c'est pourquoi le nom de cette prière est *periculosa oratio*."[1] Il est même très probable que le mot *periculum* était parfois écrit dans la marge des sacramentaires, en regard des paroles de la consécration, pour avertir le prêtre de l'attention souveraine requise à cet instant solennel. C'est ce que paraît indiquer ce canon du pénitentiel de Gildas: *Si quis errans commotaverit aliquid de verbis sacris ubi periculum adnotatur, triduanum aut tres superpositiones faciat.*[2] Or, si la *coconsécration* avait été couramment usitée dans la liturgie celtique, n'est-il pas étonnant qu'aucun des textes, pourtant si minutieux, que je viens de citer n'ait signalé la particulière chance de trouble qui devait résulter de la coopération de plusieurs prêtres à l'acte et aux prières de la consécration? Le *Pontifical romain* a une rubrique touchant l'énoncé par les nouveaux prêtres concélébrants des paroles sacramentelles: ". . . *ita ut ordinati sacerdotes possint secum* (*pontifice*) *omnia dicere, et praesertim verba consecrationis, quae dici debent eodem momento per ordinatos quo dicuntur per pontificem.*" Rien de pareil ni dans les pénitentiels, ni dans le traité du *Stowe Missal*, ni dans le traité du *Leabhar Breac*. Ajoutons que le premier pénitentiel cité est attribué par son dernier critique, M. Zettinger, à Cuimine,[3] le successeur de S. Columba et le prédécesseur d'Adamnan à Iona, qui y fut abbé de 657 à 669, témoin authentique, par conséquent, des usages liturgiques de ce monastère et dont le silence touchant la *coconsécration* est d'autant plus significatif.

[1] Wh. Stokes, dans la *Zeitsch. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, t. xxvi., p. 513. Dans une monition du *Pontifical romain* l'évêque dit aux nouveaux prêtres, à propos de la célébration de la messe: "Res quam tractaturi estis satis *periculosa* est."

[2] Gildas, *De Penitentia*, xx., chez Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.*, t. i., p. 115. Il n'est pas exact toutefois que le mot *periculum* se trouve dans la marge du *Stowe Missal* avant la consécration, comme le prétend T. F. Fortheringham, "The Offering or the Eucharistic Office of the Celtic Church" (*American Journal of Theology*, t. ix., 1905, p. 316); voir le *Stowe Missal* de G. F. Warner, 1906, en facsimile, fol. 28r.

[3] Zettinger, *Das Poenitentiale Cummeani*, dans *l'Archiv f. kathol. Kirchenrecht*, Dritte Folge, t. vi., 1902, pp. 538 *et seq.*

Laissons maintenant de côté la consécration, et venons-en à l'étude de la fraction. Il semble qu'au X^e siècle, en Irlande, une double fraction ait eu lieu entre la consécration et la communion, la première ayant pour fin le rite de la commixtion, ou mélange de la particule sacrée avec le précieux sang dans le calice, la seconde opérée en vue de la distribution du pain eucharistique aux communiants. L'existence de la première fraction ne requiert pas une preuve laborieuse. C'est la fraction que tout le monde connaît, celle qui dans la liturgie romaine actuelle s'opère après l'oraison *Libera nos*, qui fait suite au *Pater*. Une rubique du *Missel de Stowe* (*isund conbongar in bairgen*, ici le pain est rompu) vise ce rite.[1] Seulement, dans le *Missel de Stowe*, comme d'ailleurs dans la liturgie romaine antérieure à S. Grégoire le Grand et dans la liturgie gallicane, au lieu de suivre le *Pater*, cette fraction le précédait.[2] De plus la commixtion ne s'accomplissait qu'après la récitation du *Pater* et de son embolisme ; elle était accompagnée de la formule suivante : *Commixtio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri ihesu christi sit nobis salus in uitam perpetuam. Amen.*[3] L'hostie était rompue, comme aujourd'hui, en trois parties. Les deux traités gaéliques sur la messe, dont nous avons invoqué le témoignage antérieurement, en font foi ;[4] mais il est à noter que cette fraction, au lieu de se faire, comme maintenant, sur le calice, se faisait sur la patène.[5]

Ces traités nous initient, en outre, à un minutieux symbolisme des rites de la messe,[6] qui ne répond pas toujours aux idées mystiques des auteurs liturgiques continentaux de la même époque :

Les efforts du prêtre pour briser l'hostie figurent les insultes et les soufflets et la capture du Christ.[7]

[1] Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 241.

[2] Duchesne, *Les Origines du Culte chrétien*, pp. 176 *et* 211.

[3] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[4] *Thesaur. Palœohib.*, t. ii., p. 253 ; *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprach.*, loc. cit., p. 513.

[5] La fraction s'est faite durant très longtemps sur la patène (Le Brun, *Explication des prières de la Messe*, t. ii., Liège, 1781, p. 562). Voir le *Micrologue* (P. L., cli., 988).

[6] *Thesaur. Palœohib. ; Zeitsch. f vergl. Sprach.* loc. cit.

[7] *Fractio panis Christi passionem significat* (Alger de Liège, *De Sacrificio Missæ*, P. L., clxxx., 856).

L'hostie sur la patène, c'est la chair du Christ sur l'arbre de la croix.

Le fraction sur la patène, c'est le déchirement par les clous du corps du Christ sur la croix.[1]

La jonction des deux moitiés après la fraction figure l'intégrité du corps du Christ après la Résurrection.

Les deux moitiés plongées dans le calice représentent le ruissellement du sang du Christ sur son corps en croix.[2]

La particule détachée du bas de la moitié de gauche (par rapport au prêtre) rappelle la blessure de la lance à l'aisselle du côté droit, car la face du Christ sur la croix était tournée vers l'ouest, à savoir *contra civitatem*, et la face de Longin était tournée vers l'est; ce qui était sa gauche, à lui, était la droite du Christ.[3]

De la seconde fraction, opérée en vue de la distribution du pain aux communiants, il n'est pas fait mention dans les rubriques, d'ailleurs rares et laconiques, du *Stowe Missal*. Mais le *Traité sur la messe* joint à ce missel s'étend avec complaisance sur les huit façons différentes dont on devait, suivant les fêtes, procéder à l'accomplissement de ce rite.[4] On divisait l'hostie en cinq parties aux messes communes, en sept aux fêtes des saints (confesseurs) et des vierges, en huit aux fêtes des martyrs, en neuf le dimanche, en onze aux fêtes d'apôtres, en douze aux kalendes de janvier et au jeudi saint, en treize le dimanche après Pâques et à la fête de l'Ascension, en soixante-cinq à Pâques, à Noël, et à la Pentecôte. Et le document ne

[1] C'est aussi, ce semble, la doctrine exprimée par S. Germain de Paris (cf. *Orig. du culte chrétien*, p. 209).

[2] Ce rite de l'intinction est à distinguer de la commixtion. On trouve un rite à peu près semblable et un symbolisme identique dans la liturgie syrienne (Renaudot, *Liturgies orientales*, t. ii., 1847, p. 111). La commixtion, d'après les liturgistes du continent, figure la résurrection ; *cf.* Amalaire, *De Eccl. officiis*, iii., 31 (P. L., cv., 1152) ; *Micrologue*, xvi. (P. L., cli., 988).

[3] Comparer avec le *Micrologue*, xvi. : *Cum autem dicit : Per Dominum nostrum, rumpit hostiam ex dextero latere juxta Ordinem ad designandam Dominici lateris percussionem.*—Il faut se souvenir que l'hostie sur la patène représente la chair du Christ sur l'arbre de la croix.

[4] *Thesaurus Palæohib.* pp. 254-5. Ce qui concerne la seconde fraction et la communion est omis dans la recension du *Leabhar Breac*.

manque pas, au surplus, d'appuyer d'une raison mystique le choix de chacun de ces nombres. Ainsi le nombre onze est choisi en mémoire du nombre incomplet des apôtres après le péché de Judas. Enfin il prescrit pour les fêtes de Pâques et de Noël un arrangement compliqué des parcelles sur la patène, figurant, suivant le Dr MacCarthy,[1] une sorte de croix auréolée, dite en anglais *wheel-cross*, dont l'ancien art religieux d'Irlande, de Galles, et d'Ecosse nous offre maints specimens.

A considérer ce luxe de prescriptions rituelles et cette ingéniosité à appliquer un sens mystique aux moindres détails, on estimera, avec Mgr. Duchesne,[2] qu'une certaine dose de superstition s'introduisit de bonne heure dans ce rite de la fraction et s'y maintint longtemps. Le concile de Tours de 567 avait déjà réprimé certains excès de méticulosité en la matière. Il n'est pas surprenant que les Irlandais du moyen âge, qui montrèrent dans les choses de la religion, comme dans les arts et la littérature, un penchant si prononcé à l'étrange, au complexe et au rare, se soient particulièrement complu à ces bizarres raffinements liturgiques.

L'existence de deux fractions distinctes ressort du texte même du traité du *Stowe Missal*. Les cérémonies de la messe sont passées en revue dans cet écrit méthodiquement et selon l'ordre. Chacune des fractions est indiquée à sa place propre, la première comportant, comme nous venons de le voir, une division en trois parcelles, la seconde un nombre variable de parcelles, suivant le degré de la solennité. Il est probable que chacune de ces fractions s'opérait sur une hostie différente, la première sur l'hostie du célébrant, la seconde sur celle reservée aux communiants. Les textes toutefois sont loins d'être clairs sur ce dernier point.[3]

[1] Voir le diagramme dessiné par MacCarthy dans les *Transactions of the Roy. Irish Acad.*, t. xxvii., p. 256, et celui plus détaillé de Macgregor (*Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, t. iii., 1898, p. 325).

[2] *Orig. du culte chrét.*, p. 209.

[3] Fortheringham, *op. cit.*, p. 317, semble penser que les deux fractions du traité de Stowe s'opéraient sur une seule hostie ; mais MacCarthy (cf. *op. cit.*, tableau des pp. 158-9) est d'un avis différent. Une rubrique irlandaise du *Missel de Stowe*, d'ailleurs inexactement traduite par M. Warren (*cf.*, pp. 241, 265 n. 141), ferait croire que, d'après le missel, une hostie spéciale, *the chief* (*?*) *host*, était tout entière con-

La liturgie mozarabe offre un mode de fractionnement qui se rapproche un peu de cet usage irlandais. L'hostie est partagée en neuf parcelles, qui sont disposées en forme de croix, plus deux parcelles placées sous le bras droit de la croix. Chaque parcelle reçoit une destination spéciale et aussi une désignation propre correspondant aux mystères de la vie du Christ.[1] Quelques auteurs ont aussi voulu rapprocher le traité irlandais sur la messe d'un opuscule écrit en 845, à la suite d'une révélation, par un certain Ildefonse, évêque espagnol de siège inconnu.[2] Mais, abstraction faite du caractère suspect de cet écrit,[3] à le considérer d'un peu près, on s'aperçoit qu'il n'offre aucune sorte de parenté avec notre texte. Il y est question, non point d'un nombre variable de parcelles d'une même hostie, suivant les fêtes, mais d'un nombre variable d'hosties. Puis, le nombre des hosties du traité espagnol ne concorde aucunement avec le nombre des parcelles indiqué par le traité irlandais, ni non plus leur arrangement.

Nous n'avons point d'ailleurs à nous demander laquelle de cette double fraction donnait lieu à la cérémonie usitée à Iona que j'ai désignée du nom de *cofraction*. Rien n'indique, en effet,

sommée par le prêtre (*cf.* MacCarthy, p. 170 ; Wh. Stokes, *Thesaurus Palæohib.*, p. 251). D'ailleurs d'après le traité, à Pâques et à Noël, les parcelles résultant de la seconde fraction étant disposées comme on va le voir, le célébrant consommait encore la parcelle occupant le centre, "figure de la poitrine avec ses secrets."

[1] Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrét.*, p. 209 ; Smith and Cheetham, *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. *Fraction*.

[2] Duchesne, dans la *Revue celtique*, t. v., 1881-3, p. 145 ; C. Plummer, "Notes on the Stowe Missal," dans la *Zeitsch. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, t. xxvii., pp. 441 *et seq.* ; J. Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 237. Ce dernier auteur a le tort de confondre cet Ildefonse avec le célèbre évêque de Tolède (657-67).

[3] Voir les doutes de Bona sur la valeur historique de cet ouvrage dans ses *Rer. liturg. libri duo* (t. ii., p. 196). C'est Bona qui le transcrivit pour Mabillon sur le codex 1341 du Vatican. Il date le MS. du XI^{e}, XII^{e}, ou XIII^{e} siècle ; il s'étonne que l'ère d'Espagne n'y soit pas employée pour désigner la date de la prétendue révélation et note la saveur superstitieuse du document. La *Revelatio* d'Ildefonse a été publiée par Mabillon à la suite de sa dissertation *De azymo ac fermentato* (Ouvrages posthumes de Jean Mabillon et de Th. Ruinart, Paris, 1724, t. i., pp. 185-97), et rééditée dans Migne, P. L., cvi., 882.

que les rites dont le traité du *Missel de Stowe* nous a conservé la description aient jamais été observés dans l'île d'Iona. La particularité de la *cofraction* est relatée par un auteur du VII^{e}/VIII^{e} siècle comme ayant été pratiquée au VI^{e} dans le monastère de S. Columba ; le souvenir d'une double fraction et de tous les détails cérémoniels et symboliques qui s'y rattachent s'est perpétué grâce à un document irlandais datant paléographiquement du XI^{e} ou XII^{e} siècle. A une même époque il a existé, nous l'avons vu, dans l'église celtique des usages liturgiques bien différents suivant les lieux (*diversas missas celebrabant*). C'est ce que notre mentalité, habituée à l'uniformité opérée aujourd'hui grâce aux efforts de la congrégation des rites, aurait tendance à oublier. A fortiori les usages se sont-ils considérablement modifiés au cours des siècles. Vouloir étendre à la liturgie celtique tout entière soit la double fraction telle qu'on la constate dans le traité de Stowe, soit la *cofraction* usitée, au temps de S. Columba, à Iona, serait céder à la séduction d'une de ces *sweeping generalizations* que j'ai réprouvées dans le système des partisans de la *coconsécration*. Je me garderai bien, pour ma part, de faire dire aux documents plus qu'ils n'attestent.

Ce n'est que grâce à de prudentes et persévérantes recherches de détail, à de nombreuses comparaisons instituées en tous sens, à l'intérieur de l'église celtique et au dehors, avec les liturgies du reste de la Chrétienté, que l'on arrivera à dégager, peu à peu, les éléments vraiment constitutifs de la liturgie et de la piété des Celtes insulaires et à se faire une idée de moins en moins imparfaite de l'originalité, souvent exagérée, de leur génie religieux.

NOTE SUR LES PLUS ANCIENS AUTELS BRETONS

Par le Rev. H. Leclercq, O.S.B.

Les monuments et les textes nous ont conservé le souvenir de quelques autels bretons anciens. Le plus ancien de tous, s'il n'avait été détruit, se serait retrouvé dans les ruines récemment

fouillées de la petite basilique de Silchester.[1] Cette église, la seule en Angleterre qui puisse être raisonnablement attribuée à l'époque de la domination romaine, se compose d'une nef terminée par une abside semi-circulaire et flanquée de deux bas-côtés. Les fondations seules de l'église subsistent encore; on est donc réduit à des conjectures pour tout ce qui concerne l'aménagement intérieur. Cependant un panneau de mosaïque s'est conservé devant l'abside et nous donne l'emplacement de l'autel. Nous ignorons d'après quels indices ou quels vestiges M. W. H. St. John Hope se croit autorisé à avancer que l'autel de bois primitif fut remplacé par un autel plus solide en pierre ou en marbre. Quoiqu'il en soit, cet autel de pierre a laissé quelques traces de son existence dans les débris du ciment. L'existence d'un autel en bois est possible, voire même vraisemblable; de là à être certaine il y a une mesure que nous ne nous croyons pas autorisés à dédaigner. En Occident, les autels en bois étaient très généralement employés, et nous savons qu'on en fit usage en Afrique, en Gaule, en Angleterre. Au dire de Guillaume de Malmesbury ces autels en bois étaient encore en usage au XI[e] siècle et Wulstan, évêque de Worcester (1062-95) prit l'initiative d'en procurer la destruction dans tout son diocèse.[2] On est en droit de supposer que parmi ces autels en bois il ne s'en trouvait guère qui remontassent aux premiers temps du christianisme dans l'île de Bretagne. Les destructions accomplies par les envahisseurs anglo-saxons ne permettent pas de croire qu'aucune des

[1] Dans le Hampshire. Les fouilles de 1891 et 1892 ont ramené au jour quelques débris aujourd'hui conservés au musée de Reading. *Cf.* G. E. Fox, "Excavations on the site of the Roman city of Silchester, Hants, in 1891, with a Note on the animal remains found during the excavations," dans *The Archæologia*, 1892, t. liii., pp. 263-88, pl. xxi.-xxv.; "Excavations on the site of the Roman city of Silchester, Hants, in 1892," pp. 539-79, pl. xxxvii.-xli.; J. T. Micklethwaite, "Something about Saxon Church building," dans *The Archæological Journal*, 1896, t. liii., pp. 295-319; C. R. Peers, "On Saxon Churches of the S. Pancras type," dans la même revue, 1901, t. lviii., p. 434; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in early England*, in 8°, London, 1903, t. ii., pp. 11-12; H. Leclercq, "Bretagne," dans le *Dictionn. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, 1908, t. ii., col. 1178.

[2] *Altaria lignea jam inde a priscis diebus in Anglia*, Guillaume de Malmesbury, "Vita S. Vulstani," dans *De Gest. Pontif.*, iii., 14.

anciennes églises chrétiennes ait été épargnée et un texte formel de Gildas vient nous en donner la certitude. C'est probablement aux ravages de l'année 473 que se rapporte la description souvent citée: "La main impie des Saxons propage d'une mer à l'autre un vaste incendie . . .; ce n'était plus sur toutes les places publiques qu'un amas de tours arrachées de leurs bases, de quartiers de murs renversés, de saints autels brisés . . ."[1] On remarquera que l'expression employée par Gildas donne lieu de croire que les autels en pierre ou en marbre étaient communs et qu'ils ne furent pas plus épargnés que les autels en bois.

Nous ne possédons aucun récit permettant de tracer les limites de la dévastation exercée par les envahisseurs saxons qui paraît avoir duré deux siècles environ.[2] La "Chronique Saxonne," principal et presque seul guide en cette matière, offre de nombreuses lacunes, d'ailleurs elle ne note que les batailles importantes, les conquêtes définitives, les résultats acquis. En dehors de ces évènements, en dehors de la grande guerre, il y avait les *razzias* terribles des envahisseurs se lançant tout à coup hors des limites de leurs possessions, poussant devant eux les populations affolées de peur et traçant à travers l'île des sillons de feu, de sang, et de ruines, pour rentrer ensuite chargés de butin dans leurs établissements, leurs places fortes, leurs camps retranchés. Dans ces conditions, nulle distinction possible entre les régions occupées, c'est-à-dire dévastées, et les régions épargnées; ces dernières, s'il s'en trouve, ne peuvent se reconnaître par aucun témoignage archéologique. Nous savons cependant que, dans leurs *raids* les plus audacieux, les Saxons ne pénétrèrent pas dans la Cornouaille. Après l'évacuation du pays par les troupes et par l'administration romaine, les indigènes rentrèrent en possession de leur autonomie. C'est à cette circonstance que nous sommes redevables de quelques précieux souvenirs du passé.

En 1835, on découvrit dans la Cornouaille l'oratoire de S. Piran enseveli dans le sable depuis des siècles. Cette découverte ramena l'attention sur l'histoire de l'apostolat de cette contrée. Les indigènes rentrés dans leur pays à

[1] Gildas, *De excidio Britanniæ*, édit. Petrie, c. xxiv.

[2] Les premières grandes razzias auront dû suivre de près le premier grand succès remporté par ces forbans, à Craiford en 457.

mesure que l'armée romaine d'occupation s'en éloignait ramenèrent avec eux le druidisme qui ne cessa, dans les premiers temps, de gagner du terrain ; mais dès le V^e^ siècle des missionnaires irlandais commencèrent à sillonner le pays et le druidisme dut battre en retraite. C'est ce qui explique le fait de la dédicace de la plupart des églises et des oratoires de la Cornouaille à des saints irlandais. Ces édicules sont d'ailleurs on ne peut plus modestes ; on les désigne sous le nom de *stone churches*, qui est le nom qu'on donne en Irlande aux édicules contemporains dus, parfois, aux mêmes missionnaires.

L'oratoire de S. Piran ou Kyeran remonte au V^e^ siècle ; il est situé dans une région de sables mouvants.[1] La découverte excita le plus vif intérêt. L'édifice était demeuré, malgré quelques altérations, dans sa condition primitive. Trois jours après la découverte, la porte s'écroula et le sable sembla menaçer de nouveau la chapelle d'enlèvement. L'autel, les bancs, et les murailles à l'intérieur étaient recouverts d'une sorte de plâtras blanc.[2] Un autre oratoire, dédié à S. Gwythian, fut découvert en 1846. Il renfermait un autel entouré d'un banc de pierre. L'autel lui-même était en pierre, et ses dimensions étaient : en longueur, 1^m^46 ; en largeur, probablement, 0^m^758 ; en hauteur, 0^m^91.[3] Un oratoire dédié à S. Maddern était situé à Penzance ; il fut détruit sous Cromwell ; ce qui subsiste n'est que ruines. Ces divers oratoires offrent entre eux des ressemblances qui invitent à y voir les applications peu variées d'un type plus ancien. L'autel de Maddern et celui de Gwythian avaient la même disposition : nord-sud. Celui de Maddern se composait d'une large dalle de granit mesurant 1^m^52 en longueur, 0^m^75 en largeur, et 0^m^225 d'épaisseur. Il était posé sur un massif en maçonnerie et sa hauteur au-dessus du sol était de 0^m^90 environ. Presque au

[1] À quelques milles au nord-est de Perranporth. *Cf.* W. Haslam, *Perran-Zabuloe, an account of the past and present state of the oratory of S. Piran in the sands*, London, 1844 ; "Ancient oratory of Cornwall," dans *The Archæological Journal*, 1846, t. ii., pp. 228-40 ; H. Leclercq, "Bretagne," dans le *Dictionn. d'arch. chrét.*, t. i., col. 1187-90.

[2] Ce qu'on nomme de nos jours "argile de Chine."

[3] H. Leclercq, *op. cit.*, col. 1189.

centre une cavité était creusée, de forme carrée, mesurant 0m024 en profondeur ; nulle décoration, ni croix, ni moulures.[1] Deux autres oratoires sont situés au nord de S. Maddern, dans la paroisse de Zennor. L'un d'eux présente une grande ressemblance avec l'oratoire de S. Maddern tant pour l'édicule que pour la pierre d'autel, bien qu'elle soit un peu plus petite et mesure 1m35 en longueur, 0m80 en largeur, et 0m175 d'épaisseur. Elle a été déplacée de sa position primitive.

L'émigration d'un grand nombre de clercs et de moines de la Bretagne dans la péninsule armoricaine nous autorise à rechercher dans cette province (si complètement colonisée par les bretons fugitifs qu'elle prit le nom de Petite Bretagne) les traces de monuments qui, dans une certaine mesure, appartiendraient à la Grande Bretagne. Malheureusement cette recherche est vaine. Le monastère fondé par un émigrant irlandais, S. Maudez, dans l'Ile Sauvage, depuis l'Ile Modez, est représenté encore aujourd'hui par une cellule du VI^e^ siècle dans laquelle on voit un autel dont la table est faite d'une dalle de schiste mal dégrossi sans ancun style et portant cinq croix de consécration d'une forme et d'une gravure très ordinaire, peu profonde et assez négligée. Cet autel, absolument insignifiant ne remonte certainement pas au delà du XVI^e^ siècle.[2]

Parmi les émigrants passés de la Grande dans la Petite Bretagne se trouvent deux prêtres appartenant au clergé séculier nommés Lovocat et Catihern. Ces deux personnages s'attirèrent une curieuse mercuriale à eux adressée par Licinius, métropolitain de Tours, Eustochius, évêque d'Angers, et Melaine de Rennes. L'abus qu'on leur signalait n'était pas sans précédent. "Nous avons appris," écrivaient les trois évêques, "par un rapport de Sparatus, que vous ne cessez de colporter dans les cabanes de vos compatriotes cĕrtaines tables sur lesquelles vous célébrez le divin sacrifice de la messe avec l'assistance de femmes aux quelles vous donnez le nom de commensales (*colhospitae*) et qui, pendant que vous distribuez l'eucharistie, administrent au peuple le sang du Christ. C'est là une nouveauté,

[1] H. Leclercq, *op. cit.*, col. 1190., fig. 1645.

[2] A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, t. i., p. 364 ; tandis que Gaultier du Mottay, *Répertoire archéologique des Côtes-du-Nord*, p. 288, fait remonter, bien à tort, cet autel au X^e^ siècle.

une superstition inouïe ; nous sommes profondément contristés de voir reparaître une secte abominable qui n'avait jamais été introduite dans les Gaules;[1] les pères orientaux l'appellent Pepundienne du nom de Pepundius,[2] auteur de ce schisme, qui osa s'associer des femmes dans le ministère de l'autel."[3]

Les tables qu'on colportait dans les cabanes des compatriotes et sur lesquelles on célébrait le sacrifice de la messe étaient des autels portatifs. Le plus ancien autel de ce genre est probablement celui qui fut trouvé avec les ossements de S. Cuthbert († déc. 687), inhumés dans la cathédrale de Durham, et conservé dans la bibliothèque du chapitre de cette église. Cet autel mesure 0^m 16 centimètres en carré ; il est fait de bois recouvert d'une mince feuille d'argent. Sur le bois on peut lire :

IN HONOR . . S PETRV . . . .

✠ ✠

Les quelques lettres encore lisibles sur l'argent n'offrent plus aucun sens.[4] D'après Siméon de Durham on aurait trouvé un autel analogue sur la poitrine de S. Acca, évêque de Hexham († 740) ; cet autel était fait de deux pièces de bois unies par des charnières d'argent, et portait cette inscription : ALME TRINITATI AGIE SOPHIE SANCTAE MARIAE.[5]

C'est encore dans la Cornouaille que nous ramène une dernière pierre d'autel, ornée d'une inscription d'après laquelle nous voyons que cet autel fut offert pour le salut d'une âme : LEVIVT IVSIT HEC ALTARE PRO ANIMA SVA ;[6] monument des VIII^e^ au IX^e^ siècle.

[1] Le concile de Nîmes, tenu en 394, condamne déjà l'immixtion des femmes dans le service de l'autel.

[2] Il faut lire Pépudienne ou Pépuzienne du nom de la ville de Pépuze où cette hérésie fut professée.

[3] L. Duchesne, "Lovocat et Catihern, prêtres bretons des temps de S. Melaine," dans la *Revue de Bretagne et Vendée*, 1885, t. vii., pp. 5-18, A. de la Borderie, *op. cit.*, t. i., pp. 370-2.

[4] J. Raine, *Life of S. Cuthbert*, p. 200 ; Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe* in-4°, Paris, t. i. ; W. Page, *The Victoria History of Durham*, London, 1905, I., p. 255.

[5] Siméon de Durham, *Monument. histor. Brit.*, p. 659 D.

[6] Borlase, *Cornwall*, p. 401, pl. xxxvi., fig. 6 ; Haddan et Stubbs, *Councils* t. i., p. 699 ; Hübner, *Inscript. Christ. Brit.*, 1876, pp. 3, n. 8 ; H. Leclercq, "Ame," dans le *Dictionn. d'archéol. chrét.*, t. i., col. 1514, fig. 359.

Nous ne pousserons pas plus loin cette nomenclature qui, limitée à cette période lointaine, garde un caractère de simplicité et de rudesse auquel le moyen âge substituera bien vite un faste et une complication auxquels beaucoup préféreront la simplicité primitive.

FRAGMENTS INÉDITS D'UNE LITURGIE ÉGYPTIENNE ÉCRITS SUR PAPYRUS.

Par Dom Pierre de Puniet, Bénédictin de Solesmes.

La Providence se plaît souvent à récompenser de leurs efforts les plus humbles travailleurs, en leur fournissant l'occasion d'élargir sur quelque point le domaine des sciences sacrées et de contribuer ainsi pour leur faible part à la glorification de l'Église. Aussi ne surprendrai-je personne ici en croyant voir plus que le simple hasard dans les circonstances qui m'ont permis d'offrir à ce Congrès eucharistique la primeur d'une récente découverte, intéressant l'histoire des rites de la messe.

Le document que je me propose de faire connaître se range parmi les plus anciens témoins de la liturgie et présente des particularités très dignes d'attirer l'attention. Le fait pour moi d'être resté complètement étranger aux recherches patientes qui l'ont tiré de l'oubli me donne d'autant plus de liberté pour en parler et pour en signaler l'importance.

C'est au milieu des ruines d'un très ancien monastère copte, détruit depuis plus de dix siècles, que notre document fut recueilli l'an dernier par les membres de la *British School of Archæology in Egypt*. Sous la direction du Professeur Flinders Petrie, ils s'étaient donné pour mission d'explorer les environs d'Asiout (ou Siout), dans la Haute-Égypte, où ils retrouvèrent l'emplacement de deux maisons religieuses datant de l'âge d'or de la vie monastique en ces contrées. L'une d'elles, Dêr Balyzeh, ou couvent de Balyzeh, conservait encore d'importants

débris de sa bibliothèque, entre autres des fragments du V^e^ siècle, et des inscriptions qui ont permis d'établir en toute sûreté le vocable du monastère, Saint-Apollon, et l'époque à laquelle il dut disparaître, le milieu du VIII^e^ siècle.

Les fragments de papyrus et de parchemin que l'on y recueillit par centaines furent confiés à un savant bien connu pour ses travaux sur la littérature copte, M. Walter E. Crum, qui, au cours d'un minutieux examen, y remarqua "parmi les débris épars de nombreux manuscrits liturgiques, un document écrit sur papyrus en caractères élégants du VII^e^ ou VIII^e^ siècle: il contenait des portions de la prière litanique, de l'action de grâces eucharistique et le Credo, en grec; le texte n'était pas exactement celui des anaphores publiées."[1]

L'importance de ce document nouveau n'avait point échappé à l'attention de M. Crum. Dans une note publiée en janvier 1908 il avait l'occasion d'y revenir, et il désignait le fragment de papyrus comme "le plus ancien manuscrit liturgique" qui témoignât pour l'usage égyptien.[2]

Si sommaires qu'elles fussent, ces indications étaient plus qu'il ne fallait pour exciter une curiosité bien légitime, à laquelle j'avoue n'avoir pas résisté; je dirai même en toute simplicité comment la Providence a permis qu'elle fût satisfaite au delà de mon attente.

A la copie du document qui me fut très aimablement communiquée, se joignit en effet l'invitation pressante à en tirer parti. Bientôt après, l'autorisation qui m'était donnée d'en faire hommage au Congrès de Westminster me décidait à accepter l'offre si généreuse et si désintéressée de M. Crum, à la condition toutefois qu'il me serait permis de

[1] W. E. Crum, dans le chapitre ajouté par lui au livre du Prof. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London, 1907, p. 40: "A papyrus MS., in a fine hand (sixth or seventh century), showing parts of the Intercession, Thanksgiving, and Creed in Greek." M. Crum parlait alors du VI^e^ ou VII^e^ siècle. Il préférerait dire maintenant VII^e^ ou VIII^e^ siècle. *Cf.* ci-après, Appendice I.

[2] Dans le *Journal of Theological Studies*, t. ix., pp. 312-13: "I am inclined to doubt whether the assumption of Coptic as the first liturgical language will bear investigation. . . . The oldest liturgical MS. which I know is a papyrus of the sixth or seventh century (recently brought by Prof. F. Petrie from the ruins of Der Balaizah); but it is in Greek."

dire à qui revient tout le mérite de la transcription et de l'identification du document. Les quelques remarques qui vont suivre et les conjectures proposées pour la restitution du texte constituent seules la part bien minime qu'il me soit donné de revendiquer dans cette communication.

Les fragments dont se compose ce nouveau texte se rapportent tous à la liturgie eucharistique et plus particulièrement à cette partie de la messe que l'on est convenu d'appeler *messe des fidèles*. La messe des catéchumènes qui lui sert d'introduction embrasse les chants et les lectures, jusques et y compris l'homélie qui les suit encore aujourd'hui, et après laquelle, dans l'ancienne discipline, les non-baptisés étaient invités à se retirer. Notre document intéresse donc directement la célébration du mystère eucharistique.

Malheureusement l'extrême fragilité de la matière employée pour sa transcription a fait qu'il ne nous apparaît plus que sous une forme très imparfaite. Du manuscrit primitif il ne reste que trois feuillets séparés, fort endommagés et présentant bien des lacunes;[1] il est de plus difficile, faute d'indications certaines, de les rétablir dans l'ordre primitif. Malgré cet état défectueux, il est aisé d'y reconnaître les traits distinctifs des liturgies alexandrines, différentes comme on sait des groupes byzantin et syrien.[2]

[1] Voir en Appendice, § I., la description détaillée du document.

[2] Les liturgies égyptiennes ou alexandrines comprennent des anaphores rédigées en grec et en copte : celle de *S. Marc*, en grec, représente assez exactement l'ancien ordo d'Alexandrie suivi jusque vers le XII^e^ siècle par les orthodoxes restés fidèles à l'obédience de Constantinople après le schisme monophysite au V^e^ siècle ; elle doit à cette circonstance d'avoir subi quelques influences byzantines ; il faut lui comparer l'anaphore grecque de *Sérapion*, récemment éditée d'après un MS. du XI^e^ siècle, mais rédigée vers l'an 350 ; celle de *S. Cyrille*, encore en usage chez les Coptes, n'est autre que la liturgie de S. Marc traduite en copte ; les Éthiopiens ou Abyssins adoptèrent aussi la liturgie alexandrine et la conservent, traduite en leur langue, sous le nom de *Liturgie des douze apôtres*. Les deux anaphores en grec et copte de S. Basile et de S. Grégoire sont étrangères à ce groupe ; elles ont adopté quelques particularités alexandrines, mais elles semblent bien venir d'ailleurs, de Syrie ou d'Asie Mineure.

I.

[Ce § I., que le lecteur peut omettre sans inconvénient, ne figurait pas dans la communication faite au Congrès.]

Le premier fragment contient précisément des expressions particulières aux textes alexandrins. C'est une portion intéressante, bien que minime, de l'ancienne *προσευχὴ*, ou prière litanique, qui en Égypte comme ailleurs marquait primitivement le début de la messe des fidèles. Dans le rit romain nous ne récitons plus cette prière litanique que le Vendredi saint sous son mode archaïque de formules de souhaits alternant avec des oraisons directement adressées à Dieu. Cette forme ancienne s'est fidèlement conservée dans la liturgie copte de S. Cyrille;[1] c'est elle également que nous révèlent la fin et le commencement des deux oraisons transcrites sur l'un des côtés de notre premier feuillet.[2]

. . . (*εὐδοκῶν "δοῦν)αι τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν (καρδιῶν αὐτῶν),"* *χαρίσηται τὴν ε(ἰρήνην αὐτοῦ), ὁ ὢν "δεσπότης ἅγιος (καὶ ἀληθινὸς),"* *"κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ,"* *"ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν,"* . . . *ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὁ ὤν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* Ἀμήν. . . . (*Δεόμεθά σε*) . . . *δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, (πάσης σαρκὸ)ς ἐπίσκοπε πανάρετε* . . . Ὁ *Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ* (*Κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *ὁ) ποιήσας τὰ (πάντα* . . .

. . . Qui (petentibus) *dat petitiones cordis eorum,* præstet nunc pacem suam qui est *dominator sanctus et verus, Dominus nomen illi, qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit,* qui est *super cælos;* ipsi gloria in sæcula. Amen. . . . (Rogamus te) . . . dominator omnipotens, universæ carnis visitator magnifice, . . . Deus et pater Domini nostri Jesu Christe qui fecisti universa. . . .

[1] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, t. i., pp. 165-74.

[2] Je reproduis en Appendice le texte du document tel qu'il se présente sur les feuillets de papyrus ; je me contente d'en donner ici les passages intelligibles en indiquant entre parenthèses les mots qui ont disparu ; je mets entre guillemets et je souligne dans la traduction latine les citations de l'écriture sainte.

Notons en passant le caractère tout scripturaire de ces deux prières. Les plus anciennes formules eucologiques portent ce signe distinctif : c'est le cas en particulier de la prière eucharistique citée par S. Clément de Rome,[1] et aussi des formules du sacramentaire de Sérapion.[2] Dans les sept premières lignes de notre fragment nous ne relevons pas moins de deux citations textuelles (Psaumes, lxvii., 5, et cxii., 5-6) et trois passages provenant de sources analogues (Psaumes, xxxvi., 4, et lvi., 6 [ou cxii., 4], Apocal., vi., 10). L'expression *πάσης σαρκὸς ἐπίσκοπος, universæ carnis visitator* s'est conservée dans la prière litanique des liturgies alexandrines ;[3] elle rappelle le *pastorem et episcopum animarum vestrarum* de S. Pierre.[4] Il n'est pas jusqu'à la doxologie qui dans sa simplicité ne reproduise celle de la *Prière de Manassé* selon la leçon du *Codex Alexandrinus :*[5] *αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, et c'est également celle qu'emploie constamment la *Didachè*, document du I^er^ siècle fort en faveur dans les églises d'Égypte.[6]

Cet autre fragment se lit sur l'autre côté du même feuillet ; il appartient comme le précédent à la prière litanique.

Σὺ ἡμῶν βοηθὸς, σὺ (ἡμῶν στερέωμα), σὺ ἡμῶν ἡ καταφυγὴ (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως), σὺ ἡμῶν ἀντιλήμπτωρ (κατὰ πάντα), μὴ ἐνκαταλείπης ἀλλὰ (ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς) ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου . . .

[1] *Ep. ad Corinthios*, c. lix-lxi.

[2] Ce caractère scripturaire des antiques formules liturgiques n'est pas spécial à l'Égypte. Il n'est cependant pas hors de propos de rappeler que les moines égyptiens s'opposèrent longtemps à l'adoption dans l'office divin de pièces étrangères à la sainte écriture.

[3] Anaphores de S. Marc, Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 127, et de S. Cyrille, *ibid.*, p. 166.

[4] 1 Pet., ii., 25 : *ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ; cf.* Ps., cv., 4. Sérapion a quelque chose d'analogue *τὸν ἔφορον καὶ κύριον*, c. vii. (xxii.) édit. Funk, *Didascalia*, 1906, t. ii., p. 164. Mais S. Clément de Rome cite l'expression même, *παντὸς πνεύματος ἐπίσκοπον*, ainsi que le qualificatif *πανάρετον* appliqué à Dieu : *Ep. ad Corinth.*, c. lx., édit. Funk, *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, Tubingæ, 1887, p. 138.

[5] H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1899, t. iii., p. 826.

[6] F.-X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905, t. i., p. 410-14 ; *cf.* aussi la conclusion de la "Prière de Manassé," dans les *Constitutions apostoliques*, II., xxii., *ibid.*, p. 89.

Tu es *adjutor noster*, tu (*fortitudo nostra*), tu *refugium nostrum* (*in die tribulationis*), tu *susceptor noster* (in omnibus), ne derelinquas nos *sed libera nos* ab omni periculo. . . .

Il emprunte également aux psaumes la plupart de ses éléments (Ps., xvii., 3 ; xxvi., 9 ; lviii., 17), et rappelle d'autre part la fin de la prière litanique selon la liturgie grecque de S. Marc,[1] et surtout la formule correspondante de S. Clément de Rome,[2] nouvel indice de l'affinitié primitive des rites romain et alexandrin.

La brièveté de ces fragments nous laisse indécis sur la place qu'ils occupaient dans la liturgie de la messe. Dès avant le VII[e] siècle la prière litanique des liturgies alexandrines fut transportée au beau milieu de l'anaphore entre le *Sursum corda* et le *Sanctus* ;[3] sa place primitive était au début de la messe des fidèles. Je ne saurais dire si dans notre texte la modification existait déjà. Si la restitution *præstet pacem suam* est exacte, il semblerait que nous ayons affaire à la fin de la prière litanique qui précédait le baiser de paix[4] et par conséquent l'anaphore.

Un second fragment arraché au même manuscrit n'a conservé que les six dernières lignes d'un feuillet recto et verso, juste assez cependant pour contenir la formule du symbole et la fin d'une oraison qui se récitait soit avant soit après cette formule.

[1] Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[2] *Ep. ad Corinth.*, c. lx, édit. Funk, *loc. cit.* : elle a des termes identiques et surtout une construction de phrases absolument semblable.

[3] Cette disposition est attestée par une lettre de Jacques d'Édesse, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 493, lig. 8-11 ; mais Sérapion au IV[e] siècle suit encore l'ancien système : sa prière précède l'anaphore. La litanie romaine a dû subir une modification analogue à celle des liturgies alexandrines ; car il me paraît à peine douteux que le *pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica quam pacificare et coadunare digneris toto orbe terrarum* . . . de notre *Te igitur* ne soit un reste de l'ancienne litanie qui débute encore ainsi au Vendredi saint : *Oremus* . . . *pro Ecclesia sancta Dei ut eam Deus et Dominus noster pacificare, adunare et custodire dignetur toto orbe terrarum.*

[4] Origène, *In ep. ad Rom.*, x., 33 : *Mos ecclesiis traditus est ut post orationes osculo se invicem suscipiant fratres.* P. G., t. xiv., col. 1282-83.

. . . ὁμολόγει τὴν πίστιν. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

. . . fidem confitetur: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in unigenitum Filium ejus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et in Spiritum sanctum et in carnis resurrectionem et sanctam catholicam ecclesiam.

On reconnaît aisément dans cette courte formule un résumé de notre symbole des apôtres. Mais ce n'est pas un résumé quelconque: c'est l'antique symbole des églises égyptiennes qui reparaît *pour la première fois* dans sa rédaction originale; car on ne le possédait jusqu'ici qu'en des traductions coptes et éthiopiennes. On ne peut en effet douter qu'il ait été primitivement écrit en grec comme la plupart des formules liturgiques coptes; jusque dans son adaptation copte il a conservé, comme il arrive souvent, plusieurs termes grecs que nous retrouvons dans notre texte.

Le voici tel qu'il se récite encore actuellement à l'office du baptême dans l'Église copte:

Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem (*παντοκράτωρ*) et in unigenitum (*μονογενής*) Filium ejus Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum et in Spiritum (*πνεῦμα*) sanctum et vivificantem, in carnis resurrectionem, et in ejus ecclesiam unam, catholicam (*καθολική*) apostolicam (*ἀποστολική*) et sanctam. Amen.[1]

[1] J. Al. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ*, Romæ, 1749, t. ii., p. 159. Il est curieux de rapprocher de notre texte grec l'essai de restitution du symbole copte en sa langue originale, proposé par M. F. Kattenbusch: Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ (τὸν) μονογενῆ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ζωοποιοῦν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς μίαν μόνην καθολικὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν. (*Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894, t. i., p. 333, n. 12). L'ordo éthiopien a le même symbole avec quelques additions (Traduction de Tesfa-Sion, dans la *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, Lugduni, 1677, t. xxvii., p. 636-7; en grec dans Kattenbusch, *op. cit.*, t. i., p. 330, note). Mais il se trouve beaucoup plus pur dans l'ordo ajouté aux *Canons apostoliques* éthiopiens, récemment traduits par G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, London, 1904, p. 173: voici son symbole retraduit en grec par Ed. von der Goltz,

Dans leur simplicité ces formules de foi nous reportent aux temps primitifs, à une époque où les hérésies n'avaient pas encore nécessité les précisions apportées depuis à l'expression officielle de la foi chrétienne. Cette caractéristique fait mieux ressortir leur étroite parenté avec le symbole romain des apôtres, tandis qu'elle les distingue nettement des formules de Nicée et de Constantinople. Notre nouveau texte est à ce point de vue plus archaïque, partant plus authentique, que les rédactions coptes et éthiopiennes où se trahissent quelques influences étrangères. Ainsi dit-il simplement *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem*, comme le symbole romain; il se différencie de la sorte des autres symboles orientaux qui insistent sur *l'unité* de Dieu.[1] L'addition *vivificantem* au troisième article *et in Spiritum sanctum* qui se trouve dans le copte est également étrangère au symbole romain et à notre texte.[2] Nouvel accord enfin entre ces deux derniers sur le *carnis resurrectionem* que ne formule pas le symbole de Nicée.[3]

"Die Taufgebete Hippolyts und andere Taufgebete der alten Kirche," dans la *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* de Gotha, 1906, t. xxvii., 1, p. 38 : Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν συναγωγὴν μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Dans la rédaction copte des mêmes canons, le texte du symbole a subi un plus grand nombre d'interpolations : Bunsen en a donné la traduction grecque, *Analecta ante-nicæna*, Londini, 1854, t. iii., p. 91, d'après Paul de Lagarde, *ibid.*, t. ii., p. 467.

[1] *Cf.* Rufin, *Commentar. in Symbol. apostol.*, 4, P. L., t. xxi., col. 341 : *Orientales ecclesiæ omnes pene ita tradunt : Credo in uno Deo Patre . . . et in uno Domino . . .*, tandis qu'à Rome on lisait *Credo in Deum.* L'addition de *unum* ou *uno* se répandit sans doute grâce à l'influence du symbole de Nicée ; *cf.* Funk, "Die Symbolstücke in der ægypt. Kirchenordnung," dans ses *Kirchlich. Abhandlungen*, Paderborn, 1907, t. iii., p. 82-3.

[2] Le concile de Constantinople est le premier qui ait adopté l'expression : Funk, *ibid.*, p. 72 ; Kattenbusch, *D. Apost. Symbol.*, t. ii., p. 337, n. 4. Le texte grec-copte pour l'ordination du patriarche d'Alexandrie l'ignore encore : édit. E. Renaudot, *Liturg. orient. coll.*, Paris, 1716, t. i., p. 490.

[3] Le symbole de Constantinople lit *resurrectionem mortuorum.* Le *carnis resurrectionem* est au contraire dans la tradition alexandrine. S. Cyrille le cite dans les mêmes termes que notre fragment : ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν πίστιν, προσεπάγομεν ὅτι πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν (Lettre aux moines de Phua, conservée par Justinien dans son *Liber adv. Origenem*,

Mais là ne se borne pas l'intérêt de notre ancienne confession de foi alexandrine. Nulle part en effet elle n'occupe la place que lui attribue notre document. Elle ne figurait jusqu'ici que dans le rituel baptismal. Son emploi dans la liturgie de la messe est une vraie nouveauté; partout ailleurs ce rôle appartient au symbole de Nicée-Constantinople.[1] La coutume de le réciter à la messe prit naissance à Antioche chez les monophysites du V^e^ siècle,[2] et c'est également un patriarche monophysite, Timothée (†517), qui l'introduisit à Constantinople.[3] Depuis le troisième concile de Tolède de 589 qui adopta ce même usage, l'Occident n'a pas varié dans son emploi du symbole de Nicée-Constantinople. On ne sait à quelle époque l'Égypte se conforma sur ce point à la pratique des autres églises; les liturgies alexandrines connues jusqu'à présent ne laissaient pas soupçonner autre chose que la formule de Nicée-Constantinople; notre nouveau fragment donne lieu de croire que certaines églises consacrèrent à cet usage leur symbole traditionnel.

Le même feuillet nous a transmis la fin d'une oraison où sont mentionnés les fruits de la communion:

. . . (χάρις) τῆς δωρεᾶς σου εἰς δύναμιν πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰς βεβαίωσιν καὶ προσθήκην πίστεως, εἰς ἐλπίδα τῆς μελλούσης αἰωνίου ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι τῷ Πατρί ἡ δόξα σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

. . . (gratia) doni tui (fiat) in virtutem spiritus sancti, in confirmationem et augmentum fidei, in spem futuræ vitæ

P. G., t. lxxxvi., col. 967D). Ces remarques confirment les conclusions de Kattenbusch qui reconnaît que l'Église d'Égypte a connu à l'origine un symbole analogue au symbole des apôtres et indépendant des formules de Nicée et de Constantinople (Kattenbusch, *op. cit.*, t. ii., pp. 243-8; pp. 732-6). Notons enfin que l'interversion *carnis resurrectionem, et sanctam ecclesiam* est propre aux formules égyptiennes.

[1] C. H. Turner, *The History and the Use of the Creeds in the early centuries of the Church*, London, 1906, p. 50: "No trace can be found in any of the Greek liturgies (les liturgies de la messe) of another creed than that of Constantinople."

[2] Théodore le Lecteur, *Hist. eccl.*, l. ii., fragm. 48, P. G., t. lxxxvi., col. 298-9.

[3] *Ibid.*, fragm. 32, *ibid.*, col. 201.

æternæ, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum per quem tibi Patri gloria cum sancto Spiritu in sæcula. Amen.

Cette finale appartenait sans doute à la prière de l'offrande εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως, dont la place naturelle, au moins dans les anciens rites, est à la suite du *Credo*. C'est à cet endroit qu'on la trouve encore dans la liturgie grecque de S. Marc,[1] tandis que la liturgie copte a transporté les cérémonies de l'offertoire au début même de la messe des catéchumènes suivant l'usage byzantin.[2]

A moins que ce ne soit une fin d'épiclèse ou de quelque formule analogue servant de conclusion à l'anaphore. La caractéristique de ces formules est précisément l'énumération des effets ordinaires de la communion: *in repletionem Spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei*,[3] *ad sanctificationem et plenitudinem Spiritus sancti et ad roborationem fidei*,[4] εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.[5] Ce sont, on le voit, presque les mêmes expressions que dans notre fragment, et elles sont empruntées à des documents égyptiens!

Mais comment expliquer la présence, à la fin de l'anaphore, du symbole qui accompagne ce fragment? Peut-être est-ce un écho de la prescription de l'empereur de Constantinople, Justin le jeune (566), relatée par le chroniqueur espagnol, Jean de Biclar:[6] le symbole devait désormais se chanter partout à la liturgie de la messe avant l'oraison dominicale. C'est exactement l'ancien usage espagnol; mais il n'y en a pas trace dans les rites orientaux:[7] je n'oserais affirmer que notre

[1] Brightman, *Liturgies*, t. i., p. 124: on y demande que la communion soit εἰς ἀνακαινισμὸν τῶν ἡμετερῶν ψυχῶν.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5.

[3] *Constitution égyptienne*, ancienne traduction latine publiée par E. Hauler, *Didascaliæ apostolorum fragmenta* . . . Lipsiæ, 1900, p. 107.

[4] Même document, rédaction éthiopienne, dans C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878, pp. 235, 258; Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 233.

[5] Sacramentaire de Sérapion, dans Funk, *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1906, t. ii., p. 176.

[6] *Chronicon*, P L., t. lxxii., col. 863.

[7] Brightman, *Liturgies* . . ., p. 532, n. 10: "John Biclaren. was in Constantinople at the time, and his evidence ought to be good; but there is no other trace of such a position for the creed in an eastern rite."

fragment fasse exception, et qu'il corrobore d'une façon inattendue le témoignage du chroniqueur; la chose est possible cependant.[1]

II.

Sans insister davantage sur les deux premiers fragments, je me hâte d'arriver au troisième, de beaucoup le plus important et, grâce à Dieu, le plus complet de tous. Il occupe une page entière, recto et verso, reconstituée par M. Crum à l'aide de six fragments différents. Avec ce texte nous sommes d'un coup transportés au centre même de la liturgie, je veux dire à la consécration, qui nous apparaît là très complète avec les paroles préparatoires depuis le *Sanctus* trois fois répété, et les premiers mots de la prière qui lui fait suite. Le début de l'anaphore fait défaut ainsi que la prière d'action de grâces qu'elle contient toujours dans les anciennes liturgies. Mais la finale qui nous est conservée suffit pour nous donner la certitude que notre fragment appartient bien au groupe des liturgies alexandrines.

C'est le moment où la louange de la terre s'en va rejoindre le concert angélique pour s'unir à lui dans le chant du *Sanctus* adressé à la Sainte Trinité.

(" Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες" ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων· σοὶ παραστήκουσιν κύκλῳ τὰ "σεραφὶμ, ἓξ πτέρυγες) τῷ ἑνί, καὶ ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνί, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ ἐπέταντο." Πάντα δὲ πάντοτέ σε ἁγιάζει. Ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν λεγόντων σοί· "Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης" ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ "ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου."

[1] Il se peut aussi que nous ayons affaire là à un débri d'une ancienne liturgie baptismale: la finale de l'oraison a quelque analogie avec des formules qui suivent la confession de foi ou récitation du symbole dans le rituel copte du baptême: *Confirma servos stabiliens super fundamentum fidei . . . imple illos virtute Spiritus tui* (Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, t. i., p. 216; rédaction éthiopienne, *ibid.*, p. 224, et surtout dans G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, p. 174). Mais il faut reconnaître que notre fragment s'entend beaucoup mieux des effets de la communion.

(*Tibi assistunt mille milia et dena milia denum milium* sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum; tibi assistunt *seraphim, sex alæ*)[1] *uni et sex alæ alteri, duabus alis velabant faciem, et duabus pedes, et duabus volabant.* Omnes autem semper te sanctificant. Sed et cum omnibus te sanctificantibus accipe et sanctificationem nostram dicentium tibi: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Sabaoth plenum est* cælum et *terra gloria tua.*

Le texte d'Isaïe, vi., 2-3, s'est ici conservé plus exactement que dans les autres liturgies égyptiennes.[2] Comme la plus ancienne, celle de Sérapion,[3] notre anaphore se borne à l'addition ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ . . . (*plenum est cœlum*), tandis que les liturgies de S. Marc et S. Cyrille disent, avec le Cantique des trois enfants, *plenum est cœlum et terra* sancta *gloria tua,* τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.[4] L'absence du *Benedictus qui venit. . . Hosanna,* est caractéristique du rit alexandrin. Une autre particularité très notable de ce rit se révèle dans la transition du *Sanctus* au récit de l'institution. Les autres anaphores orientales, comme du reste les anciennes liturgies gallicanes dans leurs *Vere sanctus,* prennent occasion du terme *Sanctus* pour célébrer le sainteté de Dieu. C'est au contraire la phrase *plenum est cœlum et terra gloria tua* que les liturgies alexandrines s'appliquent à développer (Voir Appendice II.). Elles le font du reste très brièvement, comme dans notre texte où la simple phrase πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς παρὰ σοὶ δόξης, *adimple et nos gloria quæ est apud te,* sert à introduire les paroles de l'institution.

[1] Ce début est suppléé d'après les textes parallèles de Sérapion et de S. Marc.

[2] Les mots ἐξ πτέρυγες . . . ne sont ni dans Sérapion, ni dans S. Marc, mais seulement dans l'anaphore grecque de S. Grégoire, Renaudot, *Liturg. orient. coll.*, t. i., p. 100. Notre fragment a conservé l'imparfait comme dans le texte sacré. Καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν τοὺς πόδας est la leçon des MSS. égyptiens, *cod. Alexandrinus* et *cod. Marchalianus*, contre le *Vaticanus*, qui porte ταῖς δὲ δυσί. H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1899, t. iii., p. 111. *Cf.* S. Cyrille d'Al., *In Ioa.*, I. x., P. G., t. lxxiii., col. 177.

[3] Et comme S. Cyrille d'Al. dans son commentaire *In epist. I. ad Corinth.*, I. 18. P. G., t. lxxiv., col. 920 D.

[4] Daniel, iii., 53.

C'est une distinction qu'on a peu remarquée.[1] Encore moins a-t-on noté l'importance incontestable qu'elle a pour la question si débattue de *l'épiclèse*, question toujours actuelle puisqu'elle tient encore séparée de nous la majeure partie de l'Orient orthodoxe. C'est là le point spécial sur lequel je voudrais attirer l'attention. Qu'il puisse résoudre définitivement le problème, je n'ose le prétendre. Et qui pourrait donc se flatter de terminer d'un mot un litige pour la solution duquel liturgistes et théologiens ont depuis des siècles dépensé le meilleur de leur talent? Nous n'avons plus à reprendre leurs explications: les confirmer et les préciser, c'est tout ce qu'on peut attendre des découvertes que l'avenir nous tient peut-être en réserve. Puissent-elles arriver à limiter le terrain de la discussion et hâter ainsi le moment où l'entente se fera aussi complète que possible.

Un simple mot nous rappellera l'objet de la controverse.

Les liturgies d'Orient et d'Occident reproduisent toutes, bien qu'en des termes un peu divers, les paroles prononcées par Notre-Seigneur au moment où il institua l'Eucharistie. Sur ce point essentiel l'accord est parfait; il n'en peut être autrement, puisque identique est l'action mystérieuse qui s'accomplit en tout lieu. Ces paroles sont à juste titre considérées par la tradition comme la formule authentique de la consécration eucharistique; car elles opèrent à la façon des formules sacramentelles et produisent réellement ce qu'elles énoncent, comme au jour même où le Seigneur les proféra pour la première fois. Rien d'autre part, dans le *Canon de la messe romaine*, ne survient après elles qui donne à croire qu'elles aient laissé quelque chose d'inachevé dans la consécration. Elles ont rendu présente la victime du sacrifice, victime immolée déjà et offerte à Dieu comme au Calvaire. Dès ce moment donc l'action est complète. Si dans les prières qui suivent, l'Église détaille, sous forme d'oblation et de demande d'acceptation, ce qui s'est accompli dans la consécration, c'est pour rendre l'acte plus sensible. Elle le fait du reste d'une façon admirable; rien n'y vient interrompre le développement logique de la pensée.

[1] *Cf.* cependant, Dr Paul Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe*, Tübingen, 1902, p. 13; F.-X. Funk, *Didascalia. . . .* Paderborn, 1906, t. ii., p. 174, notes 10-11.

Il semble qu'il en aille tout différemment pour les *liturgies orientales.* Car à l'endroit où l'on s'attendrait à voir, comme chez nous, les prières de la consécration et de l'oblation s'achever en une demande adressée à Dieu d'agréer la victime du sacrifice, que nous offrent-elles? Une invocation où l'on supplie le Seigneur d'envoyer son Esprit sur les éléments du pain et du vin pour les transformer au corps et au sang du Christ. Qu'on en juge par cet exemple emprunté à l'antique liturgie de Jérusalem; aussi bien, vaut-il pour tous les rites orientaux.

Emitte Domine super nos et super hæc dona Spiritum tuum sanctum . . . ut præsentia sua sanctificet et faciat hunc panem corpus sanctum Christi et calicem sanguinem ejus venerandum.[1]

Ces formules d'épiclèse, où nous avons la joie de saluer en passant une éclatante manifestation de la foi des églises orientales au mystère de la transsubstantiation,—ces formules, dis-je, ne laissent point que de surprendre, non pas tant à cause de la prière qu'elles contiennent, qu'en raison du *moment* où elles la prononcent. La doctrine qu'elles expriment, de la participation de l'Esprit-Saint au mystère de la transsubstantiation, ne fait en effet aucune difficulté; elle est traditionnelle,[2] et se rattache à l'opinion, commune à l'Orient et à l'Occident, qui attribue à la troisième personne de la Sainte Trinité le ministère spécial de la sanctification.

Le fait de prier pour obtenir l'assistance divine, en vue d'une œuvre dont l'accomplissement est assuré d'avance, ne saurait non plus étonner. Rien n'est plus fréquent dans les rites sacramentels; et notre Canon romain possède une prière de tout point analogue, quoique l'intervention de l'Esprit-Saint n'y soit pas mentionnée,—le *Quam oblationem,*—où l'on demande à Dieu de transformer les éléments du sacrifice. Mais cette

[1] *Liturgie grecque de S. Jacques*, Brightman, p. 54; cf. *Lit. de S. Marc*, ci-après Appendice II.

[2] Lire à ce sujet un intéressant travail de M. S. Salaville, "L'épiclèse d'après S. Jean Chrysostome et la tradition occidentale," dans les *Échos d'Orient*, t. xi., mars 1908, pp. 101-12.

prière précède immédiatement la consécration, ce qui est parfaitement naturel; tandis que, dans les rites orientaux, l'épiclèse ne vient qu'après les paroles de l'institution et la grande oblation, c'est-à-dire à un moment où logiquement il ne devrait plus être question de sanctification de la victime déjà offerte en sacrifice.

Nous touchons ici au point délicat qui a surpris et même scandalisé les théologiens du moyen âge, comme paraissant dénier aux paroles de l'institution leur valeur consécratrice. De fait bon nombre d'Orientaux n'ont que trop justifié ces craintes par l'importance exagérée qu'ils ont donnée à leur épiclèse.

Lorsque la difficulté fut soulevée au concile de Florence de 1439, les Latins purent se rendre compte de la thèse généralement admise par les Grecs; elle fut déclarée inacceptable et les membres de l'assemblée consentirent à y renoncer pour le bien de la paix et de l'union. Mais l'abandon ne fut que passager. On n'en continua pas moins chez les Grecs à penser que le mystère eucharistique n'est complet qu'après l'épiclèse; on ne croyait pas pour autant enlever aux paroles du Sauveur leur pouvoir sanctificateur, elles participaient à la consécration mais ne suffisaient pas à la parachever.

On est malheureusement allé plus loin; peu à peu on s'est habitué à réserver à l'épiclèse toute la valeur consécratoire et à n'attribuer plus aux paroles de l'institution que le rôle de simple mémorial. C'est la théorie que les Byzantins tendent à imposer à l'Église orthodoxe, en dépit du témoignage formel de l'ancienne tradition grecque. Certains exemplaires officiels de leur Eucologe ne vont-ils pas jusqu'à prescrire la récitation des paroles de la consécration au sens purement narratif et historique?[1] Innovation injustifiable au strict point de vue scientifique, innovation sacrilège, qui ne va à rien moins qu'à exposer la validité même de la consécration!

Les anciens n'avaient évidemment pu prévoir que leur

[1] Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Venise, 1898, p. 63, note: ἐνταῦθα τὰ Δεσποτικὰ ἐκεῖνα λόγια ἐπαναλαμβάνονται διηγηματικῶς. Le R. P. Sophrone Pétridès, prêtre du rite grec uni, m'assure que les éditions récentes d'Athènes et de Constantinople ne contiennent plus cette rubrique; mais les Grecs continuent à enseigner la doctrine qu'elle implique.

façon de concevoir la prière eucharistique donnerait lieu à de si funestes excès. Leur excuse est dans le désir qu'ils eurent de replacer la célébration de l'Eucharistie dans son cadre réel et de rappeler à son sujet toute l'économie dont elle était le résumé. Ainsi la prière eucharistique prit-elle de bonne heure la forme d'une action de grâces où les grands événements du mystère de la rédemption étaient relatés selon l'ordre chronologique. Le récit de l'institution y venait à son rang, intimement uni à la mention du sacrifice de la croix; puis les mystères de la résurrection et de l'ascension; et enfin, à l'endroit précis où le miracle de la Pentecôte devait trouver sa place, la mission de l'Esprit-saint. Mais ce développement suivi ne nuisait en rien à l'unité de l'action du sacrifice, et peu importait qu'une prière en vue de son accomplissement fût énoncée en un moment où, de l'aveu même des Pères, le mystère eucharistique était déjà consommé.[1]

L'argument que les Grecs tiraient de la place de l'épiclèse dans leurs liturgies et dont ils n'ont pas cessé de se prévaloir contre Rome, n'était donc déjà pas sans réplique. Mais notre document vient aujourd'hui nous révéler un nouvel aspect de la question. L'unanimité prétendue des liturgies orientales qu'on nous opposait n'a pas toujours existé en réalité. Témoin ce fragment inédit de liturgie alexandrine qui faite suite au passage déjà cité:

Πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς παρὰ σοὶ δόξης καὶ καταξίωσον καταπέμψαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς (διαθήκης. Ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν) τοῖς μαθηταῖς (αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστό)λοις εἰπών(· Λάβετε

[1] Il faut remarquer que ce n'est pas la demande de consécration *placée après la consécration* qui a induit en erreur S. Jean Damascène, le premier qui ait adopté l'opinion réprouvée au concile de Florence; c'est la présence dans l'épiclèse de S. Basile du terme *antitype*, qui selon lui ne pouvait s'appliquer à l'Eucharistie déjà consacrée. On sait à présent que les anciens ne faisaient pas difficulté d'appeler ainsi le vrai corps du Christ. *Cf.* R. P. Jugie, "L'Épiclèse et le mot antitype," dans les *Échos d'Orient*, 1906, t. ix., pp. 193-8.

φάγετε πάντες) ἐξ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁμοίως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐλογήσας καὶ πιὼν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰπών· Λάβετε πίετε πάντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν). Ὅσακις ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε. Τὸν θάνατόν σου καταγγέλλομεν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δεόμεθα. . . .

Reple et nos gloria tua quæ apud te est, et mittere dignare Spiritum sanctum tuum in has creaturas et fac panem quidem corpus Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, calicem autem sanguinem Novi (Testamenti. Quia ipse *Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem eumque benedicens fregit deditque*) *discipulis* (*suis* et apostolis) *dicens,* (*Accipite, manducate* omnes) *ex eo: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur* in remissionem peccatorum. *Similiter postquam cenavit accipiens calicem benedixit,* et bibit, *et dedit eis dicens: Accipite, bibite ex eo omnes: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.* [*Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.*] *Quotiescumque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem illum bibetis, mortem meam annuntiate* et resurrectionem meam confitemini. Mortem tuam annuntiamus et resurrectionem tuam confitemur et deprecamur. . . .

La suite du document fait défaut; mais c'est le passage le plus important qui nous a été conservé, et c'est lui qui doit fixer toute notre attention. Sans donc nous attarder aux particularités textuelles[1] que présentent ici les paroles

[1] Voir le texte en Appendice. Les parenthèses indiquent ici les passages suppléés. La formule d'introduction a presque complètement disparu. J'ai suivi pour sa reconstitution le texte de Sérapion plus concis que celui de S. Marc où sont mentionnés avec détails les gestes du Seigneur : c'est ce qu'autorisent les paroles qui conduisent ici à la seconde consécration ; elles sont plus sobres de détails que dans les documents moins anciens, (Λάβετε φάγετε πάντες) ἐξ αὐτοῦ est réclamé par la longueur de la lacune et par la seconde formule Λάβετε πίετε πάντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Toutes les liturgies en langue *copte* (Renaudot, *Liturg. orient. coll.*, t. i., pp. 15, 30, 46 ; Brightman, *Liturgies . . .*, p. 177) ont comme ici

solennelles de l'institution,—elles concordent dans leur concision avec le plus ancien texte alexandrin qui soit connu, le sacramentaire de Sérapion,—nous noterons l'intérêt très nouveau qui s'attache aux paroles qui précèdent notre formule de consécration. A peine est-il besoin de les reprendre, tant elles ont dû frapper par leur admirable netteté: MITTERE DIGNARE SPIRITUM TUUM SANCTUM IN HAS CREATURAS ET FAC PANEM QUIDEM CORPUS DOMINI . . ., CALICEM AUTEM SANGUINEM NOVI TESTAMENTI.[1] Nous n'irons pas chercher bien loin l'identification de ces paroles; car il n'y a pas deux formules comme

et comme dans le rit romain, *Accipite, manducate ex eo omnes;* la liturgie de S. Marc et Sérapion se contentent des deux mots de S. Matthieu, xxvi., 26, Λάβετε φάγετε (Brightman, *op. cit.*, p 132; Funk, *Didascalia*, t. ii., p. 174).—Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα reproduit S. Luc, xxii., 19, avec l'inversion τοῦτό μου de S. Paul, 1 Cor., xi., 24, et l'addition εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν empruntée à la seconde consécration. S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie cite cette parole exactement sous la même forme à propos de la liturgie de la messe (*Comm. in Joannem*, lib. xii., in xx., 26, P. G., t. lxxiv., col. 725D).—La seconde consécration tire son texte de S. Matthieu, xxvi., 27, et de S. Luc, xxii., 20, moins le τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης qu'ont généralement les liturgies; Sérapion se rapproche d'une certaine façon de notre texte: τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, ὅ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων.—Le participe présent ἐκχυννόμενον, *effunditur*, comme le διδόμενον, *datur*, est d'accord avec le texte évangélique et S. Paul. Je ne sais pourquoi les textes liturgiques, aussi bien en Occident qu'en Orient, ont adopté le futur, ἐκχυνόμενον, *effundetur:* dans les deux langues la différence graphique est bien minime.—L'addition καὶ πιών, *cumque bibisset*, étrangère au texte inspiré, nous ramène à une tradition orientale fort ancienne que les théologiens ont recueillie. S. Irénée la connaissait déjà: (*Dominus*) *ad passionem veniens . . . cum gratias egisset, tenens calicem*, ET BIBISSET AB EO *et dedisset discipulis, dicebat eis, Bibite ex eo omnes* (*Adv. Hæres.*, l. v., c. xxxiii., P. G., t. vii., col. 1212). La même idée est exprimée dans les trois liturgies en langue copte (*cf.* Renaudot, *Liturg. orient. coll.*, t. i., pp. 236-7).—Les paroles qui suivent la seconde consécration sont celles que relate S. Paul, 1 Cor., xi., 26. Elles se trouvent dans toutes les anaphores égyptiennes (sauf celle de Sérapion), avec l'addition non scripturaire relative à la résurrection. Notre texte porte: τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, où il faut lire ἀνάστασιν comme à la reprise qui vient immédiatement après. Ce lapsus prouve que le copiste a dû oublier par mégarde le τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν qui se trouve partout (sauf encore dans Sérapion).

[1] Le texte en est absolument sûr, ainsi qu'on peut le voir en Appendice.

celle-là dans les liturgies alexandrines. Ce n'est autre chose que l'épiclèse avec son trait final caractéristique des anaphores égyptiennes,[1] mais *l'épiclèse avant la consécration*, tandis que dans tous les textes connus elle suit les paroles de l'institution.

Étais-je donc autorisé à parler de fait nouveau? On ne peut s'empêcher de le constater; mais autre chose est de l'expliquer.

On aura vite fait peut-être de dire que cette anomalie n'est due qu'à un déplacement tout arbitraire, et que par suite il n'y a rien à en conclure. Mais l'explication n'en est pas une et je défie qui que ce soit de l'établir sérieusement.

Il y a l'autre alternative, et c'est à celle-là que nous nous arrêterons un instant. Aurions-nous dans ce document un témoin autorisé de la position primitive de l'épiclèse alexandrine?

Je ferai remarquer d'abord que notre document a pour lui le privilège de l'âge. Il date du VII^e^ ou du VIII^e^ siècle au plus tard et porte toutes les marques d'un usage antérieur à l'époque de sa transcription. Il est donc le premier témoin de la messe alexandrine; le sacramentaire de Sérapion, rédigé semble-t-il dès le IV^e^ siècle, ne nous est parvenu que dans un manuscrit du XI^e^, avec des chances nombreuses d'altérations plus ou moins considérables; les autres textes sont tous plus récents.

Mais nous avons mieux que cette simple présomption qui après tout pourrait nous induire en erreur.

J'ai noté dès le début comme une caractéristique du rit alexandrin le procédé tout spécial suivant lequel il introduit le récit de l'institution de l'Eucharistie. Au lieu de paraphraser le triple *Sanctus*, comme le font les autres anaphores orientales et les anciennes liturgies gallicanes, et de continuer sous cette forme après le *Sanctus* le chant de louange qui marque les

[1] La finale *sanguinem novi testamenti* ne se retrouve que dans la liturgie syriaque des Jacobites; elle a dû être empruntée aux Coptes, car elle ne se trouve pas dans la liturgie syrienne primitive, l'anaphore grecque de S. Jacques. Voici l'épiclèse de la liturgie grecque de S. Marc, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 134 : Ἐξαπόστειλον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος . . . ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Cf.* les liturgies coptes, Renaudot, *Liturg. orient. coll.*, t. i., pp. 16, 31, 48.

débuts de l'anaphore, c'est la phrase *Plenum est cœlum et terra gloria tua* que les liturgies égyptiennes prennent pour thème de leurs développements. La distinction n'aurait pas autrement d'importance, si, comme on va le voir, les liturgies alexandrines n'étaient amenées, par ce fait même, à formuler dès ce moment la demande de transsubstantiation, *à placer par conséquent leur épiclèse dès avant la consécration.* (Voir Appendice II.)

Cet argument, dont il sera je crois difficile de contester la valeur, s'appuie sur des faits indéniables qu'il est aisé de contrôler. Si en effet l'épiclèse occupe aujourd'hui dans les liturgies d'Égypte la place qui lui est donnée dans tous les autres rites orientaux, elle a laissé en un autre endroit de l'anaphore des traces certaines de sa disparition auxquelles on la reconnaît sans peine: et c'est précisément dans la formule de transition du *Sanctus* à la consécration. On en peut juger aisément. Voici cette formule telle qu'elle se lit, en copte, dans la liturgie de S. Cyrille; elle reproduit à peu près exactement le texte grec de S. Marc:

Vere pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria sancta tua per Filium tuum unigenitum. . . . Imple etiam hoc sacrificium Domine benedictione quæ a te est per illapsum super illud Spiritus tui sancti, et benedictione benedic.[1] . . .

Aussi bien cette particularité n'a pas complètement échappé aux liturgistes. Dès le XVII[e] siècle, l'abbé Renaudot avait signalé la ressemblance de cette formule avec l'épiclèse,[2] sans toutefois en tirer aucune conclusion. Mais tout récemment M. le Dr Baumstark en venait, après mûr examen, à la conviction que, dans le rit alexandrin primitif, l'épiclèse devait bel et bien précéder les paroles de la consécration.[3]

[1] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, t. i., p. 46; Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 176. Liturgie de Sérapion: Πλήρης ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς . . . πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τάυτην . . . ; liturgie de S. Marc: Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς . . . πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν . . . *Cf.* Appendice II.

[2] Renaudot, *Lit. orient. coll.*, t. i., p. 318: "In ea oratione postulatur illapsus Spiritus sancti iis propemodum verbis quibus postea in Invocatione Spiritus sancti, ita tamen ut eadem Invocatio suo loco recitetur."

[3] Dr A. Baumstark, *Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell' Esarchato*, Roma, 1904, pp. 46-7. M. Paul Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des*

Serons-nous après cela surpris de rencontrer dans notre nouveau document égyptien l'épiclèse avant ces mêmes paroles de la consécration? Nous possédions des indices de cette position primitive; nous en avons à présent la certitude. Car notez bien que nous ne trouvons plus seulement ici des paroles *rappelant* de près ou de loin celles de l'épiclèse, nous lisons les paroles *mêmes* de l'épiclèse alexandrine. Que demander de plus pour nous convaincre que réellement l'ancienne liturgie alexandrine adressait à Dieu sa demande de transformation des éléments eucharistiques avant de procéder à leur consécration, ce qui était parfaitement logique. Plus tard seulement elle adopta l'usage syrien et byzantin, en rejetant son épiclèse à la suite des paroles de l'institution.

De ce déplacement nous n'avons il est vrai par ailleurs aucune preuve positive. Mais c'est une conséquence qu'on ne peut éviter, sous peine de mettre au compte de la liturgie alexandrine une étrange anomalie. Car il est impossible qu'il y ait eu primitivement dans la même anaphore deux prières formulant la même demande de transsubstantiation, l'une avant, l'autre après la consécration. La remarque est du Dr Baumstark; et c'est ce qu'à mon tour je suis en droit de répondre à l'objection qu'on pourra me faire: Votre fragment s'interrompt brusquement après la consécration; qui vous dit que l'épiclèse ne se trouvait pas reproduite une seconde fois à sa place ordinaire? La chose n'est pas vraisemblable; mais fût-elle vérifiée, elle n'enlèverait rien de l'intérêt que présente la première épiclèse transcrite en sa place authentique avant la consécration.[1]

Kanons in der Römischen Messe, Tübingen, 1902, p. 13, reconnaît aussi à cette formule les "caractères d'une épiclèse," mais elle n'a pu selon lui en faire réellement fonction, puisque la véritable épiclèse se retrouve après la consécration.

[1] Il se peut du reste que cette disposition ne soit pas absolument primitive. La *Constitution égyptienne*, qui passe pour un document très ancien, contient en effet une anaphore, construite suivant le type syrien, où il n'est pas question d'épiclèse avant les paroles de l'institution. Elle suit l'ordre chronologique (*cf.* plus haut, pp. 381-2) et relate en dernier la mission de l'Esprit-Saint: *Petimus ut mittas Spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctæ ecclesiæ, ut in unum congregans de omnibus . . .* (d'après l'éthiopien, traduction G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, London, 1904, p. 140; le texte latin du IV^e^ siècle dit

Il est en tout cas un fait certain qu'il importe au plus haut point de retenir, c'est que le souci de donner, disons mieux, de *conserver* aux paroles de l'institution leur valeur consécratoire n'est pas spécial à Rome, comme on aimait à le prétendre. La même préoccupation se retrouve ailleurs et, qui mieux est, en Orient. Il y avait donc sur ce point autre chose qu'une théorie inventée par les pontifes romains; il y avait une tradition qu'il s'agissait de sauvegarder. Et pourquoi ne pas rappeler que, en dehors même des témoignages si formels de S. Jean Chrysostome, cette tradition paraît encore tardivement chez les Syriens, en dépit de l'apparente contradiction que lui oppose la formule de l'épiclèse après la consécration? L'édition récente des œuvres de Sévère d'Antioche nous en fournit la preuve. J'aimerais à vous citer en entier ce nouveau témoignage d'autant moins suspect de partialité qu'il vient d'un ennemi déclaré de l'Église.[1] Mais il suffira de l'avoir indiqué.

ut mittas . . . in oblationem sanctæ ecclesiæ, in unum congregans . . . E. Hauler, *Didascaliæ apost. fragmenta* . . , Lipsiæ, 1900, pp. 106-7). L'idée de la participation du Saint-Esprit à la consécration n'y est pas exprimée : il ne s'agit que du sacrifice offert. Lorsque l'idée se fût précisée les Alexandrins jugèrent sans doute plus logique d'interrompre après le *Sanctus* la prière d'action de grâces et de placer dès ce moment la demande de consécration, tandis que les Syriens, et les Byzantins après eux, continuèrent à la mentionner après la consécration, habitués qu'ils étaient à leur ordre chronologique.

[1] Il s'agit des lettres de Sévère d'Antioche traduites du syriaque par E. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the select letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch*, London, 1904, t. ii., pp. 237-8. Voici le passage d'après la traduction anglaise : "Dans la célébration de l'Eucharistie ce n'est pas le ministre qui, usant comme d'une puissance qui lui appartiendrait en propre, transforme le pain en le corps du Christ et la coupe de bénédiction en son sang ; c'est la vertu divine et efficace des paroles, que le Christ, auteur du sacrement, a commandé de prononcer sur les éléments offerts. Le prêtre qui se tient à l'autel n'y remplit que la fonction d'un simple ministre ; prononçant donc les paroles comme en la personne du Christ et reportant l'action qu'il accomplit au temps où le Seigneur institua le sacrifice de la messe en présence de ses disciples, il dit en désignant le pain : 'Ceci est mon corps qui est donné pour vous, faites ceci en mémoire de moi ;' de même sur la coupe il profère ces paroles : 'Ce calice est le Nouveau Testament en mon sang qui est répandu pour vous.' Ainsi est-ce le Christ qui continue à offrir le sacrifice, et sa parole divine sanctifie les éléments qui sont apportés pour être changés en son corps et en son sang."

III.

Ces diverses constatations en appellent d'autres relatives à la question connexe de l'épiclèse romaine.

Car notre liturgie romaine avait elle aussi son épiclèse, correspondant exactement *pour le sens* aux épiclèses orientales. Le pape saint Gélase (492-6) le donne à entendre très clairement: *Quomodo ad divini mysterii* CONSECRATIONEM *cœlestis* SPIRITUS INVOCATUS *adveniet si sacerdos et qui* EUM ADESSE DEPRECATUR . . . *reprobetur*?[1] Il y avait donc invocation de l'Esprit-Saint, et invocation en vue de la consécration de l'Eucharistie.

Qu'est devenue cette épiclèse dans le texte que nous récitons aujourd'hui?

On croit généralement en retrouver des traces dans notre formule *Supplices te rogamus*, qui, de fait, occupe dans le Canon romain la place exacte où *d'ordinaire* se rencontre l'épiclèse dans les anaphores orientales. Mais il est prouvé maintenant qu'il y a des exceptions à cette règle; il ne faudrait donc pas insister outre mesure sur cet indice de conformité avec les rites orientaux.

Elle contient bien aussi une invocation, et implique une certaine intervention de l'Esprit-Saint dont nous tâcherons, en terminant, de préciser le caractère.

Mais de ce qui constitue essentiellement les épiclèses orientales, de ce qui constituait également l'épiclèse romaine, je veux dire, de la *demande de consécration*, elle n'a pas conservé le moindre souvenir, ni dans la tradition manuscrite,[2] ni dans sa forme actuelle. Je montrerai même plus loin qu'une semblable

[1] *Epist. ad Elpidium*, P. L., t. lix., col. 143, et Thiel, *Epistolæ romanorum pontificum*, t. i., p. 486.

[2] Car il n'y a rien à conclure du fait que certains de ses éléments se rencontrent quelquefois dans les liturgies gallicanes unis à de véritables épiclèses. Ces liturgies ont en effet ceci de commun avec les anaphores syriennes et byzantines qu'elles formulent en général leur demande de consécration après le récit de l'institution. Il était assez naturel que, trouvant notre *Supplices* à cet endroit du Canon, elles lui empruntassent quelques détails. On ne saurait en tout cas en conclure rigoureusement que les épiclèses jointes à ces emprunts aient fait primitivement partie de notre formule *Supplices*.

demande en cet endroit précis du Canon romain serait au plus haut point illogique.

C'est donc la portion la plus importante et la plus caractéristique de notre épiclèse qui aurait disparu. Mais pourquoi et comment a-t-elle disparu ?

On vous dira que les pontifes romains ont jugé prudent de la supprimer pour éviter les erreurs que pouvait créer dans l'esprit des simples une telle demande placée après la consécration.

Je ne nie pas que les choses aient pu se passer de la sorte. Mais vous pensez bien qu'une explication aussi bénigne n'est pas faite pour convaincre nos contradicteurs. Ils ont vraiment trop beau jeu de prétendre que les papes ont fait disparaître la formule, parce qu'elle gênait leur *nouvelle théorie* sur la consécration. C'est précisément l'accusation qu'il est fréquent de rencontrer chez les critiques de notre temps. Et que répondre de décisif à cette allégation calomnieuse, aussi longtemps que l'on consent à imaginer un *Supplices te rogamus* primitif, correspondant exact des épiclèses orientales ?

Je crois que la solution du problème est ailleurs, et c'est notre nouveau document liturgique qui nous y conduit.

Depuis longtemps déjà on a constaté sur plusieurs points une grande affinité entre les rites romain et alexandrin. Je n'en rappelle qu'un exemple : l'introduction de l'anaphore ou de la préface par le *Dominus vobiscum*, détail inconnu des liturgies syriennes et byzantines.

Nous venons de constater que l'ancien rit alexandrin avait l'épiclèse avant la consécration. Ceci déjà nous induirait à chercher aussi avant la consécration l'épiclèse romaine.

Or c'est exactement ce que nous trouvons dans notre formule *Quam oblationem*, surtout dans son texte ancien, sinon primitif, attesté par le *De Sacramentis :*[1]

Vis scire quia verbis cælestibus consecratur (corpus Christi) ? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos : *Fac nobis*, inquit, *hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur. . . .*

[1] *De Sacr.*, l. iv., 21, P. L., t. xvi., col. 443.

Ce texte du Canon, transcrit dès la fin du IVe siècle par un auteur qui, sans être romain, témoignait indirectement pour le rit romain, se conserve un peu modifié,[1] mais identique pour le fond :

Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri.

Comme dans l'ancien rit alexandrin, ces paroles précèdent immédiatement la consécration. Elles sont les seules, d'autre part, dans le Canon romain, qui correspondent à la formule dont S. Gélase atteste l'existence,[2] puisqu'elles seules contiennent une demande de consécration.

Que faut-il en conclure, sinon que l'épiclèse est dans la liturgie romaine comme chez les Alexandrins à sa place authentique avant la consécration, que par conséquent le *Supplices* n'en a jamais fait fonction ?

Mais, dira-t-on, le *Quam oblationem* ne contient pas d'invocation du saint-Esprit. — Je n'en disconviens pas. Pourtant si mon hypothèse est plausible, elle devait exister, et précéder le *Fac nobis hanc oblationem* du *De Sacramentis*, comme dans notre fragment égyptien. Peut-être même a-t-elle laissé quelques traces.[3] Elle n'est plus formulée à cet

[1] L'expression *figura corporis Domini* admise couramment aux premiers siècles tomba généralement en désuétude vers le IVe siècle. Elle s'est maintenue cependant longtemps encore dans le rit espagnol dans une épiclèse reproduisant notre *Quam oblationem :* cf. *Liber ordinum*, éd. Férotin, col. 322.

[2] M. Baumstark croit que le témoignage de S. Gélase est inconciliable avec celui du *De Sacramentis* et le texte du Canon romain, parce que d'après lui ce pape atteste l'existence d'une épiclèse *après la consécration.* Mais S. Gélase ne dit rien de semblable ; ses paroles s'entendent tout aussi bien d'une épiclèse précédant la consécration. Pierre d'Alexandrie, cité par Théodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, IV., xix. (P. G., t. lxxxii., col. 1169 B), et Théophile d'Alexandrie, traduit par S. Jérôme, *Epist.* 98 (P. L., t. xxii., col. 801), parlent aussi de l'épiclèse sans contredire pour autant le témoignage des liturgies qui donne à penser que l'épiclèse alexandrine se lisait avant la consécration.

[3] Dans la liturgie mozarabe on trouve les formules suivantes qui semblent s'inspirer de notre *Quam oblationem : Petimus ut in his sacrificiis* . . INFUNDAS . . IMBREM SPIRITUS SANCTI *de cœlis* UT FIAT HOC

endroit; je ne saurais dire pourquoi. Mais qu'on ne parle plus au moins dans ce cas de suppression intéressée: l'invocation a disparu sans modifier aucunement le sens de la formule, qui est toujours ce que sont essentiellement les épiclèses orientales, une demande de consécration.

Je dois ajouter un dernier mot pour justifier ce que je disais de notre formule *Supplices te rogamus*, qu'elle n'a jamais dû faire fonction d'épiclèse, au sens précis que nous savons, le seul, encore une fois, qui ait fait difficulté.

Ce qui caractérise en effet cette prière et la distingue des épiclèses en usage dans les liturgies orientales, c'est l'idée, qui leur est étrangère, de confirmation et de consommation du sacrifice. Elle se trouvait en germe dans les anaphores, probablement primitives, où l'on invoquait la mission de l'Esprit-Saint *sur l'oblation de l'Église de la terre*, afin qu'elle fût vraiment profitable à tous.[1] La liturgie romaine l'a conservée en la précisant. Or à ce moment du drame eucharistique il n'est plus question,—je dirais volontiers, *logiquement il ne peut plus être question*,—de consécration et de sanctification de la victime. Ce dont il s'agit, selon l'ordre naturel du Canon romain attesté déjà par le *De Sacramentis* (Appendice III.), c'est de compléter la prière d'oblation qui vient d'être prononcée par une suprême demande d'acceptation du sacrifice. On rappelle au Seigneur les offrandes de l'Ancien Testament, figuratives du sacrifice eucharistique, et à ce titre spécialement agréables à son cœur. Mais la recommandation ne paraît pas suffisante. Conscient de son indignité et de l'impuissance où il est d'offrir directement à Dieu la seule Hostie qui soit digne de Lui, le ministre de la terre implore une intervention céleste et divine: c'est l'Ange de Dieu qui portera devant la face du Très-Haut ce sacrifice d'agréable

SACRIFICIUM *secundum ordinem Melchisedech* . . QUOD EST VERUM CORPUS ET SANGUIS DOMINI . . (*Missale mixtum*, Dom. v. adv., P. L., t. lxxxv., col. 376).—INFUNDERE DIGNERIS SPIRITUM TUUM SANCTUM *super hæc solemnia* (*munera*) UT FIAT NOBIS LEGITIMA EUCHARISTIA *in transformatione corporis* . . . (*Ibid.*, In fest. S. Christinae, P. L., *loc. cit.*, col. 794 ; *Missale gothicum*, In circumcisione Domini, P. L., t. lxxii., col. 237). Mais c'est avec la plus grande réserve que je fais ces rapprochements. *Cf.* W. C. Bishop, dans *The Church Quarterly Review*, t. lxvi., 1908, p. 395-6.

[1] *Cf.* ci-dessus, p. 387, note.

odeur, que la créature n'ose prendre sur soi de présenter de ses mains. Ainsi dans l'ancienne alliance, les simples prêtres devaient-ils laisser au pontife l'honneur redoutable de pénétrer une fois l'an dans le saint des saints et d'y offrir à Dieu le sang de la victime. Mais ici il ne s'agit plus d'une offrande quelconque : c'est l'hostie sainte par excellence, *offerimus . . . de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam,* la divine victime du sacrifice non sanglant, *rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitæ æternæ.*[1]

Quel sera l'Ange médiateur de cette oblation sinon l'Esprit même de Dieu, dont l'intervention dans le mystère de la Rédemption est si bien marqué en S. Paul: *Sanguis Christi qui* PER SPIRITUM SANCTUM SEMETIPSUM OBTULIT *immaculatum Deo.*[2] A ce divin Esprit il appartient d'unir entre elles les personnes de la Très Sainte Trinité, comme d'unir à leur tour les âmes des justes à leur créateur; à qui mieux qu'à Lui conviendrait-il d'opérer l'union du sacrifice de la terre au sacrifice éternel du ciel ?[3]

Car c'est au ciel, sur l'autel du Très-Haut, que le sacrifice offert sur la terre trouve son achèvement et sa consommation. C'est alors que, par son union au sacrifice éternel, il devient vraiment propitiatoire et utile à tous ceux qui y participeront par la communion, *ut quotquot. . . Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti repleamur per eumdem Christum.* Peu importe du reste que cette fonction médiatrice

[1] *De Sacramentis,* loc. cit. [2] Hébr., ix., 14.

[3] Ainsi l'a compris la liturgie mozarabe ; elle attribue à l'*Ange* du Seigneur l'œuvre même de la transsubstantiation : par exemple, *Liber ordinum,* éd. Férotin, col. 428 ; cf. *Miss. mixtum,* P. L., t. lxxxv., col. 1031 : *Hujus sacrificii munera per manus angeli tui jubeas sanctificare ;* cf. *ibid.,* col. 990, et aussi l'antienne des anciens livres romains, *Emitte Angelum tuum Domine ut dignetur sanctificare corpus et sanguinem tuum,* dont le caractère d'épiclèse a été magistralement établi par dom Cagin dans *Te Deum ou Illatio,* Paris, 1907, pp. 215-38 ; son origine romaine n'est malheureusement pas démontrée ; elle peut aussi bien être de source gallicane, comme beaucoup d'autres pièces de l'ancien antiphonaire romain. S. Germain de Paris parle précisément de l'Ange du Seigneur à propos du rite de (l'épiclèse et de) la fraction, *Ep.* i., P. L., t. lxxii., col. 94.

soit attribuée aux anges, *per manus angelorum tuorum*,[1] ou aux archanges, *per ministerium tuum archangelicum*[2] comme dans le *De Sacramentis* et les liturgies alexandrines, du moment que l'idée de consommation du sacrifice reste identique.

Après tout ce développement théologique où la progression est très sensible, combien nous sommes loin du moment où l'on préparait la victime. Et que viendrait faire ici une demande de consécration ?

Mais nous ne pouvons nous attarder à gloser cette conclusion pourtant si intéressante de la prière eucharistique au rit romain. Qu'il suffise d'avoir montré ce qui la distingue des épiclèses orientales. Mais j'ajouterai en terminant que la même caractéristique se retrouvait, semble-t-il, dans la liturgie alexandrine. Il s'y est en effet conservé une prière que l'on dirait calquée sur cette portion du Canon romain ;[3] elle fait maintenant partie de la formule d'intercession, mais il est sûr qu'elle n'est plus à sa place primitive. Je crois qu'elle concluait comme chez nous la prière eucharistique : c'est une dernière hypothèse que je propose aux liturgistes, en attendant que de nouvelles découvertes viennent la confirmer . . . ou la renverser.

Je résume les points définitivement acquis, dont il faudra désormais tenir compte dans la controverse sur l'épiclèse.

Un papyrus du VII^e^ ou VIII^e^ siècle, récemment retrouvé, nous a fourni un document égyptien antérieur de 400 ans au moins à tous les témoins connus de la liturgie grecque d'Alexandrie ; son authenticité ne saurait faire aucun doute ;

[1] *De Sacram*, loc. cit. *Cf.* Appendice III.

[2] Lit. de S. Marc, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 129 ; la Lit. copte de S. Cyrille réunit les deux termes, *ibid.*, p. 171.

[3] Lit. de S. Marc, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 129 : *Eorum qui sacrificia et oblationes offerunt, eucharisteria munera suscipe Deus* (εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι) *in sanctum cœleste et spiritale altare tuum in sublimitates cœlorum per ministerium tuum archangelicum* (ou *archangelorum tuorum*, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας) . . . *sicut suscepisti munera justi tui Abel, sacrificium patris nostri Abrahæ*. . . . Cette formule est étudiée par M. A. Gastoué dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*, t. i., col. 1192.

si ce document est fragmentaire, il a du moins conservé comme par miracle les portions les plus intéressantes de la liturgie eucharistique;

une fois de plus il atteste l'emploi constant des paroles de l'institution dans la célébration du saint sacrifice;

il a son épiclèse, mais avant la consécration, chose inouïe pour un rit oriental;

en même temps qu'il simplifie une question longtemps débattue, il resserre encore les liens étroits qui unissaient jadis l'antique Église des Athanase et des Cyrille à la Rome des Papes;

autant de titres à notre reconnaissance pour l'heureuse découverte qui nous l'a fait connaître; autant de motifs aussi pour nous de savourer la joie qu'éprouvent les fils dévoués de l'Église à voir triompher son enseignement.

APPENDICE

I.

DESCRIPTION ET TEXTE DES NOUVEAUX FRAGMENTS SUR PAPYRUS DE DÉR BALYZEH

Les fragments d'anaphore grecque rapportés en 1907 de Dêr Balyzeh sont aujourd'hui à la Bodléienne d'Oxford, mais n'ont pas encore été catalogués. En attendant qu'ils puissent être mis à la disposition du public, je me hasarde à en donner cette reproduction basée sur l'excellente copie de M. W. E. Crum et revue sur l'original par M. Crum lui-même.

Les trois feuillets qui nous restent proviennent d'un manuscrit pour la composition duquel on avait employé des feuilles de papyrus pliées en deux. Il s'ensuit que le sens des fibres qui sert généralement à distinguer le recto et le verso des papyrus n'est ici d'aucune utilité pour aider à discerner l'ordre des pages. Pour le troisième feuillet seulement le texte nous permet de décider avec certitude.

L'écriture appartient, selon les récentes observations que M. Crum a bien voulu me communiquer, au VII^{e} ou au VIII^{e} siècle. Elle se rapproche sensiblement de l'onciale du *Codex Marchalianus*, *Vatic. græc.* 2125, manuscrit grec des Prophètes écrit en Égypte au VI^{e} (ou au VII^{e}?) siècle. (Publié en phototypie par J. Cozza-Luzi avec préface de Ceriani, *Prophetarum codex græcus Vatic.* 2125, Romæ, 1890; une page est reproduite dans l'*Album de Paléographie copte* de H. Hyvernat, Paris, 1888, t. i., dernière planche.) Elle offre aussi de grands rapports avec le papyrus DCCXXIX du British Museum, qui, par ses caractères

paléographiques, se rapporte plutôt au VII^e^ qu'au VI^e^ siècle. (*Cf.* Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II, Oxford, 1897, p. 164; *New Palæographical Society*, London, pl. 48).

Je reproduis le texte comme il se trouve dans le MS., sauf que j'espace les mots transcrits sur le papyrus sans aucune séparation. Les lettres comprises entre deux crochets [ ] ont été suppléées aux endroits où l'original présente des lacunes. Plusieurs points entre crochets [. . .] désignent approximativement le nombre de lettres disparues et non restituées. Un crochet seul], [, indique les lacunes suppléées au commencement ou à la fin des lignes. Enfin, les lettres accompagnées d'un point, ṣ ṿ, marquent les lectures incertaines.

FRAGMENT A.

(*Recto?*) *Fibres verticales.*

]ην
]ω συν δε
. . . . . δουν]αι τα αιτηματα τω̄
καρδιων αυτων κα]ρισηται ọ την ε
ιρηνην αυτου . ο]ων δεσποτης αγιος
]μος κ̄ς̄ ονομα αυτω ο εν υ
ψηλοις κατοι]κων και τα ταπεινα εφορω̄
ε]πι τοις ουρανοις ο ων [αυ
τω η δοξα εις] τους αιωνας αμην :—
Λεγει την ευχ]η̄
]μ δεσποτα παντοκρα
τορ πασης σαρκο]ṣ επισκοπε παναρετε
·] Ο θ̄ς̄ και π̄[τρ̄] του
κ̄ῡ ημων ῑῡ χ̄ῡ ο]ποιησας τα[παντα
]ειν το αιτ[
]ωρ[
]ṛ[

3-4, Ps. xxxvi. 4. 4, ο à supprimer? — ε[ιρηνην ?? Dans le fragment C, verso, lignes 5-6, se trouve une coupure aussi irrégulière ε|ξ. 6,]μος, lire και αληθι]νος? *Cf.* Apoc. vi. 10. 6, Ps. lxvii., 5. 6-7, Ps. cxii. 16. 13. π̄ . ., πατήρ? 15, To plus récent.

(*Verso?*) *Fibres horizontales.*

ạ̈γαθων ειν α[
οτι ημων βοη[
σαν τα εθνη πευσευ[
πι ουκ εβοηθησεν αυ[
Συ ημων βοηθος συ[ημων στερεωμα
συ ημων η καταφυγη [εν ημερα θλιψεως
συ ημων αντιλημπ[τωρ κατα παντα μη
ενκαταλειπης αλλ[α ρυσαι ημας α

πο παντος κινδυν[ου
μ̣ . ου και α[
[. .]μ̣εγαλη ημ[ων
[. . . δ]ο̣ς ημιν ι̣α̣[
]νπδ[

6-9, *Cf.* Ps. xvii. 3, xxvi. 9, lviii. 17.

Fragment B.

(Recto?) Fibres verticales. 9 *cm.* × 14 *cm.* (*largeur*).

. . . . . .
ομολογει την πιστιν.
πιστευω εισ θν̄ πρ̄α πα[ντοκ]ρατορ[α
και εις τον μονογενη α[υτου] υν̄ τ[ον
κν̄ ημων ιν̄ χν̄ και εις[το π̄]νᾱ το α[γιο
και εις σαρκος αναστασ[ιν και] αγια
καθολικη εκκλησια
τ (*sic.*)

marge.

(Verso?) Fibres horizontales.

]αραι χ[αρις
τ]ης δ[ωρεα] ς σου εις δυναμιν π̄ν̄ς
α]γιου [εις] βεβαιωσιν και προσθηκη̄
πιστε[ως·] Εις ελπιδα της μελλου
σ]ης α[ιωνι]ου ζωης δια του κῡ ημω̄
ιῡ κ̄[υ δι ου] σοι τω π̄ρι η δοξα συν α
γιω [π̄νι ει]ς τους αιωνας αμην :—

marge.

Fragment C.

Recto. Fibres horizontales. 12 *cm.* × 17 *cm.* (*largeur*).

Le texte permet ici de discerner avec certitude le recto du feuillet : le trisagion transcrit de ce côté doit sûrement précéder les paroles de l'institution reproduites au verso ; l'ordre inverse serait inadmissible. D'après la longueur de la lacune entre le recto et le verso il semble qu'il ne manque qu'une ligne au commencement du feuillet qui devait ainsi contenir 19 lignes au recto et 20 au verso. Le feuillet a été reconstitué avec six fragments différents : l'un d'eux donne la largeur complète, 17 cm.

. . .
]α
σοι παραστηκου]σιν
κ[υκλω τα σεραφιμ εξ πτερυγε]ς τω ενι
κ[αι εξ πτερυγες τω ενι] και ταις

μεν δυσ[ιν κατεκα]λυπτον το προσω
πον και τ[αις δυσιν] τους ποδας και
ταις δυσ[ιν επεταν]το παντα δε πα
τοτε σε αγ[ιαζει] αλλα μετα παντων
των σε αγιαζοντων δεξαι και τον
ημετερον αγιασμον λε[γο]ντων σοι
αγιος αγιος αγιος κς σαβαωθ πλη
ρης ο ουρανος και η γη της δοξ[η]ς σου.
πληρω[σον] και ημας της παρ[α σοι]
δοξης [και] καταξιωσον κατα[πε]μψαι
το πνα τ[ο α]γιον σ[ο]υ επι τα κτισματα
ταυτα [και ποιησ]ον τον μεν αρτο
σωμα [του κυ και σ]ρς ημων ιυ κυ
[το] δε π[οτηριον αι]μα της καινης

marge.

4-8, Is. vi. 2. 12-13, Is. vi. 3. 14, Πα[ρὰ σοί], ou bien τῆς πα[ναγίας] δόξης [σου]. 17, [Καὶ ποίησ]ον, ou [καὶ δεῖξ]ον.

Verso. Fibres verticales.

[διαθηκης. Οτι αυτος ο κς ημων ις κς]
τ]η νυκτι η παρεδιδοτο ελαβεν αρτον και]
ε[υχαριστησας εκλασεν και εδωκεν]
τοις μα[θηταις αυτου και αποστο]λοι[ς]
ειπων[· λαβετε φαγετε παντες ε]
ξ αυτου τουτο μ[ου εστιν] το σωμα το
υπερ υμων διδ[ομενο]ν εις αφεσι
αμαρτιων· ομ[οιως με]τα το δειπνη
σαι λαβων ποτηριο[ν] κα[ι ευ]λογησας
και π[ι]ων εδωκεν αυτοις ειπων
λαβετε π[ιε]τε παντες εξ αυτου του
το μου εστιν το αιμα το υπερ υμων
εκχυννομενον εις αφεσιν αμαρτιω
Ο[σακις ε]αν εσθιητε τον αρ[τον] τουτον
π[ινη]τε δε το ποτηριον [το]υτο
τον εμον θαναt[ο]ν καταγ[γελ]λεται
την εμην αναμν[ησιν ομολογε]ιτε
τον θανατον σου κ[αταγγελλ]ομεν
την αναστασιν [σου ομολογουμ]εν
και δεομεθα τ[

marge.

6-7, Luc xxii. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24. 8, διπνησαι, pour δειπνῆσαι. 12-13, Matt. xxvi. 27 ; Luc xxii. 20. 14-17, 1 Cor. xi. 26. 16, Καταγγελλεται pour καταγγέλλετε καὶ. 17, Αναμν[ησιν, pour ἀνάστ[ασιν.

II.

TEXTES PARALLÈLES DES ANAPHORES DE SÉRAPION ET DE S. MARC.

SÉRAPION.	S. MARC.
	Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος σοῦ.
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν σὲ . . αἰνεῖν ὑμνεῖν δοξολογεῖν	Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας . . . . Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον . . . σὲ αἰνεῖν ὑμνεῖν σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν . . . σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανόν . . . . Καὶ δεόμεθα . . . (προσεύχη, *sive suffragia*).
Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως . . (Eph. i. 21)· σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες . . . ἀγγέλων . . σοὶ παραστήκουσιν τὰ δύο τιμιώτατα σεραφὶμ ἑξαπτέρυγα, δυσὶν μὲν πτέρυξιν καλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, δυσὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας, δυσὶ δὲ πετόμενα	Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως . . . (= Eph. i. 21)· σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες . . ἀγίων ἀγγέλων . . σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα . . καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξιν τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα καὶ δυσὶν τοὺς πόδας καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα καὶ κέκραγεν . . ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι . . Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος . .
καὶ ἀγιάζοντα· μεθ' ὧν δέξαι καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν λεγόντων·	Πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα Κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν . . . λεγόντων·
Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαὼθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου.	Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαὼθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.
Πλήρης ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς, πλήρης ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης, Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων· πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς σῆς μεταλήψεως·	Πλήρης γὰρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου· πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρὰ σου εὐλογίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος·
σοὶ γὰρ προσηνέγκαμεν ταύτην τὴν ζῶσαν θυσίαν . . .	
ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ᾗ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο . . . ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ ἔκλασεν	ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς . . τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτόν . . . ἄρτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἴδιον Πατέρα Θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας εὐλογήσας ἁγιάσας κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών·
καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἑαυτοῦ λέγων·	
λάβετε καὶ φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν . . .	λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Ὅτι ὁ Κύριος λαβὼν ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι

ἔλεγεν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· Λάβετε πίετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, ὅ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου . . .

Ἐπιδημησάτω, Θεὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ ἅγιός σου Λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἵνα γένηται τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς ἀληθείας.

Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν καὶ κεράσας . . ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα . . εὐχαριστήσας εὐλογήσας ἁγιάσας πλήσας Πνεύματος ἁγίου μετέδωκε . . εἰπών . .· Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης . . .

Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ . . . .

Τὸν θάνατον . . . χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες, καὶ τὴν . . ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες, . . . δεόμεθα . . ἐξαπόστειλον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους . . τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ . . , καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ . . .

III.

TEXTES PARALLÈLES DU CANON ROMAIN ET DU DE SACRAMENTIS.

Canon Missæ.	De Sacramentis
Dominus vobiscum . . .	[Reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris: ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Vis scire quia verbis cælestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba.]
Sursum Corda . . .	
Vere dignum et justum est . . nos tibi semper gratias agere . . . Sanctus . . .	
Te igitur.	
Memento Domine.	
Communicantes.	
Hanc igitur oblationem . . .	
Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam rationabilemque facere digneris ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat D. n. I. C. Qui pridie quam pateretur . . .	Fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini n. I. C. Qui pridie quam pateretur . . .
Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui . . tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in cælos gloriosæ ascensionis, offeri-	Ergo memores gloriosissimæ ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in cælum ascensionis, offerimus tibi

mus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ.

Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ . . .

hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitæ æternæ;

[Vide infra *]

et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, * sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

LE DOGME DE L'EUCHARISTIE DANS LES BÉNÉDICTIONNAIRES

Par Dom J. Baudot, O.S.B.

Dans son *Explication de quelques difficultés sur les prières de la messe à un nouveau Catholique*, Bossuet montre bien que les documents liturgiques, connus de son temps, n'ont pas échappé à sa perspicacité. Il y cherche, dans les faits, une réponse aux difficultés que l'on prétend tirer de la liturgie: "Le fait même résoudra tout," dit il, "et vous verrez les difficultés s'évanouir les unes après les autres à mesure que j'exposerai les sentiments de l'église par les termes de sa liturgie." Un peu plus loin, il formule ce principe, qu'il tient des saints Pères: "La règle de la foi ne se trouve nulle part plus claire ni plus assurée que dans la forme de la prière."[1]

[1] Bossuet, *Explication de quelques difficultés sur les prières de la messe à un nouveau Catholique*, œuvres complètes, édit. Vivés, Paris, 1864, t. xvii., pp. 5 et 39.

C'est en m'appuyant sur ces principes que je veux vous entretenir d'une classe toute spéciale de documents liturgiques et tâcher d'y découvrir avec vous un nouvel écho de cette grande voix de la tradition en faveur de la doctrine catholique de l'Eucharistie. Entendons-nous bien sur la portée de ces considérations: elles ne vont pas à fournir un argument nouveau en faveur de la présence réelle, de la transubstantiation, ou du caractère de sacrifice véritable que présente la sainte messe, mais à montrer comment ces vérités sont partout supposées admises dans toutes les formules de la liturgie dont l'église a usé depuis les temps les plus reculés. Bossuet ne semble pas avoir connu les bénédictionnaires, sans nul doute il les eût invoqués, comme les autres documents liturgiques, dans les explications qu'il fournit à son interlocuteur.

Mais, avant d'entrer dans mon sujet, je vous dois quelques mots d'explication sur les raisons qui m'ont amené à vous parler uniquement des bénédictionnaires. Je vous dirai donc le plus brièvement possible:

1° Ce qu'étaient les bénédictionnaires et leur contenu;

2° Quels furent les documents de ce genre produits ou usités en Angleterre;

3° Enfin, l'appoint que fournissent ces documents en faveur de la doctrine catholique sur l'Eucharistie.

I. Ce qu'étaient les bénédictionnaires et leur contenu

Comme son nom même l'indique, le bénédictionnaire,[1] ou bénédictional (*Benedictionale, seu Benedictionalis liber*), fut un recueil liturgique contenant les formules des bénédictions épiscopales. C'est, dit Mr Wordsworth,[2] le plus simple de tous les livres liturgiques, car il se réduit à un seul genre de formules: il est d'un usage restreint, l'évêque seul en use pour un moment déterminé de la messe solennelle; enfin, il est souvent écrit en gros caractères parce qu'il fallait le tenir à une certaine distance devant les yeux de l'évêque pendant que

[1] Voir mon article "Bénédictionnaire" dans *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. ii., col. 727 *et seq.*

[2] Chr. Wordsworth, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, in 8°, London, p. 225.

celui-ci était tourné vers l'assemblée des fidèles.—Ce livre ne fut pas en usage dans la liturgie romaine: c'est du moins le sentiment communément admis jusqu'à ce jour sur le témoignage des Muratori, Mabillon, Tommasi, et Lebrun.[1]

Mais qu'étaient les bénédictions épiscopales contenues dans ce recueil? Le Cardinal Bona[2] s'appuyant sur les liturgistes anciens dit que c'étaient trois (parfois quatre) formules de supplication que seul l'évêque prononçait sur le peuple, à la messe solennelle, entre la fraction de l'hostie et la communion: aux messes où cette bénédiction était donnée par l'évêque, il n'y en avait pas d'autre pour terminer. Ces formules méritent d'être étudiées: Calquées sur un même modèle, d'après un procédé uniforme, elles varient néanmoins dans l'expression pour s'adapter au mystère ou à la fête que l'on célèbre. Le modèle et le procédé sont uniformes: trois membres de phrase, où l'on retrouve des expressions parfois semblables à celles des collectes, secrètes, etc.; l'évêque les prononce à haute voix (ou plutôt les chante) après s'être tourné vers l'assemblée, et celle-ci répond: "Amen" après chaque membre de phrase; suit une conclusion générale toujours la même et ainsi formulée d'ordinaire: "Quod ipse præstare dignetur qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et gloriatur, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. ℟. Amen." Après quoi l'évêque dit: "Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo."[3] Cette finale indique que la bénédiction s'encadrait entre le *Per omnia* et *Pax Domini* qui suivent le *Pater*.

Les variantes portent sur le nombre des membres de phrases: il y en avait ordinairement trois, avons-nous dit, cependant des documents en donnent quatre, parfois même six (peut-être

[1] J'ai donné les références dans mon article "Bénédictions épiscopales," au *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. ii., c. 717; Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, t. i., p. 80-81; Mabillon, *In ordinem Romanum Commentarius prævius*, P. L., t. lxxviii., c. 878-879; Tommasi, *Opera*, t. vi., præf. p. 41; Lebrun, *Explication de la messe*, t. ii., p. 265.

[2] Bona, *Rerum liturgicarum Libri duo*, Edition Sala, t. iii., p. 337.

[3] Cette conclusion est empruntée au *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold* que John Gage a édité. Voir *Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, London, 1832, t. xxiv., p. 51.

dans ce dernier cas s'agit-il simplement de deux formules réunies ensemble). La forme varie aussi parfois: tantôt l'évêque s'adresse aux fidèles, dans le style direct, pour leur souhaiter les grâces du ciel et leur faire l'application du mystère célébré, tantôt il s'adresse à Dieu, par manière de supplication, pour attirer ces mêmes grâces sur les âmes qu'il bénit. Mais toujours les formules renferment un enseignement en même temps qu'une prière, il n'est pas rare d'y rencontrer quelque allusion à la lecture de l'épître ou de l'évangile: de là, une bénédiction spéciale pour chaque mystère et pour chaque fête, de là aussi, la nécessité d'un recueil. Il est vrai, qu'au sentiment d'un bon nombre de liturgistes, et d'après l'étude des documents, les bénédictions épiscopales ne furent pas toujours réunies dans un recueil séparé, on les trouve aussi dans des sacramentaires, tantôt jointes aux autres parties de la messe, tantôt groupées à la suite du sanctoral.[1] Dans les temps plus rapprochés de nous, on les a insérées au pontifical.[2]

II. Quels furent les documents de ce genre produits ou usités en Angleterre

La période des bénédictionnaires séparés peut être circonscrite entre les deux limites extrêmes du neuvième et du quatorzième siècle: or il se trouve que des documents, connus en ce genre, les plus nombreux et les plus remarquables ont vu le jour en Angleterre ou du moins y ont été en usage.

1° Le premier de tous, pour l'éxécution, est sans contredit le *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold:* il représente ce que l'art anglo-saxon a produit de plus parfait, dans la seconde moitié du dixième siècle et fournit le type le plus pur des recueils de bénédictions épiscopales. John Gage én a donné la description et publié le contenu.[3]

2° Le *Bénédictional de l'Archevêque Robert* est à peu près

[1] On peut voir assez souvent la mention: *Recueil de Bénédictions* dans les manuscrits que décrit Leop. Delisle. *Anciens Sacramentaires, passim.*

[2] Le Cardinal Bona dit qu'on les trouve dans le pontifical romain, édité sous Léon X., *Rerum Liturgic*, t. iii., p. 337.

[3] John Gage, cité page précédente.

contemporain du précédent et est, comme lui, d'origine anglo-saxonne : il présente également beaucoup d'intérêt au point de vue de l'art calligraphique et de la liturgie dans ce pays. John Gage [1] en fait mention à la suite du *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold* pour établir entre les deux, quelques points de comparaison, mais dans ces dernières années, H. A. Wilson l'a édité, en un volume dans la collection Henry Bradshaw Society.[2]

3° Le *Bénédictionnaire de l'abbaye de Ramsey*, actuellement à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, n. 987 du fonds latin, est signalé par Léopold Delisle,[3] comme un magnifique spécimen de l'art anglo-saxon, à la fin du dixième siècle, et peut rivaliser avec les deux précédents.

4°. Dans les autres liturgies, où les bénédictions épiscopales étaient en usage, il n'existe pas, que je sache, des recueils séparés de bénédictions comparables à ces trois documents ; et voila pourquoi il m'a paru bon de les mentionner au cours de ce congrès eucharistique. Pour l'Angleterre, ces documents s'encadrent entre deux autres manuscrits, qui ne sont pas des bénédictionnaires, mais qui contiennent des bénédictions épiscopales. Ce sont : (*a*) *Le Pontifical d'Egbert*, MSS. du huitième siècle, dont la deuxième partie renferme des bénédictions ;[4] (*b*) *Le Missel de Léofric*,[5] sacramentaire d'une église de la province de Reims, approprié à l'usage de l'église d'Angleterre : la partie la plus ancienne de ce document (de la première moitié du dixième siècle) renferme des bénédictions épiscopales ajoutées, pour chaque solennité aux autres parties de la messe.

Dans ces documents du dixième siècle, à la publication desquels nos frères séparés ont consacré leurs soins, il m'a paru intéressant de rechercher s'il n'y aurait pas quelque attestation en faveur du dogme catholique de l'Eucharistie.

[1] John Gage, cité page précédente.

[2] H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, 1, in 8°, London, 1903.

[3] Léop. Delisle, *Mémoires de l'Académie ; Anciens Sacramentaires*, p. 216.

[4] W. Greenwell, *Pontifical of Egbert*, 1 vol. in 8° (Surtees Society), Durham, 1853.

[5] T. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, 1 vol. in 4°, Oxford, 1883.

III. Appoint que fournissent ces documents en faveur de la doctrine catholique sur l'Eucharistie

Dans les documents que je viens de signaler il n'existe point de formule de bénédiction épiscopale, sous cette rubrique: "benedictio sacrosanctæ Eucharistiæ," telle qu'on la rencontre ailleurs entre la Septuagésime et la Quadragésime:[1] mais dans le *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold*, je trouve jusqu'à deux formules, sous la rubrique: "In Cœna Domini,"[2] et une autre: "In die Natalis Domini,"[3] desquelles on peut inférer la présence réelle de Jésus dans l'Eucharistie par mode de transsubstantiation et dans la Messe le caractère d'un véritable sacrifice. Vous en jugerez par l'énoncé que je reproduis ici textuellement et par les réflexions que me suggère chacun de ces textes. Etant donné le moment où avait lieu la bénédiction, la formule doit présenter la vérité dogmatique comme un fait qui vient de s'accomplir sous les yeux de l'assemblée.

I. "In Cœna Domini."—Je commence par la deuxième formule, qui paraît appartenir en propre au *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold* puisqu'on ne la rencontre pas ailleurs. Le Pontife dit:

"Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, qui in hac die cum discipulis suis cœnans, panem in corpus suum, calicemque benedicens consecravit in sanguinem. ℟ Amen.

"Ipseque vos faciat pura conscientia mundaque ab omni sorde peccati, imminentem paschæ sollemnitatem cum exultatione placita sibi celebrare qui, cum discipulis discumbens, desiderio (inquid) desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum. ℟ Amen.

"Ipse mentem vestram sanctificet et vitam amplificet, castimoniam decoret, atque sensus vestros in bonis operibus semper ædificet. Amen.

"Quod ipse."

Vous remarquerez aisément l'allusion au fait de l'institution de l'Eucharistie: on y rapporte même une des paroles du Sauveur, telle qu'elle se lit dans Saint Luc, c. 22, v. 15.

[1] Par exemple, dans le *Bénédictional de Lambécius* et les *Analecta Vindobonensia de Kollar*, P. L., t. lxxviii., c. 602 et 629.

[2] *Archæologia*, t. xxiv., p. 76. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Les mots "in quid" sont évidemment une altération de "inquit."

Dans le premier membre, j'appelle votre attention sur les mots: "panem in corpus suum, calicemque benedicens consecravit (Deus) in sanguinem suum." C'est Jésus, le Dieu incarné, qui opére: la consécration qu'il fait (consecravit) accompagnée de bénédiction (benedicens) n'est point un acte ordinaire comme celui par lequel il bénissait les petits enfants; ce n'est pas, dit Bossuet, comme l'acte par lequel l'église bénit l'eau du baptême, le saint chrême, ou les saintes huiles:[1] ici nous pouvons voir les éléments offerts à Dieu en sacrifice, sacrifice qui est dans les paroles par lesquelles le pain est changé au corps et le vin au sang de Jésus avec une image de séparation et une espèce de mort. Les expressions "consecravit in corpus," "in sanguinem," réservées pour l'Eucharistie montrent manifestement que le changement qui s'y fait est bien d'une autre nature que celui qui se fait dans l'eau ou dans l'huile bénites ou consacrées. Ou les mots "in corpus, in sanguinem" joints au verbe "consecravit" sont inutiles, ou ils i mpliquent la transsubstantiation, c'est-à-dire la substance du corps et du sang de Jésus mise à la place de la substance du pain et du vin: d'où il suit qu'on devra traduire: "Par sa bénédiction Notre Seigneur consacra le pain pour en faire son corps, le vin pour en faire son sang." Et pourquoi ces paroles sont elles prononcées, en cet endroit, par le pontife s'adressant aux fidèles, si non pour leur rappeler que Jésus donna ce pouvoir extraordinaire à ses apôtres en ajoutant aussitôt après: "Hoc facite in . . ." Je ne puis me défendre de faire ici un rapprochement avec les paroles du canon qui précèdent la consécration, dans le *quam oblationem*, où nous lisons ces mots: "Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi." Les Protestants ont compris toute la portée de l'expression "ut nobis fiat" en faveur du dogme catholique et ils les ont supprimées: peut-être ne soupçonnaient-ils pas qu'on en retrouverait l'équivalent en cent autres endroits de la liturgie.[2]

[1] Bossuet, *Explication de quelques difficultés sur la messe*, pp. 29, 25, 23.

[2] Pour se rendre compte de ce qu'ont fait du canon de la messe, les rédacteurs du *Book of Common Prayer*, on peut lire dans Dom F. A.

J'ajouterai deux mots seulement au sujet des membres suivants de la formule: le second nous fait entendre clairement dans quelles dispositions de pureté de conscience on doit s'établir pour prendre part aux solennités pascales; le troisième décrit par mode de souhait les heureux effets de la présence de Jésus dans l'âme par une bonne communion: (sanctification, purification, augmentation de la vie spirituelle, action bienfaisante) jusque sur les sens: n'est ce point rappeler équivalemment les recommandations de Saint Paul dans l'épître de ce jour (1 Cor. xi. 28). "Probet autem seipsum . . ." et dire aux fidèles le respect d'adoration qu'ils doivent rendre à cet aliment divin qu'est la sainte Eucharistie?

II. "In Cœna Domini."—La première formule du *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold* pour le Jeudi Saint se lit aussi dans le *Bénédictional de l'Archevêque Robert* sous la rubrique "Benedictio ad Mandatum," puis dans le *Pontifical d'Egbert* et dans le *Missel de Léofric*. Elle est ainsi conçue:

"Benedicat vos Deus qui per unigeniti Filii sui passionem vetus pascha in novum voluit converti, concedatque vobis ut expurgato veteris fermenti contagio, nova in vobis perseveret conspersio. ℟ Amen.

"Et qui ad celebrandam redemptoris nostri cœnam mente devota convenistis, æternarum dapium vobiscum epulas reportetis. ℟ Amen.

"Ipsius quoque opitulante clementia mundemini a sordibus peccatorum, qui ad insinuandum humilitatis exemplum pedes voluit lavare discipulorum. ℟ Amen.[1]

"Quod ipse."

Les deux premiers membres de cette formule portent notre

Gasquet et Ed. Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, les pages 198, idée d'ensemble des changements opérés, 206-207 sur les mots "ut nobis fiat corpus et sanguis," et comparer ce qui est dit en Appendice, p. 444, etc., etc. Sur ces mêmes paroles "ut nobis fiat corpus," voir les réflexions de Bossuet, traité déjà cité pp. 8 et 9.

[1] Pour le *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold* voir *Archæologia*, t. xxiv., p. 75. *Bénédictional de l'Archevêque Robert*, p. 15, sous le titre: "Benedictio ad mandatum"; *Pontifical d'Egbert; Missel de Léofric*, p. 93. Cette formule se retrouve aussi, ailleurs par exemple dans le *Liber Sacramentorum Sancti Gregorii Magni*, édité par D. Ménard, P. L., t. lxxviii., c. 83-84.

attention sur le rapprochement entre la pâque ancienne et la pâque nouvelle, et certaines expressions sont empruntées à l'épître de Saint Paul que l'église nous fait lire au jour de la résurrection (1 Cor., c. v., 7, 8); le troisième membre est une allusion à l'évangile du Jeudi Saint (Jon. xiii., 1.) Le premier membre montre la passion du Fils unique de Dieu comme l'acte qui transforme l'ancienne pâque en une nouvelle: et c'est là, dit Bossuet,[1] porter une idée de sacrifice dans la Cène de Notre Seigneur. Car il ne faut pas que la nouvelle pâque soit inférieure à l'ancienne et comme dans la pâque des Hébreux il y avait un sacrement et un sacrifice, ainsi dans la nouvelle il y aura un agneau, toujours le même, Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, il y aura manducation réelle, puis effusion du sang: tout ceci ne peut se réaliser que par la présence réelle du corps de Jésus sous l'espèce du pain de son sang sous l'espèce du vin, par la séparation mystique de l'un et de l'autre. Saint Paul marque bien la relation du sacrement et du sacrifice dans ces deux textes que l'église nous fait lire en ces jours: d'une part, "Quotiescumque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bibetis mortem Domini annuntiabitis;"[2] — d'autre part, "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus."[3] Dans la secrète de ce même jour du Jeudi Saint[4] nous demandons à Notre Seigneur qu'il fasse agréer de son Père notre sacrifice, lui qui nous apprit à l'offrir en mémoire de lui, après avoir donné son corps et son sang à ses disciples.

Le deuxième membre de la formule rappelle le fait de l'institution de l'Eucharistie tel que le décrit Saint Paul et avec quelques expressions identiques.

Enfin, le troisième membre dit le grand acte d'humilité qui fut le prélude de l'institution et qui présente à tous les leçons de pureté, d'anéantissement données pour tous les siècles par la victime et l'aliment de nos âmes.

[1] Bossuet, traité déjà mentionné, pp. 32-34.

[2] Epître du Jeudi Saint, 1 Cor. xi., 20-34.

[3] Epître du Jour de Pâques, 1 Cor. v., 7.

[4] Secrète du Jeudi Saint: "Ipse tibi, quæsumus, Dne sancte, sacrificium nostrum reddat acceptum qui discipulis suis in sui commemorationem hoc fieri hodierna traditione (corporis et sanguinis sui videlicet) monstravit Jesu Christus Dominus noster."—D. Ménard, *Liber Sacramentorum Sancti Gregorii Magni*, P. L., t. lxxviii., c. 82 et 319.

III. "In die Natalis Domini." Voici la formule du *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold*:[1]

"Benedicat vos omnipotens Dominus, vestramque ad superna excitet intentionem qui hunc sacratissimum diem nativitate filii sui fecit esse solemnem. ℟ Amen.

"Et qui eum qui panis est angelorum in præsepi ecclesiæ cibum fecit esse fidelium animalium, ipse vos et in præsenti degustare faciat æternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum, et in futuro perducat ad satietatem æternorum præmiorum. ℟ Amen.

"Quique ejus infantiam vilibus indui voluit pannis, ipse vos cælestium indumentorum induat ornamentis. ℟ Amen.

"Quod ipse præstare."

L'invitation à contempler les merveilles d'un monde supérieur, adressée par le Pontife à l'assemblée chrétienne au moment de la fraction du pain me paraît être un appel à remarquer les contrastes entre la faiblesse, la petitesse, l'anéantissement de l'Enfant Jésus dans sa crêche, et la puissance, la grandeur, la gloire d'un Dieu qui met en mouvement tous les cieux pour chanter cet événement. Mais prenons garde que la sainte liturgie nous invite aussi à rapprocher deux mystères aussi intimement unis que le sont l'Incarnation et l'Eucharistie. Bossuet a établi ce rapprochement pour convaincre les protestants de son époque qu'ils ont eu tort de rejeter l'expression "ut fiat nobis corpus et sanguis" dont j'ai déjà parlé.[2]

"Nous disons que ce corps et ce sang sont faits *pour nous*, au même sens qu'il est écrit dans Isaïe: Un petit enfant nous est né, un fils nous est donné (Isa. ix. 6), non point pour faire entendre comme le prétendent les ministres, que les symboles sacrés ne sont faits le corps et le sang que dans le temps que nous les prenons, mais afin que nous concevions que c'est pour nous qu'ils sont faits dans ce mystère, de même que c'est pour nous qu'ils ont été conçus et formés dans le sein de la sainte

[1] *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold*, *Archæologia*, t. xxiv., p. 56; *Bénédictional de l'archevêque Robert*, p. 6; *Pontifical d'Egbert; Missel de Léofric*, p. 64. Comparer D. Ménard, *Liber Sacramentorum Sancti Gregorii*, P. L., t. lxxviii., c. 31.

[2] Bossuet, traité cité, p. 8 et 9.

Vierge.—Il faut donc entendre ici une espèce de production du corps et du sang dans l'Eucharistie aussi véritable et aussi réelle que celle qui fut faite dans le bienheureux sein de Marie, au moment de la conception et de l'incarnation du Fils de Dieu: production qui lui donne en quelque façon un nouvel être, par lequel il est sur la sainte table aussi véritablement qu'il a été dans le sein de la Vierge et qu'il est maintenant dans le ciel.—C'est pourquoi on se sert ici du mot de *faire* pour marquer une véritable et très réelle action qui se termine à faire dans ce saint mystère un vrai corps et un vrai sang, et le même qui fut fait au sein de Marie."[1]

Le rapprochement est dans la bénédiction dont nous nous occupons présentement: il est facile de s'en convaincre en comparant les deux premiers membres. Le premier est tout entier consacré au mystère de Noël, mais les idées de *crèche* et d'*aliment* exprimées dans le second nous font assez entendre que, dans les desseins de Dieu l'Incarnation fut une préparation à l'Eucharistie. La réalité doit exister de part et d'autre: de même que le Fils de Dieu a pris un corps réel et une âme réelle, en tout semblables aux nôtres, de même son corps et son sang sont une nourriture réelle présentée à nos âmes sous les saintes espèces; miracle pour miracle, Dieu dans sa puissance n'a pas plus de difficulté à réaliser le second que le premier; tous deux sont pour nous également croyables; le premier ne serait pas complet s'il ne recevait dans le second sa perfection et son achèvement.—Il y a plus; et les expressions "panis angelorum" . . . "cibum esse fidelium" . . . nous remettent en mémoire (*a*) la parole du Ps. lxxvii. 25: "panem angelorum manducavit homo," caractérisant la manne du désert (*b*) l'opposition que dans sa promesse, le divin Sauveur voulut établir entre cette nourriture grossière des Hébreux au désert et l'aliment de son corps: "Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto et mortui sunt. . . . Ego sum panis qui descendit de cælo. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in æternum," lisons nous dans l'évangéliste Saint Jean (ch. vi. 49).—Oserai-je dire enfin que ces mêmes paroles de la liturgie contiennent en

[1] Bossuet, *Explication des prières de la Messe*, éd. Vivès, t. xvii., p. 8. Ce passage est cité tout au long par Sala dans les œuvres du Card. Bona, *Rerum Liturgic.*, lib ii., c. xiii., t. iii., p. 276.

germe la strophe de Saint Thomas d'Aquin: "Panis angelicus." Et l'expression "animalium" me plait particulièrement; mieux que "animarum," elle me rappelle la crêche où l'Enfant Jésus fut déposé au moment de sa naissance, les animaux paisibles que la tradition place tout auprès dans la grotte de Béthlehem. Il ne me déplait pas d'être assimilé aux bêtes sans raison quand je songe aux abaissements du Fils de Dieu: d'ailleurs la sainte liturgie relève aussitôt mes pensées en me signalant les merveilleux effets de l'aliment divin: "Ipse vos et in præsenti degustare faciat æternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum, et in futuro perducat ad satietatem æternorum præmiorum." C'est comme une réminiscence de la recommandation de Jésus: "Operamini non cibum qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam." (S. Jean, vi., 27).[1]

Il n'est pas jusqu'aux apparences du pain et du vin qui ne se laissent voir sous ces langes de vil prix dont le divin Enfant fut enveloppé au jour de sa naissance, pour préparer à nos âmes un vêtement céleste d'immortalité: c'est le rapprochement que nous pouvons faire, en regardant le double mystère par l'extérieur, et qui est exprimé dans le troisième membre de la formule.

Conclusion

On trouverait sans doute un certain nombre d'autres bénédictions épiscopales qui fourniraient matière à de semblables constatations.[2] Il ne sert de rien de nous représenter que les

[1] *Archæologia*, t. xxiv., p. 56. La même formule est dans le *Bénédictionnaire de l'archevêque Robert*, éd. Wilson, p. 6, et dans *Leofric Missal*, éd. Warren, p. 64. *Le Pontifical d'Egbert*, porte le mot "animarum" au lieu de "animalium."

[2] Par exemple la formule "In Passione Domini" dans le *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold*, p. 75, elle renferme une allusion a l'incarnation, à la cène, et au sacrifice de la croix. "Deus qui pro salute mundi, verbum caro factum es et habitasti totus in nobis, qui post cænæ mysterium traditori perfido pium dedisti osculum, dum pro vita hominum pius voluisti agnus occidi, respice vota supplicum qui tua charismata fideliter amplectuntur." Encore, au septième dimanche après la Pentecote, *Bénédictional d'Æthelwold*, p. 91, il est question des âmes régénérées par le baptême et appelées à recevoir la plénitude des dons du saint Esprit: le Pontife rappelle à Dieu qu'il les a rassasiées de l'aliment de son corps. "Quorum animas mysterio sancti corporis tui satiasti . . ." etc.

bénédictionnaires invoqués ici sont de date trop récente pour nous attester la foi des premiers siècles, puisque, au dire des Protestants, la croyance à la présence réelle aurait commencé avec Paschase Radbert, auteur du neuvième siècle, que d'ailleurs ces bénédictions ne furent pas d'un usage universel. A quoi l'on peut aisément répondre, (1) qu'il existait certainement, avant le neuvième siècle et dans les siècles primitifs, des formules de prières attestant la croyance catholique, au dogme de l'Eucharistie, (2) que, si d'autres plus récentes ont été ajoutées, elles ont fait corps avec les anciennes pour attester la même croyance, (3) que les pays où ces bénédictions étaient en usage, comme l'Angleterre, devraient s'estimer honorés de fournir un appoint en faveur de la doctrine eucharistique et s'y attacher plus fortement. Bref, de nos jours comme au temps de Bossuet, on peut affirmer hautement que les formules de la liturgie montrent "la parfaite liaison de toute la doctrine catholique, caractère indubitable de sa vérité."[1]

Aussi, les novateurs (ceux d'Angleterre comme ceux d'Allemagne) me paraissent avoir fait une œuvre fort incomplète, pour ne pas dire inutile, lorsque s'attaquant au canon de la messe, qui était demeuré pratiquement le même durant treize siècles, ils y ont opéré des retranchements pour accréditer leur nouvelle doctrine. Œuvre *inutile*, car c'était reconnaitre aux textes retranchés une force probante en faveur du dogme catholique dont ils ne voulaient plus; œuvre *incomplète*, car l'élimination aurait dû porter, ce me semble, sur tous les documents liturgiques, soit anciens soit récents, le lien qui les relie permettant toujours de corroborer les uns à l'aide des autres.[2]

Je comprends que la constatation de ce fait, basé sur une tradition universelle et jamais interrompue, jette parfois le trouble dans les âmes sincères et réfléchies que compte l'Eglise Anglicane, que des personnages occupant une haute situation dans cette église tolérent dans une certaine mesure la croyance à la présence réelle, l'adoption de certaines pratiques en harmonie avec cette croyance.[3] Vaines concessions et demi-

[1] Bossuet, traité cité ; voir les pages 26 et 39.

[2] Pour les éliminations auxquelles il est fait ici allusion, voir les références données plus haut, p. 407 et 408.

[3] Allusion à la manière dont se sont exprimés sur l'Eucharistie, dans

mesures! la paix ne sera rétablie dans ces âmes que quand elles accepteront le dogme catholique de la présence réelle dans son intégrité et avec toutes ses conséquences. Puissent nos prières hâter la venue de cet heureux jour!

"Benedic, quæsumus, Domine, universam familiam tuam ad gaudia perpetuæ resurrectionis feliciter evocatam. ℟ Amen.

"Rectissimum catholicæ fidei tramitem teneat. . . . Amen.

"Nulla eos a rectitudine ecclesiastici dogmatis pravæ assertionis impietas deviet . . . sed in eadem unitatis fide manentes effici mereantur regni cælestis hæredes. Amen."[1]

BÉNÉDICTION ÉPISCOPALE

Par Dom F. Cabrol, O.S.B.

On trouve dans les livres liturgiques anglo-saxons un rite qui ne se rencontre pas dans les missels ni dans les sacramentaires romains, c'est la bénédiction dite épiscopale, parce qu'elle n'était donnée que par l'évêque; elle est placée à la messe entre la fraction de l'hostie et la communion. Cette bénédiction était donnée avec une formule dont l'expression varie, mais dont le moule reste le même.

Cette cérémonie liturgique paraît avoir eu une grande solennité en Angleterre, et on peut dire qu'elle y est représentée par une littérature liturgique spéciale. Il existe, en effet, des bénédictionaux ou bénédictionnaires anglo-saxons, le bénédictionnaire d'Æthelwold, et celui de Robert. Le missel de Léofric contient aussi des séries de ces bénédictions ainsi que le pontifical d'Egbert.

La question se pose maintenant de savoir quelle est l'origine de cette cérémonie et quel en est le caractère.

Un premier fait à constater, c'est qu'on retrouve cette bénédiction dans les liturgies gallicanes.

ces derniers temps le Dr Pusey; lettre du 13 juin 1882, datée d'Oxford et citée dans Vernon Statley, *Hierurgia Anglicana*, p. 341; l'Archevêque de Cantorbéry, dans un discours pastoral prononcé en 1898—citation et note données par Mgr. Moyes, *Aspects of Anglicanism*, p. 482.

[1] Formule tirée du *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, in tertia feria in litania majore, p. 20.

Dans le rite mozarabe, la bénédiction a lieu après l'oraison dominicale et la fraction.

Le IV concile de Tolède (c. 17 al. 18) en 633, dit: *ut post orationem dominicam et conjunctionem panis et calicis, benedictio in populum sequatur, et tunc demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur.*[1]

Les livres liturgiques mozarabes ont conservé les formules de ces bénédictions.[2]

Il en était de même en Gaule où la bénédiction suit l'oraison dominicale et précède la communion. Saint Germain dit: *ante communionem benedictio traditur.* Il faut remarquer que la fraction et le mélange des éléments ont eu lieu avant. Il dit aussi que la formule dont se sert le prêtre doit être plus courte: *propter servandum honorem pontificis, sacrati canones constituerunt ut longiorem benedictionem episcopus, breviorem presbyter funderet.*[3]

Aussi a-t-on pu écrire que cette bénédiction avant la communion est caractéristique des rites gallicans.[4] On la trouve donc dans les Sacramentaires gallicans. Dans le *Missale gothicum,* et le *Missale gallicanum vetus,* la *benedictio populi* précède la post-communion, comme dans la liturgie mozarabe, et se compose aussi de quatre membres avec la conclusion. On ne les trouve pas dans le Bobbiense.

De Moléon, dans son voyage liturgique, retrouva les traces de la bénédiction dans un grand nombre d'églises: Paris, Arles, Lyon, Rouen, Clermont, Angers, Le Mans, Chartres, etc.[5]

Mais John Gage n'a pas retrouvé cette bénédiction dans un

[1] *Cf.* Migne, P. L., t. lxxxv., col. 563. Dans ce rite la bénédiction est généralement introduite par ces mots: *Humiliate vos benedictioni.* En Espagne, il ne semble pas qu'il y eut de différence entre la bénédiction du prêtre et celle de l'évêque, tandis qu'en Gaule les conciles (Agde, par exemple, c. xliv.) ou interdisent au prêtre de bénir, ou prescrivent une bénédiction plus courte, comme le dit saint Germain dont on trouvera le texte plus loin.

[2] *Cf.* dans nos *Monumenta Liturgica,* le t. v., *Liber ordinum,* p. 229, 241, 246, 248, 258, etc., et Migne, P. L., t. lxxxv., col. 119, 565, etc.

[3] *Cf.* Migne, P. L., *loc. cit.,* t. lxxxv., col. 565.

[4] Lejay, dans notre *Dict. d'archéol. et de liturgie,* t. I., col. 1119.

[5] *Voyage liturgique en France,* Paris 1757.

exemplaire de la *Missa secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum*, imprimé à Messine en 1480.[1]

Dans le rit ambrosien les paroles: *Pax et communicatio Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper vobiscum* ℟ *Et cum spiritu tuo*, qui suivent aujourd'hui la commixtion et précèdent le baiser de paix, répondent à la bénédiction dont la formule, selon saint Germain de Paris, est: *Pax, fides et caritas, et communicatio, etc.*[2]

Cependant John Gage chercherait plutôt la trace de notre bénédiction dans celle qui, dans ce rite, est donnée après la post-communion et le *Procedamus in pace. Hac finita*, dit la rubrique, *faciat crucem super altare, et osculetur eam. Postea det populo benedictionem, quæ conveniat missæ quam dixit; sequens benedictio generaliter dicitur ad omnes missas dominicales et feriales nisi alia assignetur. Benedicat vos divina majestas, Pater* ✠ *et Filius* ✠ *et Spiritus sanctus* ✠. *Amen. Si celebratur de sanctis, in benedictione fit commemoratio illius vel illorum sanctorum, de quibus agitur hoc et simili modo. Precibus et meritis B. pontificis et confessoris Ambrosii, Deus vos benedicat et perducat ad gaudia paradisi. Et sic de aliis.*[3] Mais cette bénédiction correspond évidemment à la bénédiction ordinaire du prêtre à la fin de la messe romaine.

Le Pontifical ambrosien du XI[e] siècle, publié par Magistretti contient aussi une collection de bénédictions épiscopales.[4] Elles sont au nombre de soixante-sept, dont plusieurs concordent avec celles éditées par Ménard, Muratori et Gerbert. Leur présence dans ce manuscrit, prouve, comme le conclut Ceriani, que la bénédiction pontificale fut en usage à Milan, comme dans les églises des Gaules et d'Angleterre. Ces bénédictions avaient place avant la communion. L'Église d'Afrique avait certainement ces bénédictions, comme on le voit par la

[1] *Loc. cit*, p. 9, note u.

[2] C'est l'opinion de Lejay, cf. *Ambrosien* (rit) dans notre *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, col. 1419. *Cf.* La formule du Sacramentaire de Bergame dans *Auctarium Solesmense*, Solesmes, 1900, p. 95.

[3] Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Antwerp, 1796, t. i., p. 488; John Gage, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.

[4] Magistretti, *Pontificale in usum Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, dans *Monumenta veteris liturgiæ ambrosianæ*, Mediolani, 1897, *cf.* p. 32.

lettre du concile de Carthage à Innocent I pape contre Pélage, et par la lettre 179 de saint Augustin à Jean de Jérusalem. Il semble bien que c'est à cette bénédiction que fait allusion Optat de Milève quand il s'adresse aux donatistes en ces termes : *Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversis, dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis* (Le Brun, iii., 150 ; Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, l. ii., c. xvi., édition Sala, t. iii., p. 337).

Saint Augustin y fait allusion de son côté dans ces paroles : *Interpellationes autem, sive, ut nostri codices habent, postulationes fiunt cum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites velut advocati susceptos suos per manuum impositionem misericordissime offerunt potestati : quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio cuncta concludit.*[1] Le second concile de Milève appelle ces bénédictions *impositiones manuum*, indiquant ainsi de quelle façon elles doivent se faire : *Placuit etiam illud, ut preces, vel orationes, vel missae, quæ probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes, sive commendationes, sive manuum impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur.*[2]

Les liturgies orientales n'ont pas cette bénédiction épiscopale. La prière de l'évêque (au ch. xiii., l. vii. des Constitutions apostoliques) est plutôt une préparation à l'eucharistie qu'une bénédiction.[3] Cependant la messe grecque d'après la liturgie de saint Basile et de saint Jean Chrysostome, n'a pas moins de trois bénédictions du peuple, l'une avant la communion, l'autre après l'action de grâce, la dernière après la distribution du pain bénit. La première semble bien analogue à notre bénédiction épiscopale. En voici la forme d'après la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome : *Sacerdos benedicit populum alta voce dicens : Salva Deus populum tuum, et benedic haereditati tue : et Chorus . . . in multos annos, Domine.*[4]

Pour la liturgie romaine, la plupart des liturgistes nient qu'elle eut la bénédiction épiscopale, tel Mabillon (*Comment. in Ord. Rom.*, n. 7), Georgi (*de Liturgia Rom. Pontif.*, t. iii., c. iii.,

[1] *Epist.* 59 *ad Paulinum*, p. 5. [2] C. xii.

[3] *Cf.* Le Brun, *Explic. de la messe*, Paris, 1777, t. iii., pp. 68, 93, 94.

[4] J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, Lut. Paris, 1647, pp. 83, 84.

sect. 6, p. 117), *cf.* aussi notre *Dict. d'archéol. chrét et de liturgie*, t. ii., col. 717 *et seq.*[1]

Vezzosi fait aussi remarquer que les *Benedictiones super populum* dont nous avons conservé l'usage en carême dans cette liturgie, ne sont pas la bénédiction épiscopale.[2]

On cite même comme décisif ce texte du pape Zacharie dans une lettre à Boniface, où il semble condamner formellement ces bénédictions: *Pro benedictionibus autem quas faciunt Galli, ut nosti, frater, multis vitiis variantur. Nam non ex apostolica traditione hoc faciunt sed per vanam gloriam, adhibentes sibi damnationem. . . . Regulam itaque catholicae traditionis, quam a sancta Romana ecclesia, cui Deo auctore desservio, accepisti, omnibus prædica.* Mabillon applique ces mots sans hésiter aux bénédictions épiscopales, et John Gage suit cette interprétation.[3]

Les bénédictions épiscopales qui se trouvent dans certains exemplaires des missels grégoriens, en sont distinctes. Il semble bien qu'elles aient été ajoutées à ces livres pour les rendre conformes aux usages gallicans; les formules de ces bénédictions sont rejetées à la fin, comme on le voit dans l'édition de Pamelius ou de Muratori, et si Ménard les a insérées dans le corps de son sacramentaire, c'est de son autorité privée, et on lui a reproché justement cette modification.[4]

On a conclu d'après cela, assez généralement, que la présence de la bénédiction épiscopale dans les livres anglo-saxons, était un souvenir des liturgies gallicanes, qui furent adoptées, croit-on, par les églises de Bretagne. Cette solution nous paraît un peu précipitée.

Cependant, John Gage, dans sa dissertation déjà citée sur

[1] Mabillon, *In ordin. Rom. comment.*, P. L., t. lxxviii., col. 878, 879. *Cf.* col. 975; Thomasi, *Opera*, t. vi., p. 41; Le Brun, *Explication*, t. iii., p. 263. *Cf.* aussi Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, t. i., p. 79.

[2] Vezzosi-Thomasi, *Opera*, vi., p. 147.

[3] Mabillon, *in ord. Rom. commentarius*, c. vii., *Museum Ital.*, t. ii., p. 52; John Gage, *A Dessertation on S. Æthelwold's Benedictional*, dans *Archæologia*, t. xxiv., p. 5.

[4] Pamelius, *Liturgicon eccles. Latin.* t. ii., p. 388; Ménard, P. L., t. lxxviii., col. 602; Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, t. i., pp. 80, 81.

le bénédictional d'Æthelwold, n'est pas éloigné de croire que cette bénédiction a pu autrefois exister dans la messe romaine.[1] L'absence de toute bénédiction dans le léonien, le gélasien, ou même dans les grégoriens—s'il est vrai que dans ceux où se trouvent les formules de bénédictions, il faut les considérer comme des additions gallicanes—cette absence, disons-nous, ne prouverait pas grand chose, car, naturellement, ces sacramentaires ne contiennent pas les parties qui, comme les épîtres, les évangiles, ou les portions chantées, sont recueillies dans les livres liturgiques séparés.[2]

Il nous semble que la liturgie anglo-saxonne est romaine par ses origines, exclusivement romaine.[3] Rien d'impossible, assurément, dans l'hypothèse d'un emprunt fait par Augustin aux liturgies bretonnes ou gallicanes qu'il trouvait en usage autour de lui. La lettre de S. Grégoire, déjà citée, lui donnait sur ce point toute liberté. Cependant, étant donné le caractère d'Augustin, il semble peu porté aux nouveautés et, pour le dire en un mot, il est d'esprit plutôt étroit et formaliste. De plus, les relations entre Bretons et moines romains ne furent rien moins que bienveillantes.

Ces derniers semblent bien plus portés à reprocher aux Bretons leurs singularités, qu'à leur faire des emprunts.

Puis, à étudier ces formulaires de bénédictions dans les manuscrits d'Æthelwold, de Robert, d'Egbert, la forme et le style sont bien plus romains que gallicans, si l'on doit attacher quelque importance à cette question.

Enfin, si l'on remonte au delà de l'époque où s'affirment les différences entre familles liturgiques, la bénédiction épiscopale

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 6 *et seq.*

[2] Lambécius a édité, comme appartenant au sacramentaire grégorien romain, donné à Charlemagne, un bénédictional, *Lambecius, Comment. de Biblioth. Cæsar.*, l. ii., c. v., p. 299. Le sacramentaire grégorien de Grimoldus, publié par Pamélius contient aussi un bénédictional; le grégorien, édité par Angelo Rocca, n'a pas les bénédictions; Dom Ménard inséra les bénédictions comme partie intégrante du grégorien dans son éd. déjà citée, et les Mauristes, éditeurs des œuvres de S. Grégoire, Rome, 1703, suivirent son exemple. Muratori donne aussi un bénédictional à la fin de son édition du sacramentaire grégorien. Et ces bénédictions sont maintenues dans l'éd. de Venise du pontifical romain en 1520. Sur cette éd. *cf.* John Gage, *loc. cit.*, p. 3 et 14.

[3] Voir notre *Angleterre Chrétienne*, p. 294 *seq.*

apparaît comme un des ces rites généraux dont on retrouve un peu partout les vestiges.

L'un des plus anciens exemples est celui qui nous est conservé dans la *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* de la fin du IV^e^ siècle. La bénédiction épiscopale y apparaît comme un rite qui n'est pas approprié à la messe, mais qui paraît la finale obligée de tous les grands offices.[1]

A côté de ce témoignage, il faut citer ceux de plusieurs autres écrivains anciens. Nous n'avons pas à revenir sur ceux de S. Augustin et d'Optat de Milève, sinon pour faire remarquer que ces docteurs n'en parlent pas comme d'un rite particulier à l'Église d'Afrique, mais plutôt comme d'un rite général. *Cur ergo manus imponitis, et benedictionis opus creditis,* dit S. Ambroise;[2] *Extenta manu,* dit de son côté S. Jérôme, *ut benedicere eos putes, si nescias, pretia accipiunt salutandi.*[3]

Le pape Damase, écrivant à Prosper, évêque de Numidie, et à d'autres évêques africains, condamne les chorévêques qui exerçaient les fonctions d'évêques, et donnaient la bénédiction au peuple.[4] Mais il ne condamne pas cette bénédiction en elle-même.

Il semble donc que l'Église romaine n'ait pas ignoré ce rite. Les liturgistes admettent, du reste assez généralement, que la liturgie de l'Église d'Afrique devait être à peu près semblable à celle de Rome. Il serait donc possible, selon nous, que les formulaires de bénédictions que nous ont conservé les livres anglo-saxons, ne soient autre chose que le bénédictional romain, perdu ou tombé en désuétude à Rome. Ce n'est qu'une hypothèse, mais il est possible que des études postérieures en apportent une démonstration plus autorisée.

Comment et à quelle époque ce rite aurait-il disparu? Il n'est pas facile de le dire. Cependant il faut rappeler encore

[1] Dom Cabrol, *Les Eglises de Jérusalem, Etude sur la Peregrinatio Silviæ*, Paris, 1893, p. 43; *cf.* aussi, Car. Rampolla, *Santa Melania giuniore senatrice Romana*, p. 253.

[2] S. Ambr., l. i., *De pœnit.*, c. 7.

[3] Hieron, *ep. ad Eust.* Dom Ménard dans son commentaire démontre que ces passages se rapportent à la bénédiction de la messe. *Notæ et observ.*, pp. 27, 28.

[4] *Damasi opera*, ép. ix., p. 107, Parisiis, 1672.

que toute la partie finale de la messe romaine: Pater, fraction, baiser de paix, a été assez profondément modifiée par S. Grégoire et que la bénédiction de l'évêque a pu disparaître avec la prière de la fraction. Toujours est-il que dans les *Ordines romani*, il n'est pas question de cette bénédiction, sauf dans le second, mais le contexte semble bien prouver que la bénédiction n'est ici qu'une addition de la liturgie locale: *Post solutas, ut in his partibus mos est, pontificales benedictiones, cum dixerit: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, mittit in calicem a sancta oblata.*[1]

Si l'on accepte cette hypothèse, il faudrait donc dire que, non seulement la bénédiction épiscopale dans les livres anglo-saxons n'est pas une preuve de l'influence de liturgies étrangères sur celle de S. Augustin et de ses successeurs, mais qu'elle serait au contraire un vestige d'une plus ancienne liturgie romaine.

Quoi que l'on pense de la question d'origine, la présence des formules de bénédictions épiscopales dans tous ces livres anglo-saxons constitue un de leurs caractères les plus curieux et méritait bien d'être signalé.

On voit d'après l'exemple d'Æthelwold que ce recueil de bénédictions a constitué un livre liturgique spécial. Dans d'autre cas, le bénédictionnaire est relié au pontifical et semble ne faire qu'un avec lui (par exemple pour le Benedictional de Robert); mais même dans ce cas, le recueil des bénédictions reste bien distinct, et l'éditeur remarque que l'ornementation n'est pas la même pour les deux parties du recueil, et "qu'entre la partie qui contient le pontifical et celle qui contient les bénédictions, on a laissé quelques pages en blanc, comme pour marquer l'intention de relier les deux parties séparément." [2]

Le bénédictional de Robert est un autre exemple tout aussi caractéristique de l'usage de ces bénédictions, ainsi que le pontifical d'Egbert (cité ci-dessus) et le missel de Léofric.

[1] Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

[2] A. H. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archb. Robert*, p. 11, note 1. Sur les bénédictionnaires, *cf.* cet article dans notre *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, t. ii., col. 727; Wordsworth, *The old Service Books of the English Church*, pp. 225, 226.

LES CHANTS DE L'ÉGLISE ET L'EUCHARISTIE

Par Dom A. Gatard, O.S.B., Prieur de Farnborough.

Il semble qu'un congrès eucharistique ne serait pas complet si on n'y lisait au moins un rapport sur le chant liturgique. La liturgie, en effet, depuis la messe, qui se continue, pour ainsi dire, par les expositions, processions, et bénédictions du T. S. Sacrement, jusqu'à l'office divin qui se rapporte au saint sacrifice comme à son centre, la liturgie se déroule tout entière autour de la sainte Eucharistie, de sorte que le chant qui l'accompagne peut à bon droit être appelé le chant eucharistique. Il faut en parler dans un congrès comme le nôtre, parce que ce chant occupe une place très considérable dans les cérémonies religieuses, et la dignité du culte que nous rendons au T. S. Sacrement en dépend en grande partie.

Un prêtre américain, très versé dans les choses musicales, commençait naguère une série de spirituels articles sur la musique d'église par cette citation du ch. 32 de l'Ecclésiastique: "Rectorem te posuerunt? . . . non impedias musicam," ce qui pourrait se traduire ainsi, en usant du sens accommodatice: "Vous a-t-on nommé recteur?—ou curé—n'empêchez pas la musique." Puis il met en scène un bon curé, très intelligent et rempli des meilleures intentions, qui après s'être donné beaucoup de mal pour doter son église d'un bel orgue et d'une maîtrise modèle, s'aperçoit en lisant le *motu proprio* que jusqu'ici tous ses efforts n'ont servi qu'à "empêcher la musique."

Est-ce que de notre temps et dans nos pays cette parole ne pourrait pas s'appliquer à la lettre en beaucoup d'endroits? Pourquoi en effet entendons-nous de tant de côtés des plaintes au sujet de la musique d'église? Parce que trop souvent ceux qui ont la charge des cérémonies sacrées "empêchent la musique." Est-ce à dire qu'ils y mettent de la mauvaise volonté? Oh! non, ce sont des prêtres pleins de zèle, qui se dépensent pour le salut des âmes, mais qui négligent ce point important parce que leur attention est occupée par un trop

grand nombre d'autres objets: un des résultats d'un congrès comme celui-ci devrait être de présenter vivement ce sujet à leurs esprits, et de les décider à faire quelque chose pour que le chant ecclésiastique soit vraiment digne du mystère auguste qu'il est appelé à honorer.

On peut "empêcher la musique" de bien des manières; le court espace de temps dont je dispose me contraint de n'en examiner que trois, et encore d'une manière bien superficielle: heureux si mes paroles peuvent suggérer à qui de droit des réflexions salutaires.

Quelques uns "empêchent la musique" sans le vouloir, parce qu'ils ne lui reconnaissent pas toute l'importance qu'elle a. Il est tant d'œuvres de première nécessité qui, semble-t-il, suffisent amplement à occuper l'attention d'un prêtre: catéchismes, patronages, cercles, conférences de toutes sortes: tout cela est nécessaire pour conserver la foi à ceux qui l'ont, pour la rendre à ceux qui l'ont perdue, et on s'imagine facilement que la musique, même liturgique, est un simple ornement, un accessoire que l'on peut négliger, dont il est loisible de se dispenser à volonté, sans nuire à la perfection du tout.

Erreur profonde! Raisonner ainsi, c'est tout simplement aller à l'encontre de ce que Dieu a mis dans notre nature humaine. Partout et toujours l'homme a chanté; il est des moments où les émotions de tout genre qui viennent le secouer se font sentir d'une manière si intense, que le langage ordinaire est impuissant à les rendre, et alors il chante; il chante pour manifester sa joie, il chante pour exprimer sa douleur, il chante pour donner libre cours aux aspirations de son âme. Est-ce que ces trois raisons de chanter ne se trouvent pas éminemment dans le culte divin? reconnaissance et joie lorsque nous nous rappelons les bienfaits de Dieu, douleur profonde au souvenir de notre ingratitude et à la pensée des dangers et des misères qui nous environnent, prière ardente pour demander le secours dont nous sentons si vivement le besoin. Aussi la musique a-t-elle été une partie intégrante des rites sacrés dans tous les temps et dans toutes les religions. Ajouterai-je que de tous les arts que l'église rend sacrés en les employant pour donner plus d'éclat au culte, la musique est peut-être le plus indispensable? l'église où vous êtes peut avoir des proportions

exiguës et ressembler à l'étable de Bethléem; dès qu'une musique digne des mystères qui s'y célèbrent se fait entendre, vous cessez d'apercevoir les murs nus et enfumés, vous n'êtes plus écrasé par le toit qui semble prêt à s'abattre sur vous, votre pensée reçoit des ailes qui l'enlèvent bien au dessus de ces objets désagréables, et qui la déposent jusqu'au pied du trône de Dieu, dans la compagnie des anges et des saints qui chantent la louange divine.

Je crois que personne ne contestera l'importance de la musique dans les cérémonies sacrées, mais il est une autre manière "d'empêcher la musique," dans le sens où j'ai employé cette expression; elle consiste à introduire et à maintenir dans la liturgie une musique qui ne convient pas.

Tout le monde conviendra, en théorie au moins, que si nous admettons la musique à l'église, cette musique devra être ce qu'il y a de mieux, de plus artistique. Je dis en théorie, car ce que nous entendons trop souvent dans nos églises fait voir que la pratique est souvent contraire. Mais est-ce que toute musique artistique convient au lieu saint? Si cette question était posée pour toute autre espèce d'art la réponse ne serait pas douteuse: personne ne songerait à bâtir une église ou à la décorer dans le même style qu'un théâtre: partout on fait une distinction entre l'art sacré et l'art profane. Pourquoi oublie-t-on si souvent cette distinction quand il s'agit de musique? Pourtant le Saint Père l'a nettement posée dans son *motu proprio* lorsqu'il dit: "Parmi les divers genres de musique moderne, celui qui a paru le moins propre à accompagner les fonctions du culte est le style théâtral . . . La structure intime, le rythme, et ce que l'on appelle le *conventionalisme* de ce style ne se plient que mal aux exigences de la vraie musique liturgique." Nous voici avertis: le style théâtral doit être à jamais banni des fonctions sacrées. Mais, dira-t-on, il est admis par tous que la célébration de la liturgie est un drame; il semble donc naturel d'admettre avec M. Vincent d'Indy dans la Tribune de Saint Gervais que la musique qui l'accompagne doit être dramatique. Je suis complètement d'accord sur ce point avec l'éminent musicien, mais ici encore il faut faire une distinction. Il y a une grande différence entre un drame représenté sur la scène, et la sublime tragédie qui se déroule

dans nos temples lorsque la liturgie y est célébrée. Au théâtre, l'assemblée se divise en deux parties: les acteurs et les spectateurs: l'objet de la musique qu'on y entend est de faire impression sur ceux qui écoutent; un acteur aura d'autant mieux atteint son but qu'il aura fait passer d'une manière plus complète les sentiments du compositeur dans les cœurs de ceux à qui il s'adresse. À l'église cette division n'existe pas; il n'y a point d'auditoire, tous sont acteurs, tous ont leur rôle à jouer dans le grand drame qui y est renouvelé; par conséquent le but de la musique qu'on y exécute doit être, non de produire une impression sur un auditoire qui n'existe pas, mais d'exprimer les sentiments de l'assemblée. Aussi M. d'Indy a-t-il raison de dire que la musique liturgique doit être collective, c'est-à-dire que chaque membre de l'assemblée des fidèles doit pouvoir s'en servir pour donner essor à ses propres sentiments de joie, de tristesse, et de prière.

Ce caractère se retrouve dans la musique polyphonique du seizième siècle, aussi le Saint Père recommande-t-il hautement ce style de musique dans son *motu proprio*. Oserai-je dire que cette musique elle-même, qui produit parfois des effets sublimes, ne me paraît pas répondre d'une manière parfaite aux exigences de la vraie musique liturgique? Elle est bien belle, et bien religieuse, mais aussi elle est bien difficile, et cette difficulté même fait qu'elle n'est abordable qu'à des chœurs relativement peu nombreux et composés de voix bien exercées. Ceci nous fait retomber jusqu'à un certain point dans la distinction entre acteurs et auditeurs, bien que les fidèles qui écoutent cette sorte de musique puissent plus facilement y trouver l'écho et l'expression de leurs propres sentiments. La musique qui remplit le plus parfaitement les conditions d'une musique liturgique doit être assez simple pour que le peuple tout entier puisse prendre part à son exécution. On a compris cette nécessité, et on s'est mis à composer des mélodies en style soit-disant populaire; elles sont simples, vraiment, mais il faut bien dire que la plupart du temps elles manquent absolument de valeur artistique. Pourquoi s'acharner à composer et à chanter ces pauvretés musicales, lorsque l'Église nous offre une musique qui posséde au plus haut degré toutes les qualités requises? On comprend que je veux parler du

chant grégorien. Le Souverain Pontife nous le présente comme l'idéal du chant d'église, et s'il recommande la polyphonie classique, c'est parce "qu'elle approche fort bien du modèle suprême de toute musique sacrée, qui est le chant grégorien." Je voudrais avoir le temps de montrer que ce chant possède les trois qualités que j'ai énumérées plus haut, qu'il est éminemment artistique, qu'il est collectif, c'est-à-dire merveilleusement apte à exprimer les sentiments d'une assemblée, enfin qu'il est populaire, c'est-à-dire simple et facile, ce qui fait le Pape désirer et recommander que le peuple y prenne part. Mais chacun de ces points suffirait pour faire l'objet d'une conférence, et le temps me manque. Il faut que je passe au troisième prétexte que l'on a pour "empêcher la musique."

Quelle est donc cette nouvelle difficulté qui vient "empêcher la musique"? "Je voudrais bien faire quelque chose, mais je ne sais comment m'y prendre: je n'ai pas les moyens de réussir."

La première condition pour réussir, c'est de *vouloir* faire quelque chose, et de vouloir le faire bien. Pour cela il faut se tenir en haleine, et on y arrive en entretenant des relations avec ceux qui sont déjà dans le mouvement, et qui réussissent. Ils sont assez nombreux pour qu'on n'ait pas à les chercher très loin, et de nos jours les voyages sont si faciles! Puis il y a des ouvrages publiés sur la matière: depuis que les Mélodies grégoriennes de Dom Pothier ont ouvert des horizons nouveaux aux amateurs du chant de l'Église, les méthodes ont abondé, et les dernières années en ont vu paraître en diverses langues qui sont bien près de la perfection. Des revues spéciales paraissent aussi en grand nombre, qui apportent des lumières nouvelles sur bien des points, et donnent des conseils pratiques qui ne sauraient trouver place dans les méthodes.

Lorsqu'on est bien persuadé de la nécessité de faire quelque chose, et qu'on est décidé à agir, il faut former un chœur. Il est peut-être difficile, et même impossible de réformer nos bons vieux chantres, qui depuis bien des années font retentir des éclats de leurs voix les voûtes de nos églises, mais nous avons les écoles, les patronages, les cercles de jeunes gens qui existent presque partout, voire même les congrégations d'Enfants de

Marie. Je sais par expérience qu'il est facile d'apprendre aux enfants à chanter très convenablement; leurs voix souples se plient aisément au rythme du chant grégorien, et au moyen de pieuses industries on arrive sans trop de peine à produire en eux l'enthousiasme. Bien entendu il faut avancer pas à pas, et ce serait une imprudence que de vouloir aborder dès le début les morceaux difficiles tels que les graduels. Mais il est une foule d'autres morceaux tels que l'ordinaire de la messe, les hymnes, un grand nombre d'antiennes qui sont très simples, très chantantes, et parmi lesquelles on trouve de vrais petits chefs d'œuvre, des pièces ravissantes de fraîcheur et d'expression simple.

Mais où trouver un professeur? C'est là que gît vraiment la difficulté; on trouve très peu de personnes capables d'enseigner le chant grégorien d'une manière suffisante. Ici je devrai me borner à exprimer un vœu que je soumets humblement à l'autorité compétente, c'est que dans les petits et grands séminaires des cours sérieux de chant grégorien soient établis afin qu'un plus grand nombre de prêtres soient capables de former des chœurs de chant dans leurs paroisses. Mais ici encore il ne faut pas s'effrayer outre mesure: avec du zèle et de la bonne volonté on arrive à faire des merveilles; je pourrais citer des prêtres sans aucune connaissance musicale, qui, par la seule force de leur volonté ont réussi, non seulement à renouveler le chant dans les paroisses dont ils étaient chargés, mais encore à créer autour d'eux un mouvement fécond. Je souhaite qu'ils aient beaucoup d'imitateurs, et alors personne ne se plaindra de ce que la musique soit "empêchée." La liturgie sera mieux comprise de nos populations, elles y prendront une part active, et la foi en deviendra plus éclairée et plus solide.

LE MOTET POLYPHONIQUE—L'ŒUVRE DE LA *SCOLA CANTORUM* DE PARIS.

Par Félix Raugel, Maitre de Chapelle de Notre Dame de la Croix de Paris.

Il est impossible de vous présenter aujourd'hui un tableau complet de la musique polyphonique de la Renaissance, la multiplicité des faits et des œuvres ne permettant pas de resserrer dans le cadre d'une seule conférence tout ce qui fait la trame d'un aussi vaste sujet.

Nous nous bornerons donc à examiner le *motet:* après une brève esquisse historique, nous essayerons de montrer comment le motet de l'époque dite *palestrinienne* s'accorde avec le principe fondamental posé par Sa Sainteté Pie X. dans son *motu proprio;* puis, poursuivant vers les temps modernes, nous verrons, après un long temps d'oubli, renaître l'idéal liturgique de la polyphonie classique; mouvement heureux qui se produisit, parallèlement à la restauration bénédictine, du chant grégorien; là, il faudra se borner à ce qui a été entrepris en France: après avoir résumé les efforts des précurseurs nous nous arrêterons à examiner l'œuvre de la *Scola Cantorum*—les auditions, les travaux historiques et pratiques de cette société.

Puis nous conclurons en pensées joyeuses de confiance et de force, puisque de l'histoire artistique se dégage toujours un caractère de plénitude et de paix, et surtout de l'histoire du plus puissant et du plus profond des arts mis au service de la sainte liturgie.

Le *motet* (synonyme, dans l'ancienne langue, de petite composition poétique: motet, *petit mot*) prit naissance vers la fin du XII^{e} siècle.

Il tira son origine des pièces d'*organum* (compositions mélodiques sans paroles, à plusieurs parties, construites sur un chant donné, le *tenor*, tiré du répertoire liturgique).

L'exécution des pièces d'*organum* était admise dans les églises; car en 1198, Eudes de Sully, évêque de Paris, autorise leur emploi pendant l'office.

Le motet exista quand on eut l'idée d'adapter à ces pièces d'*organum* un texte poétique en latin ou en langue vulgaire.

Mais bientôt les compositeurs inventèrent directement des mélodies de motets sans plus rien emprunter aux pièces d'*organum*.

Alors les "déchanteurs," à grand peine, affinent et perfectionnent la polyphonie primitive; ils édifient des triples et des quadruples. Les traités de François de Cologne, Jerôme de Moravie, Petrus Picardus, Jean de Garlande, témoins de ces essais nous ont été conservés. Bientôt le motet devient le principal élément du répertoire polyphonique des jongleurs, qui en avaient le monopole; il brille dans les fêtes populaires et accompagne la poésie réaliste et passionnée des trouvères. Cependant, plusieurs élévent l'idéal de leur poésie jusqu'au sentiment religeux.

Il convient ici de saluer affectueusement l'Isle de France, berceau de l'architecture gothique et peu après de l'*art harmonique:* Notre Dame de Paris est en effet au XIII^e^ siècle le centre d'un grand et fécond mouvement musical. On exécute dans cette auguste cathédrale les œuvres de Maître Perotinus, *optimus discantor*, celles de Leoninus, et de Robert de Sabillon. À la fin du siècle de S. Louis, on mélange dans les motets la poésie latine, et les versets en langue vulgaire.[1] Au XIV^e^ siècle, le motet passe aux mains de Jean de Groches, Philippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Machant, Jean de Muris, pour n'en citer que quelques uns, et ces maîtres furent glorieux; mais l'ère des abus était commencée, et le clergé qui avait toléré le motet dans le culte s'émut de ces mélanges de textes liturgiques et de poésie vulgaire: en 1324, le pape Jean XXII., dans la bulle *Docta sanctorum*, s'élève contre les abus de la musique figurée et s'exprime ainsi au sujet des motets en langue vulgaire: *nonnulli novellæ Scolæ discipuli . . . melodias . . . triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnunquam inculcant adeo ut interdum antiphonarii et graduarii fundamenta despiciant.*

Le motet prend alors conscience de sa forme musicale en même temps qu'il s'épure au point de vue du texte, et au

[1] *Cf.* Pierre Aubry, *Cent Motets du XIII^e^ Siècle*, Paris, Rouart, 88 rue d'Anjou; et Dr Johannes Wolf, *Histoire de la Notation Mesurée de* 1250-1460, Leipzig, 1904.

XV^e siècle avec Dufay, Ockeghem, Jacobus Obrecht, . . . il prend un sens exclusivement sacré.

Le but des maîtres est maintenant de fournir aux offices de l'Église, à côté du chant grégorien, un répertoire de morceaux appropriés aux différentes fêtes de l'année liturgique.

Les maîtrises illustres et les chapelles des princes rivalisent de zèle et de talent: Leon X attire à Rome les grands artistes du Nord; le Roi de France, l'Empereur, les petites cours d'Italie arrêtent au passage plus d'un compositeur de génie.

Après plusieurs années de travail enthousiaste, ces mêmes artistes, presque tous prêtres ou clercs, retournent dans les cathédrales de leur pays d'origine, avec le titre de chanoines, pour y établir de fortes et fécondes traditions.

Au début du XVI^e siècle, le nom de Josquin des Près remplit l'Europe de sa gloire. Partout ses motets sont connus et admirés; tous les musiciens s'unissent pour célébrer sa gloire: Glarean, Gafori, Coclius, et mille autres rendent hommage à son génie; le Souverain Pontife, le roi de France, le comblent de faveurs.

Autour de Josquin, Loyset Compère, Pierre de la Rue Brumel, Berchem, élévent leurs monuments à la gloire de l'école franco-belge.

Les élèves de Josquin,—Richafort, Mouton, Coclicus, Gombert,—continuent l'œuvre du maître. Willaert, le principal élève de Mouton, devient le fondateur de l'*école vénitienne* d'où sortirent les Zarlino, Cyprien de Rore, Viola, Porta, et Gabrieli.

En Allemagne fleurit la gloire de Henri Isaac, Louis Senfl, Jacob Händl, Leo Hassler.

Le premier recueil de motets paraît à Venise, chez Petrucci, le 15 mai 1501; chaque année paraîssent de nouveaux recueils, à Paris, à Augsbourg, et à Munich . . . précieux imprimés maintenant conservés dans les grandes bibliothèques d'Europe.[1]

Au point de vue purement musical, une divergence s'accuse nettement entre le motet et la messe: à celle-ci les longs développements et les combinaisons scientifiques, à celui-là l'expression, la concision, et la variété.

Au milieu du XVI^e siècle apparaîssent Palestrina, Lassus,

[1] La bibliothèque du British Museum, en particulier, en posséde de magnifique exemplaires.

Vittoria, une phalange nouvelle de musiciens accomplis les entoure; à l'école franco-flamande de Josquin, succède l'école *romaine*, qui compte: Festa, Animuccia (l'ami de S. Philippe de Néri), Nanini, Anerio, Suriano, et bien d'autres; l'Espagne a Guerrero et Morales; le Portugal: Mendes, Duarte Lobo, et Cardoso.

"Le motet polyphonique vocal, écrit Michel Brenet, atteint sa perfection dernière, au double point de vue *rituel et musical.* Il se plie par le choix des textes, et la dimension des morceaux aux prescription de l'Église, à l'ordre de l'année liturgique: il suit scrupuleusement la lettre de l'office et en interprète pieusement l'esprit; sa tonalité est celle du chant grégorien, dont s'inspire pareillement la souple liberté rythmique de ses formes mélodiques; sa structure harmonique, uniquement vocale, demeure d'expression universelle et impersonelle par l'emploi constant de la pluralité des voix, qui représente, en l'idéalisant sous l'aspect artistique le plus pur à la fois et le plus raffiné, l'union constante et indissoluble des fidèles dans l'accomplissement du premier des devoirs religieux—la prière."

Le motet polyphonique fit l'indicible splendeur du culte de l'Église romaine, et la gloire de Palestrina devint telle, qu'il mérita de personnifier aux yeux de la foule—l'*art catholique.*

Comment vous parler de cette musique? . . . Pourquoi parler, alors qu'il faut seulement écouter, et ecouter sous les voûtes des cathédrales! Les verrières filtrent le jour, l'encens s'évapore, et la prière modulée se déroule en volutes harmoniques au dessus de la foule à genoux; les pierres elles-mêmes chantent: c'est l'inoubliable *Ave verum* de Josquin, un *Tantum* de Palestrina, ou le *Pange lingua* de Vittoria! . . . Mais nous entendons chaque jour de ce congrès cette musique, exécutée par l'admirable maîtrise de la cathédrale de Westminster et là, nous pouvons juger, qu'elle n'est point dans le culte un ornement superflu.

Certes l'artiste y étudiera avec un ravissement toujours nouveau, le secret de la plus pure écriture musicale: un Jean Sébastien Bach la lira avec enthousiasme, un Richard Wagner, parlant "des chef-d'œuvres de la musique d'église italienne" écrira:[1] "son exécution produit sur l'âme un effet si merveilleux,

[1] R. Wagner, *Lettre sur la musique.*

si profond, que nulle autre ne saurait lui être comparable." Cependant cette musique ne veut être que le commentaire vivant et fidèle de la liturgie.

Aussi Sa Sainteté Pie X., après avoir, dans son *motu proprio* résumé definitivement les principes qui réglent la musique sacrée dans les fonctions du culte, accorde-t-il une large place à la musique polyphonique de la Renaissance:

"*La polyphonie classique, mérite d'être jointe au chant grégorien dans les fonctions les plus solennelles de l'Église, telles que les offices pontificaux. Elle devra donc aussi être largement restituée dans les fonctions ecclésiastiques.*" Au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles on délaissa les formes d'art polyphonique établies sur un thème liturgique; la prépondérance du solo vocal s'établit, et peu à peu le style théâtral s'insinua, dans les églises; au XIX^e^ il sévit, avec son "conventionalisme," selon le mot cruellement juste de Pie X., et avec un répertoire de musique d'église toujours déplacé, quand il n'était pas au dessous du médiocre.

Cependant, et spécialement dans ces dernières années, bien des efforts avaient été tentés pour se rapprocher de l'idéal, maintenant nettement formulé dans le *motu proprio*, et à ce point de vue, il serait extrêmement intéressant d'étudier ce qui a été accompli en Angleterre, en Alsace, en Allemagne, en Belgique et en Italie, par les Sociétés de S. Cécile ou de S. Grégoire, en Espagne par l'*Orfeo Catala* et les magnifiques éditions de Pedrell; nous nous occuperons seulement de la France; spécialement de la *Scola Cantorum* de Paris, qui a déjà pu arriver à agir suffisamment pour voir—soit en des églises locales, soit même en des diocèses—restaurer complètement la musique sacrée sur les bases confirmées aujourd'hui par le Souverain Pontife.

Il est juste d'abord de rendre hommage aux précurseurs. À Paris, en 1824, Choron dirigeait un Conservatoire de Musique classique et religieuse; en 1843 le prince de la Moskowa avait fondé une Société de Musique vocale, religieuse, et classique, et publié un grand nombre d'œuvres des maîtres du XVI^e^ siècle.

Dix ans plus tard, Niedermeyer avait ouvert, avec l'appui du gouvernement, l'École de Musique religieuse qui porte son nom, a Saint-Saëns comme président, et a formé de solides

musiciens, ayant compté parmi ses élèves des artistes aujourd'hui illustres: Fauri et Gigout entre autres. En même temps d'Ortigue et Niedermeyer publiaient le journal *La Maîtrise*, qui a rendu de grands services en répandant le goût de l'art classique.

En 1882 un élève de C. Franck, Henry Expert, avait déjà commencé son admirable édition des *Maîtres de la Renaissance;* et M. Bourgault-Ducoudray tentait à maintes reprises l'organisation du chant choral.

A Langres le chanoine Couturier, à Autun l'abbé Perruchot, à Dijon le chanoine Moissenet avaient réalisé de radicales réformes.

Toutefois, l'art ancien ne commença vraiment à toucher les esprits et les cœurs qu'après 1892: un autre élève de César Franck, Charles Bordes, venait de fonder l'association des *Chanteurs de S. Gervais.* En même temps avait commencé la publication de l'*Anthologie des Maîtres religieux primitifs*, édition très pratique, qui renferme actuellement plus de 25 messes et 120 motets choisis parmi les plus purs chefs d'œuvre.

Les chanteurs parcoururent les principales villes de France, et furent partout accueillis avec enthousiasme.

En 1894, Ch. Bordes, aidé de Vincent d'Indy et de F. A. Guilmant, fonde la *Scola Cantorum*, école de chant liturgique et de musique religieuse, avec le programme suivant:—

I. Répandre la théorie et la pratique du chant grégorien selon les manuscrits.

II. Étudier la musique polyphonique de la Renaissance.

III. Créer une musique liturgique moderne.

L'école prit de jour en jour plus d'importance et exerça une notable influence sur le goût public par les conférences et les concerts qui y furent donnés et fidèlement suivis, et surtout par le *Cours de Composition* professé par Vincent d'Indy.

Des *scolæ* succursales ont été depuis fondées à Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux, Montpellier, S. Jean de Luz, Nancy, etc., qui mettent en pratique le programme primitif.

Annexé à la *Scola*, est un *Bureau d'Édition;* dont le fond s'enrichit chaque jour d'œuvres anciennes et modernes.

C'est là que Ch. Bordes entreprend en 1897 la publication

du répertoire moderne de musique vocale et d'orgue. Il faut citer parmi les pièces d'orgue les belles compositions de F. A. Guilmant, Vincent d'Indy, Chausson, Guy Ropartz, de Sévérac, et parmi les œuvres vocales les motets de l'abbé Perruchot, Ch. Bordes, de la Tombelle, T. B. Lucas, Amédée Gastoué, etc.

A la suite de ce répertoire le Bureau d'Édition a publié sous le titre: *Le Chant populaire*, des pièces faciles soit en langue vulgaire, soit en latin: des cantiques, des transcriptions de chant grégorien, et d'anciennes mélodies populaires de Bretagne, et du pays Basque.

La *Scola* a publié aussi une collection de *Concerts spirituels:* documents pour servir à l'histoire de la musique religieuse de concert.

Consacrés aux maîtres des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles, les fascicules de cette collection contiennent des chefs-d'œuvre pour la plupart oubliés, témoins des formes d'art qui se firent jour après les maîtres de la Renaissance. Enfin, MM. Guilmant et Pirro ont entrepris l'importante publication: *Les archives des maîtres de l'orgue* des XVI^e^, XVII^e^, et XVIII^e^ siècles; on apprend à y connaître les meilleures pages des Titelouze, Couperin, de Grigny, Du Mage, etc.

Il nous reste maintenant à parler de la *Tribune de S. Gervais*, bulletin mensuel de la *Scola*, journal d'histoire de la musique, qui continue à rendre les plus grands services, tant par la valeur des collaborateurs que par l'opportunité des questions qui y sont traitées.

Nous nous bornerons à citer les principaux collaborateurs, et, de-ci, de-là, quelques titres des travaux parus ou continuant à paraître:

D. Pothier, D. Mocquereau, A. Gastoué, P. Thibaut y ont traité du plain-chant, de son interprétation, de son origine.

A. Gastoué, aujourd'hui directeur de la *Tribune* y a publié des études sur le chant bysantin.

P. Aubry y étudie tout ce qui a trait à la musique du moyen âge: *Chansons de Noël au XIII^e^ siècle, Notations Mesurées du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècles*, recherches sur les ténors dans les motets français et latins du XIII^e^ siècle, etc.

Michel Brenet s'attaque avec une érudition sûre à toutes les époques de l'histoire musicale.

MM. Bordes et Tiersot y ont écrit nombre d'articles sur le chant populaire profane et religieux.

Vincent d'Indy y étudie les questions de composition musicale et d'esthétique générale.

F. de Memil y a resumé l'histoire de l'école de Josquin des Près.

A. Pirro et H. Guittard y publient leurs travaux consacrés principalement aux maîtres du XVII[e] et du XVIII[e] siècles. Enfin, la *Tribune* publie des compte-rendus des offices religieux, congrès, conférences, auditions intéressant l'art sacré ou la liturgie, et fournit en une bibliographie soignée les analyses des ouvrages de musicologie qui paraîssent en France et à l'étranger.

Tel est l'ensemble d'activité de la *Scola Cantorum*, elle continue son œuvre à Paris, sous la direction de Vincent d'Indy; à Montpellier, sous celle de Charles Bordes; les écoles fondées sur ces modèles, prospèrent dans les villes de province. Ici se clôt cette trop longue étude.

Nous avons vu, comment dans toutes les époques, fleurissait l'art de musique, art que S. Thomas d'Aquin plaçait au premier rang parmi les sept arts libéraux.

"Le spectacle de cette eternelle floraison de la musique," écrit Romain Rolland, "est un bienfait moral. Si loin que nous regardions derrière nous, la perfection a déjà été atteinte; et bien absurde celui qui croirait que les efforts des siècles ont pu approcher l'homme d'une ligne plus près de la beauté, depuis S. Grégoire et Palestrina!"[1]

Puisque nous avons de tels trésors, où puiser, d'art absolument pur, pour accompagner la liturgie sublime, nous souhaitons que la connaissance de cette musique se répande de plus en plus, afin que chaque église puisse offrir à côté de la féconde doctrine, au peuple, *qui en a tant besoin*, la grande leçon d'Art, qui doit être le complément *initiatique* de toute cérémonie religieuse.

[1] *Cf.* Romain Rolland, *Musiciens d'autrefois*, Paris, Hachette.

FORMATION DES SERVANTS DE MESSE

Par le Rev. Hamilton Macdonald, Aumônier de la Marine Anglaise.

Il y a, semble-t-il, deux raisons suffisantes pour présenter à un Congrès Eucharistique International un rapport sur la formation des servants de messe. La première est la relation étroite du servant avec l'auguste mystère de l'autel; et la seconde, du moins, en ce qui concerne l'Angleterre, est fondée sur ce que nous voyons chaque jour au sujet du petit nombre des servants, et de leur ignorance technique, et par conséquent de l'impossibilité où ils sont de bien remplir leurs fonctions.

On peut dire sans exagération que souvent le saint sacrifice de la messe est discrédité par l'irrévérence et l'ignorance des enfants qui servent à l'autel. L'Eglise a toujours montré l'importance qu'elle attache à l'office du servant de messe, en associant dans sa pensée cet office à la dignité du sacerdoce, et en conférant les ordres mineurs à ceux qui servaient les ministres revêtus d'ordres majeurs. Mais si la discipline a changé, si le privilège d'un petit nombre a été étendu à tout homme et même à de jeunes enfants; le mystère auquel ils assistent, lui, ne saurait changer; et on ne peut dès lors cesser de réclamer d'eux un service respectueux et intelligent.

Ce travail traite une question pratique de réelle et urgente importance; et si, vraiment, l'expérience nous montre que, du moins dans la province de Westminster, il y a insuffisance pour la quantité comme pour la qualité des servants, un rapport sur la formation de ces derniers doit s'efforcer de découvrir les causes d'une telle insuffisance et proposer des moyens propres à y porter remède.

Pour être clair et bref, je me propose de parler: 1° du sujet à former—c'est-à-dire, de l'enfant; et 2° de la méthode de formation. Sous le premier chef je comprendrai l'enfant de chœur, sa tenue, son rôle, son type, et son choix. La seconde partie du travail sera consacrée aux méthodes de formation et d'organisation, ainsi qu'aux associations, à leur existence et développement; et comme modèle du genre, j'ajouterai

quelques mots sur l'archiconfrèrie de Saint Etienne, pour les servants de messe.

1. Il est évident que ce qui appartenait autrefois, par droit d'ordination, au ministre de l'autel, est maintenant concédé, comme un privilège spécial au servant ordinaire. Cette différence, si elle change l'état de l'enfant de chœur, ne saurait modifier sa position, ni comme assistant du prêtre, ni comme représentant et porte-parole des fidèles. Le changement des ministres correspond, dans une certaine mesure, à un changement qui s'est opéré pareillement dans le caractère de la messe, qui, d'un service dialogué entre le prêtre et les fidèles, est devenue l'action du prêtre seul, à laquelle l'assemblée coopère en silence. Le servant a besoin de comprendre que sa position est privilégiée; et cette pensée devrait éveiller en lui le sentiment de l'honneur qu'on lui fait de participer à la grâce du ministère; comme aussi elle devrait réfréner sa présomption, et développer en lui la conviction de sa responsabilité.

Ces considérations font déterminer l'âge de l'enfant choisi pour ce poste d'honneur. Il devrait au moins avoir fait sa première communion, avant de commencer sa période de probation comme servant; en effet ainsi que je le montrerai dans la seconde partie de mon travail, en traitant de la formation elle-même, il devrait y avoir, pendant quelques mois, une période d'essai, de telle façon, que lorsqu'un enfant aurait acquis la parfaite connaissance de son service à l'autel, il aurait aussi atteint l'âge de communier, et de communier avec fruit.

La pratique qui s'observe si souvent dans les couvents, d'employer de tout jeunes enfants pour servir la messe, paraît prêter à de sérieuses objections. Ce service demande de l'intelligence aussi bien que du respect; et il est absurde d'attendre l'un et l'autre de tels enfants. Puis aussi, un servant devrait être assez grand pour atteindre au moins l'autel et la crédence; assez fort, pour porter le missel sans crainte de catastrophe.

Ainsi qu'on l'a déjà dit, l'enfant de chœur a une double fonction:—il sert le prêtre, puis représente les fidèles qui assistent à la messe, et agit comme leur porte-parole. Pour servir convenablement, il devrait posséder non seulement une connaissance des cérémonies et de la langue de l'église, mais

encore une intelligente appréciation de l'action à laquelle il prend part, et il devrait savoir comment se conduire dans les cas qui peuvent se présenter. Par exemple, si quelque erreur a lieu, si quelque accident arrive, ou ce qui peut être fréquent, si quelque objet vient à manquer, le servant devrait savoir, dans ces cas, comment agir promptement et sûrement. On peut objecter que c'est trop demander, et que cela rendrait peut-être un enfant ennuyeux et importun; mais j'espère montrer dans la suite, que la formation que je conseille, si elle est donnée convenablement et avec sagesse, apprendrait à un enfant à connaitre sa position, et à n'en jamais abuser, mais bien plutôt à en faire un grand cas.

Il n'est pas aussi facile de parler exactement des fonctions du servant, en tant qu'il représente les fidèles. Je suis d'avis (et la discussion provoquée, je l'espère, par ce rapport, corrigera ou approuvera ma manière de voir), je suis d'avis qu'on devrait pouvoir entendre les réponses du servant, tout comme on peut voir ses actions. Autant qu'il y a quelque chose de réglé sur ce sujet, je pense qu'il est requis que les réponses faites par le servant soient au moins entendues par le prêtre. À la messe basse, le prêtre et le servant parlent bas; mais il y a des occasions où, comme à la messe de paroisse, la voix du prêtre se fait entendre par toute l'église, du moins à certaines parties de la messe où la rubrique prescrit de prononcer à haute voix. Il paraîtrait alors s'ensuivre que la voix du servant doit aussi bien être entendue quand il répond au nom du peuple, que lorsqu'il répond au prêtre.

Il n'y a pas de doute que, dans ses actions, le servant peut, soit aider la dévotion par son respect et la grâce de ses mouvements, soit distraire ou gêner la dévotion par une tenue nonchalante et négligée. Il y en a qui marchent avec sans façon, là où les anges approchent avec tremblement; d'autres qui regardent de tous côtés, s'agitent, et trébuchent dans ce qu'ils font. Que de fois nos servants se montrent gauches, et cependant il y a plus de raisons de se tenir avec respect et dignité dans le sanctuaire, que partout ailleurs.

Si l'on convient que la tenue d'un servant dépend de sa possession de soi-même et d'un sentiment de respect et de responsabilité, il faut reconnaitre que le type de l'enfant doit

être choisi avec soin. Ce serait un grand avantage que d'attirer les enfants de la classe aisée à prendre leur part dans ce service si riche en influences sur le caractère. Je suis amené à parler ainsi parce que l'expérience, du moins dans ce pays et dans d'autres que je connais, prouve que la règle est d'employer des enfants de l'école primaire et l'exception de choisir les enfants aisés. L'éducation et la formation font beaucoup: et l'on trouve ou l'on forme, parmi les enfants pauvres, des types excellents: mais il y a des instincts innés, une culture d'esprit et de manières qui se trouvent déjà tout prêts dans les enfants des classes aisées. Le service le plus élevé demande les plus parfaits sujets. Je ne voudrais pas cependant qu'on se méprenne sur mes paroles. Il y a une élite dans tous les rangs de la société, et je ne préfère pas une classe à une autre, ce qui serait anti-catholique et odieux: mais je plaide pour qu'il soit permis à l'influence sacrée et aux associations de l'autel d'atteindre ceux qui sont nés avec un héritage différent de celui du reste des enfants des hommes. Quelle que soit d'ailleurs la classe où nous serons obligés de choisir, nous devons être circonspects à l'égard du type. Il y a des enfants qui sont plus aptes au service de l'autel à raison de leurs talents naturels, de leur inclination à la vertu, ou par suite d'une certaine force de caractère et de douceur dans leurs dispositions. Les meilleurs pour le service du sanctuaire sont ceux qui donnent des espérances de remplir le mieux leurs obligations. Le premier enfant venu ne devient pas un servant, quelques enfants même ne le deviendront jamais. Des signes fréquemment observés d'une piété précoce dans un enfant, ne sont pas une marque infaillible du type requis. Bonté et stupidité vont souvent ensemble, mais l'un ne doit faire oublier l'autre dans le choix d'un servant. Généralement parlant, l'enfant qui a un bon chez soi (*good home*) qui est élevé par ses parents dans le devoir et dans la foi catholique, celui-là a la première qualité pour être choisi ; et si par ailleurs il est apte et intelligent, il est le candidat à souhaiter.

On pense parfois, et on l'a dit assez haut, que le sanctuaire est une sorte de lieu de formation pour une vocation ultérieure. Cela me paraît, pour me servir des expressions de Saint Vincent de Paul, prévenir et devancer la Providence. Sans doute le

servant a une occasion exceptionnelle de former sa nature toute entière, il peut développer en lui des vertus spéciales, et son caractère peut être façonné par la grâce; mais la familiarité ne signifie pas connaissance, et elle peut dégénérer en mépris. En Anglais nous avons un mot qui peut parfois convenir à un servant qui de lui-même, ou poussé par d'autres, se considère comme destiné "in petto" à l'état ecclésiastique, ce mot est "prig." J'ai demandé à maints enfants de chœur ce qu'ils voulaient faire plus tard; et de quelques uns, qui n'avaient ni intelligence, ni excès de grâce dans le corps ou dans l'âme, la réponse venait comme une bombe: "Père, je veux être prêtre." On le leur avait dit, et comme des enfants, ils le répétaient; heureusement pour le sacerdoce de la sainte Eglise, cela ne se réalisait pas toujours dans la suite.

2. Nous avons jusqu'ici considéré la position du servant de messe, les devoirs qui en découlent, le type de l'enfant, et le choix judicieux qu'il faut en faire. Je viens maintenant à la question de formation.

Si l'expérience générale montre que l'on manque de discernement dans le choix du type convenable de l'enfant, nous avons les mêmes raisons pour affirmer qu'il y a insuffisance de formation, ou méthode défectueuse, et de là, parmi le plus grand nombre des servants, une insouciance générale, une ignorance et une irrévérence très malséantes et peu édifiantes. On accordera volontiers que la formation est nécessaire; la question est de savoir où, quand et comment la donner de préférence.

Généralement parlant, la formation du servant de messe se fait dans trois endroits; le foyer paternel, l'église et l'école, primaire, secondaire, ou collège; et cet ordre est important. Le foyer paternel prépare, protège l'enfant, et a une continuelle influence pour le bien ou pour le mal; l'école développe et parfait cette influence, ou du moins devrait le faire; et l'église sanctifie les deux. Un système de formation qui ne tient pas compte de l'influence de la maison paternelle sur un jeune enfant, s'efforce d'obtenir un effet sans cause. La première chose essentielle dans la formation des servants, est d'éveiller l'intérêt et la coopération des parents; cela assure la ponctualité, la régularité, la bonne disposition du sujet et promet le succès. On pourrait croire que les parents catholiques donnent

volontiers leurs enfants pour servir à l'autel; mais l'expérience ne corrobore pas cette impression; et c'est là, ce me semble, que se trouve la principale difficulté pour obtenir des servants. Une pratique générale et funeste se répand à Londres et ailleurs, d'envoyer les enfants gagner de l'argent avant la classe, comme commis de magasins, ou colporteurs de journaux, etc. Puis on ne se lève pas habituellement de bonne heure dans le commun du peuple de ce pays; et il arrive souvent que les parents se fâchent d'être troublés par leurs enfants qui se lèvent de bonne heure pour aller servir la messe. Evidemment dans ce cas, on ne s'occupe pas de la toilette ni du déjeûner de l'enfant avant de l'envoyer à l'église. De là, la nécessité de chercher un servant venant de bonne famille, dont les parents comprennent leur responsabilité, et qui soient prêts à assurer la propreté et la ponctualité de leur enfant. Mais le foyer paternel, bien qu'essentiel et important à cause de l'influence qu'il doit avoir sur le développement du caractère, a besoin d'être aidé par une instruction spéciale dans l'art de servir, et cette instruction est donnée de préférence par le prêtre, quoiqu'en certains cas elle puisse l'être par un maître d'école catholique, ou par le maître des cérémonies.

J'ai demandé à bien des servants où ils avaient appris à servir la messe, et qui les avait formés; et bien souvent la réponse était celle-ci: Je l'ai appris tout seul; ou bien encore: Je me suis mis à côté d'un autre, et il me l'a montré. Le résultat prouve que dans un grand nombre de cas il n'y a pas eu de formation; et, même si un prêtre isolé a pris la peine ici ou là d'enseigner les enfants, il y a peu d'exemples de cours réguliers, ou d'un système d'instruction.

Le système de formation des servants de messe devrait comprendre des exercices du corps, de l'intelligence et de l'âme.

Tout d'abord la formation du corps. Bien peu d'enfants savent marcher et se mouvoir avec grâce, et encore moins savent parler clairement. Une partie du système de formation sera donc consacrée à un exercice physique; et dans ce but les exercices suédois sont recommandés comme excellents, en même temps que, de leur nature, ils ne manquent pas de charmes. Après avoir choisi un groupe de jeunes gens convenables, le

prêtre, ou quelque laique capable, devrait les rassembler un certain nombre de fois par semaine, et les exercer, selon la méthode suédoise, dans l'art de marcher, de se tourner, de fléchir le genou, de s'agenouiller et de se lever, de faire le signe de la croix, et tous ces mouvements du corps qu'ils accomplissent en servant la messe. Cette partie de la formation, si elle est donnée correctement et à propos, intéresse les enfants, et, tout en faisant du bien au corps, elle est un relâche pour l'esprit. En outre, elle inculque l'habitude capitale du silence. Cette formation ne doit pas être considérée comme indifférente, ou confiée à des maîtres inexpérimentés. Que de fautes chez l'élève ont leur source dans une imperfection du maître! et cela est vrai par rapport à toutes les actions ordinaires, qu'elles appartiennent ou non à la morale. Cette formation physique devrait toujours être accompagnée de leçons de choses vivantes et pratiques, comme de montrer à se servir des membres et des muscles; le tout combiné avec des instructions sur leurs fonctions, et sur la nécessité où nous sommes de nous servir de notre mieux de ces forces naturelles que Dieu nous a données pour être employées à sa gloire et à son service. Si l'on trouve moyen d'avoir plus d'une classe d'instruction générale par semaine, et cela semble désirable, une partie du temps serait toujours employée aux exercices physiques comme préparation au travail intellectuel. On diviserait alors le cours en deux parties: l'une consacrée à la formation de la voix et l'autre à l'élocution. Je ne fais qu'indiquer les grandes lignes, il n'est pas, dès lors, nécessaire d'entrer dans le détail. Concurremment avec cette instruction physique, et comme un exemple pratique des principes inculqués ci-dessus, on pourrait se servir des paroles de la messe, et les réciter lentement et distinctement à l'unisson. Il serait à recommander que cette récitation se fit à pleine voix, et en l'accompagnant de quelque mouvement habituel du corps, pour assurer une prononciation correcte et des inflexions de voix convenables. Il est important de ne jamais dépasser les justes limites pour le temps; on peut regarder les exercices physiques par rapport à ce qui doit suivre, comme on fait de l'accord des instruments dans un orchestre par rapport à l'exécution musicale qui doit

avoir lieu ensuite. A l'occasion, tout le temps de la leçon—une heure semble suffisante—pourrait être employé aux seuls exercices du corps et de la voix.

Quant à la formation que j'ai appelée intellectuelle, pour la distinguer de la formation physique ou spirituelle, je ne veux pas nier qu'il entre des procédés intellectuels dans toute formation, soit physique, soit spirituelle; mais je fais allusion à une formation qui encourage et développe la pensée et l'étude.

Pour en venir à l'ordinaire de la messe, il est important d'insister pour que les paroles de la partie invariable de la messe soient apprises par cœur en entier. J'ai souvent trouvé que les servants ne connaissent du psaume *Judica* que les versets qu'ils ont à réciter; c'est une étrange insuffisance, une négligence injustifiée. La récitation recommandée plus haut est bonne comme exercice de mémoire, mais il faut plus que cela; il faut que les enfants comprennent le sens de ce qu'ils disent, et le rapport spécial du psaume avec le service de la messe. Sous le nom de formation intellectuelle, je comprendrais par conséquent la formation de classes pour l'étude élémentaire du latin, des leçons sur l'agencement, le symbolisme et l'historique de la messe; j'y ajouterais une série d'instructions sur les rubriques de la messe, sur les cérémonies, leur origine et leur développement, sur le symbolisme, et aussi des cours sur l'histoire des liturgies de l'Eglise, sur l'architecture de nos églises. Tout cela, ce sont des sujets d'intérêt et d'éducation pour des servants et ils peuvent être traités dans un style simple au moyen de diagrammes et de tableaux. Ce qu'on a surtout en vue, c'est d'éveiller l'intelligence et de soutenir l'intérêt; et il est bon de questionner les enfants, et de développer en eux la faculté de la mémoire par de fréquentes répétitions.

Tout ce travail de formation, surtout de formation intellectuelle que nous considérons en ce moment, tout demande à être sanctifié par la prière, et c'est pour cela que j'ai mentionné comme une partie de l'éducation des servants de messe, les exercices spirituels. Sous ce terme, je comprendrais des conférences dans la sacristie et dans l'église; la répétition des cérémonies dans le sanctuaire, et des processions dans les

nefs, sans perdre de vue le respect dû à la présence de Dieu. On doit dépenser tout son zèle à exciter le sentiment élevé du respect, et à nourrir de saintes pensées dans l'esprit des jeunes gens. L'enfant qui a le privilège de servir à l'autel devrait être élevé dans le double caractère de l'athlète chrétien et du soldat, dévoué corps et âme à la personne de Jesus-Christ, et au service de son église. Toutes les classes d'instruction, physique, intellectuelle, et spirituelle, devraient commençer sous la bénédiction du Saint-Esprit; et dans toutes ces occasions les enfants ne devraient jamais être renvoyés sans prière; cette prière doit être courte et pratique.

Les résultats qu'on a en vue d'atteindre dans tout système d'éducation dépendent en grande partie des principes d'une bonne organisation. L'histoire de l'Église nous montre dans tous les siècles l'origine et le développement de confraternités et d'associations; et c'est à elles que, sous la bénédiction de Dieu, nous devons tous les perfectionnements qui se sont succédés dans l'Église, soit dans le domaine de l'architecture, de la musique, des cérémonies, soit dans le progrès moral et intellectuel, et dans l'organisation des paroisses. Sous l'influence inspiratrice et le patronage d'un saint ou d'un héros, hommes et enfants, femmes et jeunes filles, se sont unis en confréries afin de promouvoir différentes œuvres pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu et pour l'utilité de sa sainte Eglise.

Une confrérie pour les servants de messe a jadis existé, sous le patronage de S. Jean Berchmans; mais si l'on recherche son objet immédiat, on trouvera qu'elle était surtout pour promouvoir la dévotion, et non pour faire une éducation. Je me suis donné bien du mal pour découvrir quelle influence cette organisation avait eue sur la formation des servants de messe, et j'ai été désappointé des maigres résultats qu'il faut attribuer, j'en suis convaincu, au manque d'organisation et à l'absence d'un système de travail.

Sans vouloir mépriser cette ancienne association, mais pressés par le besoin urgent d'une méthode pratique d'éducation pour la multiple formation physique, intellectuelle, et spirituelle des servants de messe, nous fondâmes, il y a deux ans, sous la direction de Mgr. l'archevêque de Westminster, une association pour eux, appelée Confrérie de Saint-Etienne. Tout d'abord

cette société était restreinte au diocèse de Westminster; mais par la suite, le Saint-Père en l'approuvant et en bénissant son but, a élevé l'institution au rang d'archiconfrérie. On a pris un très grand soin dans la formation de cette association; on lui a donné pour patron Saint-Etienne, diacre lui-même, le premier martyr, et un exemple idéal pour les enfants de respect intelligent et de caractère viril; les règles en petit nombre, sont simples mais obligatoires; la méthode exacte d'instruction se trouve renfermée dans un livre spécialement composé à cet effet; enfin le développement de l'esprit de corps, s'affirme par des insignes et une médaille artistement frappée, qui sont remis à l'entrée dans la confrérie, comme une récompense de diligence, et un signe de fraternelle association. Ceux qui, parmi mes auditeurs, désirent plus amples détails sur la nature et les méthodes de l'Archiconfrérie de Saint-Etienne, sont priés de lire les opuscules distribués dans le Hall; on peut aussi voir les exemplaires du manuel de l'association. L'expérience de trois ans bientôt a montré que partout où l'association a été établie, et les règles observées dans l'esprit qui les a conçues, un réel résultat a été obtenu, à la satisfaction générale. Etant personnellement intéressé dans le travail de formation des servants de messe, je recommande cette explication pratique des principes que je me suis efforcé d'exposer rapidement à la bienveillante attention des prêtres ici présents, et à l'auditoire en général.

Avant de terminer mon rapport, je signalerai une difficulté inhérente à la nature de toute institution humaine, et qui, si l'on n'en tient pas compte, et si l'on n'y prend garde, peut détruire les vues que les fondateurs et les promoteurs des desseins les mieux conçus pouvaient avoir à cœur; et ce facteur c'est la nature humaine. Nous avons considéré l'objet lui-même d'une culture spéciale—c'est-à-dire, l'enfant de chœur; j'adresserai quelques remarques au maître de l'enfant, au prêtre lui-même. Beaucoup, si non tout, dépend de lui. S'il est véritablement dévoué à son œuvre, et zélé pour la gloire de Dieu et de la sainte Eglise, il prendra intérêt à la formation des enfants de chœur, accueillera les systèmes qui la favorisent davantage; il s'en servira, et aura des résultats consolants. Le succès de la cause est, j'en suis convaincu, entre les mains

du prêtre de paroisse; et je me permettrai en toute humilité d'exposer un doute; Est-ce que la responsabilité qui s'attache à cette partie de notre œuvre de prêtre est suffisamment comprise par nous à qui il a été dit: "Pais mes agneaux."

L'œuvre de formation des servants de messe est pleine de fruits de bénédictions; car, en donnant à ces jeunes gens des préceptes de respect, de diligence et de persévérance, nous faisons revivre dans nos âmes ces grands principes de vie sacerdotale. Les enfants sont particulièrement susceptibles d'impressions, et prompts à imiter. Que le prêtre enseigne par l'exemple comme par le précepte, et il recueillera une riche récompense pour ses labeurs; il constatera aussi qu'il célèbrera lui-même le Saint Sacrifice avec d'autant plus de piété et de ferveur que son servant aura appris à l'assister avec plus de respect et de crainte de Dieu.

After the reading of the papers there was a short discussion, in which the BISHOP OF NAMUR and the ARCHBISHOP OF MONTREAL took part. Referring to the paper on the *Scola Cantorum* of Notre Dame de la Croix, the BISHOP OF VALLEYFIELD said that the Holy Father's decrees upon church music were already producing a notable change which helped to promote devotion and add to the dignity of public worship. The movement resulting from them had freed us, on the one hand, from theatrical music and, on the other, from the old-fashioned execution, nay, we might say the massacring, of Gregorian.

Friday Evening

THE LEGATE'S RECEPTION

In England it is customary that in prolonged gatherings for deliberative purposes there should be at least one social function. In the Eucharistic Congress *the* social function was the Reception by the Cardinal Legate in the Albert Hall, Kensington. And certainly no more suitable building could have been chosen in view of the large attendance sure to be attracted by such a ceremony. All things considered, it must be admitted that the scene presented by the vast interior was not unworthy of the occasion. The beautiful lines of columns and arches, the brilliance of the decoration—white, scarlet, and gold predominating—the animation of the constantly moving throng, not forgetting the friendly juxtaposition of the papal flag and the Union Jack in the place of honour,—all these left an impression of brightness and life which the black mantillas worn by the ladies, as at a papal audience, could not entirely neutralise.

The hour appointed was half-past eight, and long before that time some thousands of people, mostly ticket-holders, had collected outside the doors of the building. It was perhaps overlooked by many that the function was not of the nature of a public meeting or a concert, but was a reception, in which a succession of visitors was contemplated, who would not anticipate the time of audience, and who would give place to others when their own presentation had taken place. Forgetfulness of this consideration led, it is to be feared, to a good deal of crowding and discomfort in the lobbies and passages.

When the Cardinal Legate, who was accompanied by the Archbishop of Westminster, had arrived and taken his seat on the platform, the presentations began. The arena, which had

been entirely cleared of seats, was soon filled, and in single files the Congressists made their way forward from either side, and descended in twos down the middle stairs from the platform. There the cardinals sat in state—the Legate naturally in the middle, while Cardinal Logue, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Sancha y Hervas, and Cardinal Ferrari, supported him.

The number of those who had come to show by their presence their respect for the representative of the Vicar of Christ was too great to allow of formal presentation; a bow on their part, a raising of the hand in benediction by the Legate, and each one was hurried off to make room for the next comer. Soon it was apparent that the Hall, large as it was, was becoming almost dangerously full. Then a crash upon the great organ compelled silence, and when the thousands of faces were turned towards the platform, they saw the Archbishop waiting to speak. In a few words His Grace requested that as soon as each one had made his bow to the Legate he should descend to the arena, and that all should as speedily and quietly as circumstances permitted make their way out of the building. This injunction was carried out, and as those who had passed the gilt chair turned their faces homewards, others were enabled to enter the Hall. It is estimated that between seven and eight thousand persons were presented to the Cardinal Legate during the two hours of the Reception, and it is known that many had to return home without having made their bow.

A word of praise should be given to the Ladies' Committee for the pains and taste displayed in the decoration of the platform.

Saturday, 12th September

THE BYZANTINE LITURGY

It was in the Byzantine Liturgy enacted on Saturday morning that the diversity in unity was most strikingly illustrated. It also illustrated the benign toleration of ancient rites and national uses, which, despite popular prejudices to the contrary, is really characteristic of the discipline of Rome. Probably many Catholics realised for the first time on this occasion the freedom accorded to all who are one in faith and loyalty to Christ in the Eucharist. Never before has the Byzantine Liturgy been celebrated by Uniates in England, though it is the rite habitually used by several million Catholics who recognise the authority of the Holy See. The schismatics using it number about a hundred millions. The Liturgy itself is celebrated in several different languages, by the Melkites of Syria and Egypt in Arabic, by the Uniates of Turkey and Greece in Greek, by the Ruthenians and Bulgarians in old Slavonic, by the Roumanians in their own language, while the Italo-Greeks of Calabria, Sicily, Leghorn, Malta, Algiers, Marseilles, Corsica, and Paris (only 50,000 all told) employ Greek. The Greek Uniate church in Paris is that of St Julien le Pauvre, and it is from this church that the Archimandrite came to celebrate the Liturgy at the Congress. The Liturgy used was that of St John Chrysostom, and the service special to the day—the lessons and variable chants—was that of the feast of the Blessed Sacrament, with, in two instances, commemoration

of our Lady's Nativity. With the Archimandrite Arsenios came two concelebrants and a deacon, all supplied by the same Assumptionist Augustinians, whose headquarters are at Paris and Constantinople. A temporary screen was drawn across the sanctuary, with "holy doors" at the centre and other doors north and south, all of which play an important part in the ceremonial. The vestments are strange to Western eyes, but it is still stranger to realise that the sacrificial portion of the Liturgy, or "Mass of the Faithful," is celebrated behind the screen. We may note briefly that the deacon is much more prominent than in the Roman Mass, the bread is leavened, and Communion is given to the faithful in both species. The Cardinal Legate sat enthroned outside the screen. After long prayers at the doors, vesting of the ministers, and a long and complicated ceremony of blessing of the offerings, the beginning of the Liturgy is reached. There are more readings than with us; for example, the Creed, like the Epistle, is recited by a lector, in this case Prince Max of Saxony. From time to time the deacon and the other assistants appear in their white robes as the doors north and south open for them, and the most impressive moment of all is when at the "Great Entrance" the celebrant and the deacon bring the bread and wine in procession to the altar through the holy gates. These are then closed and the mysteries proceed within. There is much opening and closing of the doors, much incensing, much chanting. The music is quaint, oriental, primitive, without accompaniment, except that in every chant a single note is sustained throughout like the drone of a bagpipe, with little turns and elaborations till heard among the people in their folk songs. The doors are open ever and anon for a glimpse of the holy table. The Liturgy is impressive and wonderful, but in this, as in all things, Rome points the better way, to the open sanctuary and the closer union of Christ with his brethren. The service lasted two hours. The one ceremony

that most identified it with the occasion was that in which the Archimandrite with his concelebrants symbolised their unity with Rome by presenting themselves to the Legate and incensing him. When Communion had been given at the holy doors, the Litany of thanksgiving was sung, the dismissal made, and the end of the Liturgy reached. Then the polychronion acclamations and good wishes were made to Pope Pius X., to the Papal Legate, and to the Archbishop of the diocese. The choir distinguished itself in its singing of the quaint unaccompanied and unaccustomed music, and every detail of the service was rendered with great dignity and precision by the officiating ministers. Much credit is due to all who contributed to this splendid rendering of the Liturgy: especially to the Rev. Dr Fortescue, who superintended the arrangements in all their details; to Mgr. Wallis and the Masters of Ceremonies; to Mr R. R. Terry, who took infinite pains with the choir, and to Mr Stuart Coats, without whose generous help this great Eucharistic ceremony could not have been carried out with appropriate solemnity. The Catholic Truth Society issued for the occasion a little book compiled by Dr Fortescue, containing a translation of the service, with an introduction and notes.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

SECTION A (ENGLISH)

MORNING SESSION

The chair was taken by the Bishop of Newport, and in his immediate neighbourhood were the Bishops of Aberdeen, Clifton, Leeds, Plymouth, Salford, and Savannah, U.S.A., with others of the clergy.

BENEDICTION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

By the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J.

I do not know whether an Englishman is allowed to make bulls; that is supposed, somewhat unjustly, to be the unique privilege of the sister isle. But if any one were to ask me how old our Benediction service is, and whether they ever had Benediction in England before the Reformation, I should like my answer to take this form. Yes, they had a Benediction service constantly in England before the Reformation; in many places they had it every day: only it was without the Blessed Sacrament and without any Benediction. Perhaps I may be allowed to make this rather enigmatical utterance the subject of my paper this afternoon.

Let us begin with things that are familiar and work backwards to those less known. Every one is accustomed to our typical Benediction in this country, which has at least the sanction of the *Ritus Servandus*, and of the episcopally approved *Manual of Prayers*. The *O Salutaris Hostia*, followed by the Litany of our Lady and *Tantum ergo*,—that is on four days out of five the programme in most of our churches. It is the programme of nearly all in which there is any sort of attempt at congregational singing. Of these the *O Salutaris* and *Tantum ergo* are generally rather briefly despatched. The Litany from its greater length necessarily occupies most of the quarter of an hour or twenty minutes during which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. Probably at some time or another it has occurred to us as strange that we should take the Blessed Sacrament out of the Tabernacle in order to sing before It a long series of invocations to our Lady. No doubt it is strange, but it has tradition in its favour to an extent we should not easily suspect. In fact, that salutation of our Lady, as we shall see, is itself the stock upon which the rest of our Benediction service has been grafted. So far as I can make out, the prominent position

given to the Litany of Loreto in this country, goes back to the reign of James II. It was probably at that date that they ventured for the first time to expose the Blessed Sacrament, and to use lights and incense in such private chapels as were then available for Catholic worship. Still the Litany of Loreto in itself cannot take us very far back. It was not compiled before the end of the sixteenth century, but earlier than this we have other devotions to our Lady and notably the *Salve Regina* which, as we shall see, is specially connected with this service.

And now a second fact, familiar to most of us, is that the French name for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is *Salut* —*Salut du Saint Sacrement*. Its meaning of course is salutation, but not necessarily salutation of the Eucharistic Presence. A slight examination of records shows that a most miscellaneous selection of items was often included into which the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament did not always enter. If we wish to know precisely what was meant by a *salut* in France, we may obtain much information from De Guilhermy's work on the inscriptions in the churches of the diocese of Paris. During the sixteenth and following centuries, it seems to have been a common custom for benefactors to leave sums of money as a foundation for the maintenance of these *saluts*, and to set up mural tablets in the churches specifying the exact terms of the bequest and the details of the service thus provided for. The work referred to contains many hundreds of such inscriptions. Thus a bequest of 1527 provides that a *salut* is to take place at 7 P.M. on the eve of the feast of the Annunciation;[1] another in 1557 decrees that on certain days a *salut* is to be held "in the accustomed manner, with *Te Deum* at the end accompanied by the organ."[2] At Villejuif about 1537 the churchwardens were required to see that "every Sunday after Vespers and Compline were over, the *Salve Regina* or some other anthem and prayer of our Lady conformable to the season and festival of the Church should be sung, together with the *De profundis, Inclina,* and *Fidelium*"[3] for the souls of the bene-

[1] De Guilhermy, *Inscriptions*, i., p. 157.
[2] *Ibid.*, i., p. 170. [3] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 592.

factors named. At Grenvilliers about 1632 a benefactor required that on his anniversary and on the Sundays and festivals of the year a *salut* was to be chanted between Vespers and Compline, consisting of anthems according to the season, followed by the *De profundis* and the accustomed prayer.[1] So far as I can discover it is only in the seventeenth century that we find these *saluts* beginning to change their character. For example, at Bagnolet in 1648 a benefactor left money burdened with this condition, that, "on the Thursday of every week a solemn *salut* should be held in honour of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, also that on the day and Feast of the said Blessed Sacrament, and on the octave day and on each day during the octave there should be similar *saluts*, at each of which the said Blessed Sacrament shall be set up and exposed upon the high altar of the said church."[2] At Sceaux in 1757 we have a foundation for a *salut* on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament followed by an anthem of our Lady with the *Domine salvum fac*, Benediction, and the *De profundis*.[3] So at Baigneux in 1717 provision is made for 12 *saluts* to be held on the first Sunday of each month with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and other specified devotions; the said *saluts* to be sung between Vespers and Compline, and these *saluts* are to be rung in by three peals of all the bells during the *Magnificat* at Vespers. The *O Salutaris* is to be sung and another anthem (of our Lady); also an *Ave Verum* while the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is being given and afterwards the *De profundis*.[4] Other bequests besides determining what is to be chanted at the *salut*, for example, "the hymn *Pange Lingua* and the *Magnificat*, as it is sung in the churches of Paris," go on to stipulate that the sub-Prior or the Curé must officiate and be attended by two assistants in copes, and that the celebrant is to have 60 sous for his pains, and the two assistants 24 sous each, the clerk 15 sous, and each of the choir boys also 15 sous.[5] No one I feel sure who studies these records can doubt for a moment that the *Salut du Saint Sacrement* is simply a development or specialisa-

[1] De Guilhermy, *Inscriptions*, iii., p. 185. [2] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 548. [4] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 571.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 448. This was at the *église prieurale de St Didier*.

tion of the primitive *salut* which consisted for the most part of a simple anthem to our Lady like the *Salve Regina*, or at most of a series of such anthems.

Not less unmistakable was the evolution of the Benediction Service in Belgium and the Netherlands generally. There the matter is simplified for us by our being able to study it in the records of a particular confraternity established in the church of Notre Dame at Antwerp. A long way back in the fourteenth century we find an association there which was called the confraternity of the *Salve Regina*. Although towards the end of the sixteenth century it seems to have been replaced by another, the object of this latter, which is explicitly stated in the statutes, seems to have been identical with that of its predecessor. It was to have the praises (*laudes*) of the most glorious Virgin Mary chanted each evening in the collegiate church of St Mary at Antwerp in the choir, before the image of the Blessed Virgin, after previous ringing of the bells with singing and organ accompaniment. These praises or salutations (*laudes*) were called in Flemish *lof*. The service consisted in hymns and anthems in honour of our Lady, taken from the Breviary and sung by choristers, at the end of each of which the priest chanted a prayer, while, at the conclusion of the whole, nine Hail Marys were said and the bell was rung nine times. The confraternity employed the services of quite a large staff, singers, chaplains, bell-ringers, organist, etc., all according to the standard of those days, being handsomely remunerated. It has been calculated that the total salaries amounted to a sum which is the equivalent of £150 a year in modern money. Now we find already in 1566 that in this same building on certain festival days instead of the ordinary *lof* they celebrated a *lof* of the Blessed Sacrament. In the eighteenth century the institution was still maintained, and a contemporary Flemish historian tells us that on week days they had the ordinary hymns, etc., in honour of our Lady, but that on Saturdays the whole service was made more solemn by the addition of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. This, however, was by no means the only case in which we can trace this process of development. Bishop Miræus of Antwerp in 1610, after the close of a period of war and disturbance, passed a decree directing that the singing of

Vespers, which had fallen into desuetude in many parishes, should be re-established, as well as the *saluts* (*laudes* or *loven*) "which begin with the *Salve Regina* or some other anthem of our Lady according to season, and which end with the triple repetition of the *Ave Maria*." On solemn feasts he directed that *laudes* of the Blessed Sacrament should be added. Whether this necessarily presupposes at this period the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, is perhaps not quite clear. But we know that a very little later this was the common practice.[1]

Without travelling further afield we may fairly infer from this that our Benediction service has come from the superimposing of the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the blessing with the Monstrance upon the original service of hymns and anthems sung in our Lady's honour under the name of *laudes*. The question to which we now turn is whether anything of the nature of this primitive *salut* to our Lady was known also in England before the Reformation.

We need have no hesitation, I think, in answering this question in the affirmative. In a form exactly analogous to that Antwerp confraternity of which we have just been speaking, we find established in the Church of St Magnus,[2] London Bridge, as early as the seventeenth year of Edward III. (1344), a guild of our Lady "*de Salve Regina*." One William Double, fishmonger, with Henry Boseworth, vintner, Steven Lucas, stock-fishmonger, and other burghers, "of their great devotion and to the honour of God and His glorious Mother our Lady Mary the Virgin, began and caused to be made a chantry, to sing an anthem of our Lady called *Salve Regina* every evening. And thereupon ordained five burning wax lights at the time of the said anthem in the honour and reverence of the five principal joys of our Lady aforesaid, and for exciting the people to devotion at such an hour, the more to merit to their souls." An accidental mention of certain abuses in a visitation of the parish of St Magnus[3] lets us know that here, as in Antwerp, there were

[1] All the facts with full references are given by Father De Buck in the *Précis Historiques* for 1872, pp. 57-71.

[2] Stowe, *Survey of London*, ii., 175.

[3] Arnold's *Chronicle*, p. 277.

officials who were called Masters of the *Salve*, and they are reproved for not insisting sufficiently on the attendance at Matins of the priests and clerks who apparently received "a profitable and reasonable salary" from the said Masters. The defaulters apparently *did* attend to sing at our Lady's Mass in the morning and the *Salve* in the evening, which is what they were paid to do, but the author of the report finds fault with them, in that they did not of their own accord attend the ordinary matins and evensong of the parish as well. This is particularly valuable as showing that the *Salve* was a separate service held in a separate place, and not merely the antiphon of our Lady belonging to Compline. No doubt it cannot be maintained that the *Salve Regina* was sung in the evening universally throughout England, but we can at least point to many instances in which we know that it was done. In most cases our knowledge of the fact is due to some accidental entry in a churchwarden's accounts or some similar record. For example, at the church of St Nicholas, Bristol, we have a note in an inventory of "ii large canstykks of laten and ii smaler and i grete one that standyth afore our lady evere nyght at antym." [1] So we hear of a Sir John Pulteney, knight, who left the yearly sum of ten shillings for the choristers of St Paul's, on condition that they should "every day after Compline ended in the choir, go into the chapel which he had built there, and there sing an anthem of the Blessed Virgin before her image solemnly and with note." [2] Again, in his foundation deed for the chantry of St Thomas the martyr at Sandwich, Thomas Elys ordained (1392) that the three chaplins should find five wax tapers of five pounds weight for the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be lighted during the singing of the *Salve Regina*.[3] And W. Keye leaves money "to find yearly evermore five gawdyes burning before our Lady in the chancel of St John Baptist at every antiphon of our Lady." [4] These were called gawdyes seemingly because by their number five they were held to betoken our Lady's five joys. Again, William Palmer, as early as 1348, provided five tapers to burn in the chapel of St Catherine in the Hospital of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, every night whilst

[1] *St Paul's Eccles. Soc. Trans.*, vi., 52. [2] Dugdale, *St Paul's*, p. 22.
[3] Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 192. [4] Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i., 273.

Salve Regina is being sung there.[1] Of course the difficulty is to prove that, in these and many other instances that could be mentioned, the *Salve* was a service separate from Office. But we can at least say that in some few cases it was clearly separate, maintained, as in the case of St Magnus, London Bridge, by a separate staff of choristers, and, secondly, that it was constantly treated as a service by itself.

In point of fact, the whole institution seems to have been treated as a lay organisation, the product of private devotion, and in no proper sense a liturgical service; and it is not a little curious to note how this character has clung to it throughout, and still clings to it. In Rome a priest exposes the Blessed Sacrament, informally as it were, and then quits the altar, leaving the people to sing their cantiques and motets. Then when this is over the priest reappears with cope and incense, the *Tantum ergo* is sung, the blessing with the monstrance is given, and the service is over. To this day we may say that Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament as a service has no official recognition in any of the liturgical books of the Church.

It was perhaps natural that there should have been some reaction against the practice of devoting this popular service exclusively to the honour of our Lady. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that in England in certain churches provision was made, at any rate on Fridays, for a Jesus Mass (corresponding to the Lady Mass), and in the evening for a Jesus anthem, sometimes called the *Salve* of Jesus. We have record of such an institution at Bristol, Lichfield, Salisbury, London, Middleham, and elsewhere. We are told expressly at Lichfield that it was sung after Compline on Fridays, as the *Salve Regina* was sung at other times. What this Jesus anthem consisted of, is not quite clear. It may have been the sequence of the Mass of the Holy Name appointed at Sarum for 7th August, but there is also some probability in a conjecture that has been made that it really represents an adaptation of the *Salve Regina*, to wit, *Salve Rex Jesu Christe, Rex misericordiæ*. I think it doubtful, because there is something to suggest that this last was a parody compiled under Lutheran

[1] Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, i., p. 538.

influences. Still, it was certainly popular, and we find it printed in a Catholic Prymer of 1555 in Queen Mary's day. The English version given in that Prymer may perhaps be reproduced here.

"Hail heavenly King, Father of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope, all hail. Unto Thee do we cry which are the banished children of Eve, unto Thee do we sigh, weeping and wailing in the vale of lamentation. Come, therefore, our Advocate, cast upon us those eyes of Thine, and after this our banishment show unto us the glorious light in Thy heavenly kingdom. O merciful, O holy, O sweet Saviour.

Vers. In all our troubles and heaviness,
Resp. O Jesus our help and glory, succour us.
Let us pray.

"O Jesus Christ, Son of God, our Redeemer, which dejectedst and humbledst Thyself from the glorious shape and state of Thy Godhead to the shape of our vile servitude, because Thou wouldst reconcile us the children of wrath unto Thy Father, and so make us the children of grace, we beseech Thee grant us, that we may ever follow even Thee Thyself to be our present Mediator before our Father, for all ghostly gifts, whom we acknowledge in perfect faith to be our Saviour, which art the living God with the Father and the Holy Ghost living and reigning unto the world of worlds."[1]

It may be noticed that this devotion of the Jesus anthem never became so popular as the like devotion to our Lady, for whereas the latter was universally sung every night after Compline, the former was, except at St Paul's Cathedral, only sung on Friday evenings. But when we read of a legacy providing "three tapers on Friday before the image of Jesus to burn at Jesus Mass and at the anthem at night," we are, I venture to say, getting extraordinarily near our present Benediction service: for this image of Jesus was very probably that known as "the image of pity," that symbolical representation of the Eucharist which depicted our Saviour with all His wounds and with the implements of the Passion, His counten-

[1] See Atchley, in *Transactions of St Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, v., 163-169.

ance at once pitiful and piteous, while often enough a stream of blood flows from His side into a chalice placed beneath.[1]

But quite apart from this special development of the Jesus anthem, we may fairly conclude that that evening *Salve*, which took place in so many of our pre-Reformation churches, and which was sung even at sea, as we learn from the voyages of Columbus, was the primitive stock upon which exposition of the Blessed Sacrament at a later date was grafted. This was the *salut* familiar in England; and even before it was glorified by the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, we note that it was already a service which possessed those three very popular elements which contribute so much to make our present Benediction attractive to the majority—I mean the profusion of lights, the brevity, and the pleasant music in which all were probably able to join. For, strange to say, we may regard this *Salve* as being in its origin simply the attempt of the laity to imitate and reproduce that part of the Office of the monks which specially appealed to them. The antiphon of our Lady at the end of Vespers or Compline varying with the season, is the one feature in the monastic Office which, speaking generally, is *sung*, and not merely recited in monotone. Hence it is admitted by nearly all, that the anthem in the Anglican liturgy which forms the great attraction of the choral service in our Protestant cathedrals, is simply a substitution for the antiphons of our Lady sung at the conclusion of the ancient Lauds and Compline. But before the Reformers took to imitating these popular antiphons of the Office in their own special way, the laity, as a whole, had taken to imitate them in theirs. Just as the Rosary was a miniature Psalter with 150 Hail Marys instead of 150 Psalms, just as the scapular was a miniature religious habit, just as the Stations of the Cross were a miniature pilgrimage to the Holy Land, just as the morning and evening Angelus are probably a curtailment of the *Tres Preces*, the morning and night prayers of the monks; so the *Salve*, which has by degrees developed into the *Salut* and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, was originally a lay imitation of the most popular feature in the monastic Office.

[1] See an article on "The Mass of St Gregory" in the *Month*, Sept. 1908.

As an Anglican writer says with truth, "The *Salve Regina*, or more generally the antiphon of our Lady according to season, was the great musical effort of the choir, sung in pricksong, in many parts, even a dozen or more. It was sung in the richer parish churches, and was very popular. It lent its name to other anthems similarly used, and was the parent of the anthem now sung (by Anglicans) after Matins and Evensong. In a modern monastery the *Salve* sung at the end of Compline commonly impresses the lay mind much more than the Office itself."[1]

For the sake of completeness it should also be noticed that the first idea of some sort of popular evening service, carried out by the laity and directed to the honour of our Lady, seems to have come from Italy. In that southern land men began as early as the thirteenth century to band themselves together in guilds to sing *laude*, the praises of Mary, in the evening before her picture or statue. A famous example is offered by the guild of *laudesi*, which afterwards developed into the Order of Servites or Servants of Mary. Often enough this exercise took the form of a sort of competition; for the compositions so sung were original and sometimes even improvisations. The custom of these evening services seems to have been carried north by the Friars, then at the height of their activity and fervour, but we northern peoples were probably lacking in that fertility of imagination and that wonderful richness of rhyme which make verse expression so easy to the Italian. As a result, the devout laity of England and Germany and France attempted little more than to reproduce for their evening service a few well-known chants imitating by preference the *Salve Regina* as they were accustomed to hear it sung at the end of the monastic office.

Two modern survivals, links which even yet remain to bind us to the practices of pre-Reformation England, may serve, in conclusion, to illustrate the argument of this paper. In the convent of the English Canonesses at Bruges, who have been domiciled there ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who preserve almost unchanged the traditions still current in the days of Elizabeth, the only part of the Office

[1] Fowler, *The Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 1903), p. 267.

which, strictly speaking, is sung, is the *Salve Regina* at the end of Compline. Now, this feature was of old styled the Salut (anglicised into Saloo). To this day a special candle, known as our Lady's candle, is lighted during it—a huge candlestick standing in the choir for that purpose—and the lighting of this candle is attended with a certain amount of ceremony. For example, if a nun were wearing mittens, she would put off her mittens before lighting the candle. The *Salve* being ended, the candle is extinguished. This seems a tolerably clear proof of the identity of the *Salve Regina* and *Salut*, and also of its close association with the lighting of candles.

The second link with the past is a practice of devotion which is still maintained at Stonyhurst and most of our Jesuit colleges, the special Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on every Saturday evening. It seems to be an immemorial tradition which comes down from old St Omer's days. Now it will perhaps be remembered that we were told that in the eighteenth century, the Antwerp confraternity, which sang the *Salve* or *lof* every day in the week, accompanied the *Salve* on Saturdays with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. But further we learn from Mr H. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*, that while the singing of the antiphon of the Virgin or *Salve Regina* "was the usual form of evening prayer in scholastic communities," still on Saturdays and the five vigils of our Lady it was celebrated with special observance. Thus the statutes of the Oxford Halls in 1483 rigorously enjoin that, on Saturdays and these five vigils after the first ringing of the curfew at St Mary's Church, all must attend the singing of the antiphon of our Lady in Hall under penalty of a fine. A definite limit was assigned for late comers. Attendance did not count if they arrived after the singing of a certain word.[1] For example, when the *Regina Cœli* was sung, the fine was incurred if anyone was not in his place before the beginning of the clause *Resurrexit*. A similar practice with similar penalties prevailed elsewhere. Thus, there can be little doubt that the Saturday Benediction preserves the memory of a devotion which prevailed also at Oxford in pre-Reformation days, though in its transmission through the centuries, it has

[1] See Rashdall, *Universities*, vol. iii., p. 768.

acquired greater solemnity from the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament which now accompanies it.

Finally, the history we have been following seems to suggest a practical question which I venture to leave for the consideration of those who have kindly given their attention to this paper. According to its oldest and most fundamental traditions, the *Salve* or *Salut*, which developed into the modern Benediction service, was simply a selection made by the laity of items in the liturgy which chanced to take their fancy. Although the praises of our Lady have always been predominant in these *Saluts*, other themes were not excluded. The central idea was that the laity, being unable to undertake or appreciate the whole Divine Office, made their own those portions which struck them as most beautiful, most intelligible, or most easily set to music. Might not something, perhaps, be done nowadays to extend this idea? Except in the Westminster Cathedral, the Divine Office of the Church, with its beautiful hymns, antiphons, and responsories, is never heard within the walls of our English churches. Vespers, Compline, or perhaps the Tenebræ service of Holy Week represent the utmost that is anywhere done to familiarise the faithful with the magnificent contents of the Roman Breviary, while the vast treasures of the old service books, the Sequences of the early missals, and the poems of the Anglo-Saxon and Sarum hymnals are known to none except a handful of mediævalists. Could not any steps be taken to revive the knowledge of these beautiful compositions, and at the same time to relieve our Benediction services of something of their monotony? Let me give an illustration of what I mean. The oldest Eucharistic hymn in existence had its origin in these islands. It is found in the ancient antiphonary of Bangor (Benchuir in Ireland) of the end of the sixth century, and it begins *Sancti venite, Christi Corpus sumite.* Now, of this beautiful relic of ancient faith there is an English translation perfectly familiar to Anglicans, which appears in *Hymns, Ancient and Modern;* but I venture to say that not one Catholic in a thousand has ever heard of it. A more appropriate chant for Benediction it would be difficult to find. Or again, what could be more in place than the set of Responsories belonging to the Matins of the first Sunday in Advent,

upon the beauties of which Mgr. Batiffol has dwelt in his little book on the Breviary? But I am content to suggest this topic without further development. It may be sufficient to point out that some attempt in this direction has already been made by the Benedictines of Farnborough, who have selected from our ancient liturgies some items that might be suitable for such an occasion. But, of course, the interest and co-operation both of ecclesiastical authority and of many individuals would have to be enlisted, if such a project is to be undertaken with any hope of practical success.

THE LITERATURE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

By the Very Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P., Prior of Leicester.

Literature, being a word-made-flesh and dwelling amongst us, must have more than casual relations with the Blessed Eucharist. The reason of this living bond between Literature and the Word-made-Flesh is, that each in its own sphere is an attempt to express the Infinite. The Son of God, in whose eucharistic name we are gathered together, is not so much God's intelligence as God's full and active understanding. Scholastics call Him finely God's "species expressa"; God's perfect inward expression of the boundless world of His own being and outer world of His making. Now this divine and infinite expression of God to God—this increate literature of the Most High—is so high that, for lesser minds than the Infinite, casts of it must be taken suited to their limitations. Minds too far off to catch or understand the primal expressive Word must have it re-echoed at their very ear. Its pure transcendent light must be broken up into colours native to their eye; and this the Blessed Eucharist does. It is thus no mere metaphor but a truth to say that the Blessed Eucharist is a Third and Newest Testament—a lasting Gospel, a divine Literature of God and man, God's finished expression in created form and colour of the truth, goodness, and beauty which are the columns of the everlasting hills.

To sketch the relationship between the Blessed Eucharist and Literature is thus to sketch the whole of Literature; for the Word by becoming flesh and dwelling among us has won crown rights over every mode of expressing truth, enforcing goodness, revealing beauty.

If, then, Literature may be taken at its highest as an expression of personality, our present paper may be cut sharply into two, and lastly, into three main divisions. We may look on personality either statically or dynamically,—either as a mere essence or as an existence, either as a fact or as a force. Moreover, in considering it dynamically we may consider in its evolution or in its effects. We have thus three great divisions of the Literature of the Blessed Eucharist.

1st. We may look on the Blessed Eucharist statically, and we have thus the Philosophy and Theology of the Blessed Eucharist.

2nd. We may look on the Blessed Eucharist dynamically in its evolution, and we have thus the History of the Blessed Eucharist.

3rd. We may look on the Blessed Eucharist dynamically in its effects on the æsthetic or moral feelings, and we have thus the Poetry and Devotion of the Blessed Sacrament.

To give anything like a sufficient account of the books on the Blessed Eucharist would be to make this paper a mere catalogue. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to some of the best and most accessible under each heading,—prefacing each list with the master-idea of this branch of our subject, and concluding with suggestions for new books or new editions.

I. Philosophy. Theology

Philosophy.—In broaching the Philosophy of the Holy Eucharist we hear it asked what relations the Holy Eucharist has with Philosophy? The reply is that Philosophy is related to nothing so much as to the hidden presence, which the philosophers of Greece looked upon as folly. No one can seek either to believe, or to understand and justify his belief, in the Blessed Sacrament without encountering all the first principles and therefore all the root difficulties of Philosophy. This "Infinity in a span" focusses every fundamental problem

of Philosophy—the problem of certitude and evidence—the problem of change and causality — the problem of matter and spirit; and one reason perhaps why amidst the new and untried philosophies of the past three centuries the Church has picked her steps unerringly, is that these three problems are fully faced and as fully solved in the Holy Eucharist.

Thus the problem of certitude and evidence is nowhere put with such overwhelming urgency as in the Hidden Sacrament, where every sense is baulked and the tremendous Truth has to be taken on the Word of the Eternal Word. Yet relief comes to the astounded mind when it grasps the simple fact, expressed in the words

Praestet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui,

that Faith is not a substitute but a supplement to the outer senses, and that evidence is verification not merely by the outer senses, but chiefly by the mind and heart of man.

Again, nowhere is the problem of change and causality so urgent as in this mystery of Transubstantiation. Yet after deep thought the difficulty is seen to be not an objective impossibility of being, but a mere difficulty of thinking; for the mind soon recognises that the change which takes place in the Sacrament is wrought in the sub-conscious regions beyond the frontiers of the outer senses. And the chemists of to-day are there to reassure us that if substantial changes do take place—which is not unlikely—they are wrought in these same ultra-sense regions and are not observable or measurable by any apparatus.

Lastly, the most fundamental principle perhaps of all deep thought is the difference and yet the analogy between matter and spirit. The Blessed Eucharist contains this—as we may call it—natural mystery in its most striking mode. But the difficulties of this concept are overcome by the very nakedness with which they are put forward in the "mirabile sacramentum"—"the breviary of marvels," where matter is so penetrated by spirit that the flesh and blood of the Son exist in a real, substantial, and yet a spiritual manner, mysteriously raised above the categories of time and space.

The Literature of this Philosophy of the Blessed Eucharist is endless. Over it all reigns the quiet, imperial figure of St Thomas Aquinas. Since his time little has been done save by way of commentary on his persuasive text. It would be worth the while of any of our subtle modern minds to launch a little into the philosophic deeps of the mystery by the light of modern thought. Our own Dalgairns has pioneered the enterprise in his most stimulating treatise on *Holy Communion;* and indeed has succeeded, not of course in finishing the enterprise, but in being its pioneer.

Theology.—From Philosophy, which, at its best, should be the Theology of Nature, we pass to Theology, which, even at its lowest, is the Philosophy of Revelation. The law we found in the Philosophy of the Blessed Eucharist we find in its Theology. All the root difficulties of Theology are here stated and solved—here stated with the most overwhelming frankness and yet solved with the most convincing clearness. Theology—or the Philosophy of Revelation—rests on the revealed doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Of late years it has become almost a commonplace to say that the Unity of God is safeguarded by the Trinity, and that to minds accustomed to deep thought, the Trinitarian doctrine has fewer difficulties than the Unitarian. The same way of thinking will lead us to see that the Incarnation is in many ways the safeguard of the Trinity. Nor shall we be able to stay the further thought that the Trinity and Incarnation are both safeguarded by that continued Incarnation, the Blessed Sacrament, and that His Presence on our Altar is for us the central mystery of our faith.

So high and hard is the Trinitarian doctrine that the human mind with difficulty keeps itself from believing in an Arian Trinity of One God and two gods—or in a Sabellian Trinity of a being who is absolutely One in Himself and threefold only from our point of view. Nothing steadies the mind on these dizzy heights of dogma so much as a firm grasp of the Blessed Sacrament. In accepting this doctrine, we accept the full Catholic Trinity of Three Persons in one Nature, by recognising that what we adore is the flesh and blood not of the Trinity, but of One Person of the Trinity.

Moreover, all the difficulties against the second pillar of Theology, the Incarnation, are intensified and answered by the Blessed Sacrament. The mysterious union between the divine Person and the human nature is increased by the mysterious union between the human nature and the accidents of bread and wine. Yet the recognition that we see and taste but the accidents and not the substance prepares the mind to see in Jesus Christ the outward form and mien of a man, whilst yet adoring Him as God.

To make a list of the writers on the Theology of the Blessed Eucharist would be to name almost every theologian of note for the past ten centuries. Much of scholastic scholarship and not a little of its best methods are to be found in the Lectures of Cardinal Wiseman on the Blessed Sacrament, and in Renaudot, *Perpétuité de la Foi touchant l'Eucharistie.*

To every English-speaking Catholic Wiseman's brilliant Lectures recall a momentous page of past history. Delivered at St Mary's, Moorfields, before an audience of every class, from labourers to Cabinet Ministers, they were to the English-speaking world what Lacordaire's Conferences, delivered almost at the same time, were to France. They created or initiated a new era of apologetics in which all that was best in the old was recommended by all that was truest in the new.

But there is still room and need for a further development of Eucharistic Theology; in spite of the distressing fact that some recent pioneer work has been done with more earnestness than success. The Holy Father's Encyclical on Modernism has been a needful reminder that in matters of faith zeal is no substitute for wisdom. To construe the Encyclical's wise warnings into a reproof of research would be to misinterpret its words and spirit. In condemning Modernism where it exists, the Holy Father has warned us that certain ways of thought or statement which seemed to promise much are not the "King's highway." This is not to discourage research, but to protect it; and by protecting it, to honour it. In the full sense of that protection resolute and reverential minds may now safely move forward to meet modern needs. Biblical exegesis of the Eucharistic texts offers a wide field to many workers and many furrows. More painstaking or more historical methods promise

rich finds. The fact of development in the apprehension and statement of doctrine must lead to a further strengthening of the Adorable Sacrament in the world of thought; and to a further expansion of its supremacy in the world of theological literature.

II. History of the Blessed Sacrament

In turning from the Philosophy and Theology of the Blessed Sacrament to its History, we may well be grateful that the past few years have produced so much sound scholarship on Liturgy and on the growth of Christian Worship. Few branches of ecclesiastical learning are quite so active as liturgiology; nor is this activity merely or mostly on the part of Catholics. Indeed, the study of Liturgy has become, to some extent, an unofficial trial-ground for the Reunion of Christians. We owe it to a non-Catholic Society that a translation of Monsignor L. Duchesne's *Christian Worship* may now be had. Messrs Herder deserve our thanks for publishing a serviceable translation, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, by Dr Nicolas Gihr; and thereby providing Catholic homes with a storehouse of learning. The student will find ampler materials in the scholarly works of Gasparri,[1] Jourdain,[2] Ermoni,[3] Batiffol,[4] Cabrol,[5] Vacant and Mangenot.[6]

But the history of the Blessed Sacrament has still, perhaps, to be written. A convert from Anglicanism, Fr. Bridgett[7] has shown what may be done to give a national history of the Blessed Sacrament; and it is gratifying to note the announcement of a new edition, under the competent editorship of Father Thurston, S.J. Since his time, however, historical methods have improved, and historical matter has increased. Organic development and continuity have made it imperative to lay more stress on chronological

[1] *Tractatus Canonicus de Sanctissima Eucharistia.*
[2] *La Sainte Eucharistie.*
[3] *L'Eucharistie dans l'Église Primitive.*
[4] *Etudes d'Histoire et de Théologie Primitive.*
[5] *Les Origines Liturgiques; Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne; Monumenta Ecclesiæ Liturgica.*
[6] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.*
[7] *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.*

sequence—on local varieties—on survivals and extinctions. Chapters of his work deserve to be elaborated into books, and paragraphs into chapters. Yet all this would be a meagre National History of the Blessed Sacrament. And one result of these yearly Congresses with their discussion and their prayers, will be that some day we shall be discussing a great International History of the Blessed Sacrament.

III. Poetry and Devotion

In trying meekly to fathom and express the vital relations between the Blessed Eucharist and Poetry our commanding thought must be the divine Λόγος. The Son of God is not only the divine word, but the divine eloquence. He is not merely speech, but song. When the Word leaped down from Heaven to Bethlehem, angels singing bore Him on His way. Even when Death sent the soul of the Word into the caverns of Limbo, earth sang its rude thunder-song in greeting.

There is no dramatic literature of the Blessed Sacrament; although no theme of love or hate supplies such dramatic motive as the Hidden God.[1] But if the theme is still unwed to drama it is because no singer has had daring enough for the enterprise. There is, moreover, in the conscience of Catholicism a quiet, living sense that the tremendous reality is still being wrought under our eyes. Men dramatise the past; but the Blessed Sacrament is a real Present with a future climax, the tragedy of which Calvary alone perhaps can foreshow.

If the unfinished tragedy of the Holy Eucharist has ever been dramatised, the four Evangelists may well be looked upon as the dramatists. To see in these dispassionate narratives of the doings and sayings of Jesus the drama of Emmanuel would be to raise their literary pre-eminence to still greater heights. But it is in the Liturgy of the Mass that the dramatic literature of the Blessed Eucharist reaches its highest flood.

Fragments of epic poetry have been given to the Blessed

[1] We are not sure that Calderon's *Autos Sacramentales*, outdoor plays for Corpus Christi, or Lope de Vega's plays, would be looked upon as dramatic settings of the Holy Eucharist. But they are unquestionably literature.

Sacrament. The "Lauda Sion" with many others may perhaps fitly be ranked in this class. Yet, as we still lack a great Eucharistic drama, so do we still lack a great Eucharistic epic. Perhaps the theme is too great for any but the untied tongues and unheld eyes of those who see upon the Altar the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world.

Lyric poetry has cast countless wreaths upon the Altar. Some have been the rarest and choicest flowers of the mind; all have been sweet with the scent of Eucharistic love. A nosegay of them has been culled in a volume of *Lyra Eucharistica*,[1] where those minded to sing new songs may find what is best and most inspiring in the old.

It is sometimes regretted that many of our recent hymns have not been literature. Whilst not denying the fact, it may be allowed to say a word in explanation. In music as in poetry there is a popular taste which in great part offends the ear of the expert. But is it nothing to the poet that this mode of music and of verse does stir the people? Are the people not finding and giving vent to new and highly complex emotions which old modes could not express? Is not devotion to the Sacred Heart a new outlet for the old mediæval loyalty to the Blessed Eucharist? Is this new mode in verse and melody the mere senile stammering of decadence? Or is it the childlike babbling promise of a Canticum Novum—a Song that is to be? And if so, may we not hope before long that some poet may arise from the people who, in his love for them and their hidden God, may piece the infant prattle into a man-song worthy of the hidden God and of the people?

Devotion.—Lastly, it would be irksome to give even a list of the devotional literature of the Blessed Sacrament. The catalogues of our Catholic publishers and of the Catholic Truth Society, who have all deserved so well of English-speaking Catholics, will probably surprise those who have not explored these storehouses of sound reading. Every class of readers is provided for by almost every class of writer. Saints, as Alphonsus and Leonard of Port Maurice—Cardinals, as Bona and Manning—Bishops, as Hedley and Bellord—priests, as Chaignon and Faber—are a guarantee that the Church's

[1] Orby Shipley.

devotion shall rest on sound doctrine. On Holy Mass there are the weighty treatises of Müller, Gihr, O'Brien, and the simple handbooks or pamphlets of Cardinal Vaughan and Mother Loyola. That meditations need not be written in unsound English may be seen in Bishop Bellord's careful translations—that modern devotion can blend strength and tenderness may be seen in Monsignor Gilbert's *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament*—and that our forefathers were equally strong and tender in their speech with the Hidden Lord may be seen in the *Lay Folk's Mass-Book*, or other salvage from the wreck of pre-reformation history.

The Catholic Truth Society, which has done so much to spread the knowledge of the Faith in England, has naturally devoted itself to the propagation of devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Nearly fifty of its publications are concerned with this august mystery, ranging in time from pre-reformation days in an adaptation of the *Lay Folk's Mass-Book* and *Prayers from the Sarum Missal* to the recent decree of the Holy Father on frequent Communion; and including works on the history of the Eucharist, devotions for Mass and Communion, explanations, the holy sacrifice and the ceremonies attending its celebration, and prayers for Visits to the Tabernacle.

Many as are the published books on this aspect of Eucharistic literature, there are still some to be written. Just as men publish Dante's *Paradiso* or other masterpieces of literature in idiomatic and literary English translations with literary, historical, and theological notes, so may we hope to see the like service done to that masterpiece of literature, the Office of the Blessed Sacrament.

Closing this sketch abruptly, not for want but weight of matter, we may borrow a phrase from that office to say again what we have wished to say throughout, that all the best methods and deepest emotions and sweetest notes in human literature may well be offered up to

> Our Fellow in the manger lying,
> Our Food within the banquet-room,
> Our Ransom in His hour of dying,
> Our Prize in His own kingly home.

The Chairman, the Right Rev. BISHOP OF NEWPORT, then announced that the Session would proceed to discuss the subject matter of the papers in the short time left at its disposal. He begged those who wished to speak to be as brief as possible.

The BISHOP OF ABERDEEN rose and said that although the Chairman wished the speakers to limit their remarks to the papers that had just been read, he should be afraid to do so. The subjects needed so much learning for their discussion that it was impossible. He would only express his sense of the honour done him in inviting him to be present at the meeting.

He was followed by the Right Rev. Bishop KEILEY, of Savannah, U.S.A., who said that he had come six thousand miles to the Congress, and that he was very pleased to have heard Fr. Thurston and Fr. McNabb. As an American, of course he felt at home in England, and especially at the Congress. He invited the assembly to his diocese to see the good work done there. He said that devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and loyalty to the Head of the Church were practically the same thing, as the present Holy Father was the Pope of the Blessed Sacrament.

The Rev. Fr. BAMPTON, S.J., driving home some of Fr. Thurston's practical suggestions, said it had been clearly shown that in its origin and development Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was a popular service—a service of the laity. Did it retain that characteristic now? Was it popular service to praise God by proxy through the medium of a remotely-placed and more or less efficient choir? Was it not possible for the congregations in the churches to give vent to their pious emotions by themselves sounding the praises of the Blessed Sacrament in song? In spite of our tender devotion to our Blessed Lady he thought the Litany was liable to become monotonous if repeated at four out of every five services. There were other hymns to her which could be sung, and there were hymns to the Blessed Sacrament such as the *Lauda Sion*, the *Pange lingua*, the *Adoro Te devote*, which children's choirs could easily be taught to sing in unison, and thus prepare the way for congregational singing. He hoped that Benediction in the Cathedral next day would be a popular service. In conclusion, he said his experience in dealing with converts showed that

what drew many a soul to the Church was not the Sacrifice of the Mass—which many did not at first understand—nor sermons—especially controversial sermons—but Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, like unto which there was no other power on earth.

Father BAMPTON's eloquent and very able speech was keenly followed by all, and provoked not only much hearty applause, but also some expressions of good-humoured dissent from a section of the audience. The suggestion that Eucharistic hymns should more frequently be substituted for the Litany of our Lady at Benediction was evidently not to the taste of a certain proportion of those who were present.

Father COLOGAN, Hon. Secretary of the Catholic Truth Society, called attention to the numerous Eucharistic works which that Society had issued and which had tended to make the Blessed Sacrament better known and better loved, and had helped to increase what the Holy Father so greatly desired—frequent and daily Communion. He quoted the words of the Archbishop of Melbourne in his speech of the previous Thursday: "There is one opportunity common to all; all can circulate, or aid in circulating, the publications of the Catholic Truth Society treating of the Blessed Eucharist.

The Right Rev. Chairman, in closing the meetings of the Section, thanked God for the success of the Congress, and His Blessed Mother for her intercession. He congratulated all who had spoken and worked for the objects of the Congress, and hoped that what yet remained to be done would have the Benediction of Heaven.

SECTION B (ENGLISH)

MORNING

The closing meeting of this Section was a very full one.

The Very Rev. Mgr. GROSCH, Islington, occupied the Chair at the commencement of the meeting, and subsequently his Eminence the CARDINAL LEGATE presided. The reception of

Cardinal Vannutelli was warm in the extreme, and as, accompanied by His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, he passed up the centre of the Hall, all present rose with one accord to greet him.

PERPETUAL ADORATION IN THE SANCTUARY OF MONTMARTRE

By Abbé G. Peries, D.D., LL.D.

The institution of Perpetual Adoration at Paris had for its object, in the mind of Mgr. Sibour, the reawakening of devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament in his diocese, and the offering to our Divine Master, hidden under the Eucharistic veils, a solemn reparation for the outrages and blasphemies of all kinds to which this proof of His love for us is so constantly exposed. There is no need to describe the excellent results in Christian revival produced by these pious exercises. In parochial life, almost everywhere, perpetual adoration has its part, and it is appreciated even by souls whose piety would seem to be wanting in tenderness.

At first the Blessed Sacrament was only exposed during the day-time for a period of three days, or, in certain dioceses, during one day only. Adoration at night was started upon the initiative of M. de Benque, of the Abbé de la Bouillerie, and especially of that earnest apostle who was to be known later under the name of Père Hermann. It was the result of a confidential meeting held by them on November 1848.

Well received in the great centres of devotion such as our Lady of Victories, our Lady of Lourdes, and the Basilica of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre, it soon made part of the diocesan work of Paris, and it was determined, with quickly growing success, to procure for our Lord adorers for the night in all the churches and chapels of the diocese of Paris where Perpetual Adoration takes place, so that this great Eucharistic work soon came to embrace the night as well as the day. A thought of penance is thus added to the joys of prayer, a greater merit is the

result, and a more devout worship is given in honour of Jesus the divine and untiring Advocate of erring humanity.

Among the various objects which inspired this pious association was the striving to draw down the blessing of God on a country which was officially atheist, and the desire to turn away from her the scourge only too justly deserved by her social crimes. Nights of prayer were arranged at the time of elections, or when scandalous measures for the persecution of, or public insult to, religion were being proposed—indeed in all circumstances when serious events were on the point of taking place. These adorations took place in the Church of our Lady of Victories, where nocturnal adoration now takes place regularly on the first Thursday of the month. In this scheme Montmartre was soon to take part, and the following is the history of her edifying and consoling example.

The Basilica of the Sacred Heart is a centre of unceasing prayer. After the many Masses, celebrated there every day by a number, always considerable, of priests temporarily visiting Paris, after the gathering together of pilgrims, eager and almost noisy in their movements, there is comparative calm in the church, favourable to recollection and intimate communion with our Lord. During the day pious women, old people, devout visitors, succeed each other, repeating the rosary, meditating, reciting the Litany of Reparation, or the Litany of the Sacred Heart, once more contemplating in silence, and then renewing their consecration to the Sacred Heart aloud.

These parties of people come on prearranged days and hours, as the result of an official request addressed to the various parishes, which thus send their representatives to pray before our Lord.

Six to seven thousand woman-adorers are enrolled on the registers of the Archconfraternity, being drawn almost exclusively from the city of Paris and its suburbs. Twice a month, always on Friday, as many of these women as are free to be present unite in a solemn service. They hear an instruction and afterwards form a procession, in which all the parishes of the diocese are represented by a banner, on which is emblazoned the picture of their patron-saint.

Thus is fulfilled, now in recollection and silence, now with

the splendour of well-ordered and beautiful ceremonies, the duty of the diurnal guard of honour of Jesus in the Sacrament of the Altar.

From half-past nine in the evening the men who are responsible for the nocturnal adoration come in their turn to take their place, and thus ensure a perpetual succession of watchers before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. The name of "Men of France in the Sacred Heart" was given them by Cardinal Richard, of pious and revered memory, and Leo XIII., after him, confirmed this title. In Paris and its environs alone, they number at the present time nearly six thousand, the majority of whom are faithful to the nocturnal duty they have undertaken.

Who can say what touching and mysterious communion goes on up there, above the great town, at an hour when men, instead of taking the rest God has prepared for them, only too often, alas! give themselves up to wickedness and all manner of crime?

Just when, perhaps, the arm of the All-powerful is arming itself to chastise the guilty, pure souls raise their charitable prayers and interpose themselves (united to the Divine Mediator) between justice and the sinner. What a sublime office, ignored by the world, but which angels envy! What an admirable mission dictated by the highest charity and the most tender love towards the Heart of Jesus!

In this solitude and silence the soul detaches itself more easily from those passions and mundane preoccupations which drag us down to earth during the tiring hours of human labour. The persuasive eloquence of approaching eternity, the lofty precepts of salvation contained in the Gospel, are mysteriously renewed in their conversation with the Divine Host. Meditation on past weaknesses and ever-possible temptations enforce the necessity of penance, of fervent prayer, and of the frequent use of the Sacraments. Thus is piety strengthened, zeal increases, holy charity suggests generous devotion, and Christians advance in perfection.

What blessings these holy vigils, these prolonged nocturnal prayers have already brought to those souls who have tasted the happiness to be found in them! Happy are those mortified men who have thus united themselves to the untiring prayer of

Jesus, *semper vivens ad interpellandum pro nobis,* and who, according to the invitation of the Psalmist, mutually encourage each other to bless our Lord at a time when nature would willingly invite them to rest. *In noctibus extollite manus vestras in sancta, et benedicite Dominum.*

On the last Sunday of each month, at the afternoon Office, there is a general muster of the men adorers who unite in a solemn act of faith in the Blessed Sacrament. A thousand to fifteen hundred men, sometimes more, crowd into the vast nave, carrying the national colours, on which the name of each parochial division is inscribed. The *Credo* bursts forth, repeated with power and proud enthusiasm by virile voices, and the procession is a really magnificent triumph for our Lord Jesus Christ. A priest, from the pulpit, then pronounces words of praise borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, and the immense congregation repeats them with an enthusiasm that is full of holy emotion. All possible precautions have been taken that the adorations at Montmartre may not interfere with the Eucharistic exercises of the parish churches, and it has happily been ascertained that those adorers who are most constant in coming to the Basilica of the Sacred Heart are, or are quickly becoming, the best parishioners, the most zealous to support their priest, and to attend all services assiduously.

What is done at Montmartre can be done in every centre of piety where numbers are drawn together by some particular devotion.

Our Lord is often saddened by the ingratitude of even the best Christians; but what subjects of reparation are suggested by the unbridled luxury and guilty pleasures of great cities, by impiety and its blasphemies, by heresy and its culpable obstinacy, by the malice and coarser vices of the masses! For all these, ardent prayers should ascend to heaven as sweet incense, and from every corner of the globe cries of propitiation ought to echo loudly in the ear of God.

This nocturnal prayer before the Blessed Sacrament must, of course, always be the work of a select few, but these few ought not to grow weary in encouraging others and in promoting a friendly rivalry in their exercises of devotion.

This has long been understood, and from 1890, the date

of its recognition, the work of "perpetual and universal adoration of the Sacred Heart in union with Montmartre" has not ceased to progress. At the present time, 8169 churches, affiliated to the "Sanctuary of the National Desire," keep the Blessed Sacrament exposed during some one twenty-four hours, and share in all the day and night prayers that are made there, as well as in the merits of the adorations of the affiliated churches.

Groups both of "women-adorers" and "men of France" have also been organised in the various French dioceses, bringing up the number of associates to 511,953; to which we must add the names inscribed on the registers of 1120 other confraternities which have been canonically established in other countries all over the world and affiliated to the Archconfraternity of Montmartre. Further, we must not omit to mention the *Priest Apostles* of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which at the present time number over 1800; and these complete this army of fervent and faithful friends of Jesus, whom we have the honour to present to you to-day.

May we see everywhere develop, grow, and multiply in souls, this ardent love for the Holy Eucharist, of which some touching examples have been set before you in the few points we have touched upon. May the various nations try to outrival each other in devotion to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, and mutually encourage each other in serving Him better and making Him more beloved. *Venite exultemus Domino, jubilemus Deo salutari nostro; præoccupemus faciem ejus in confessione, et in psalmis jubilemus ei.*

Oh, that priests would understand what elements for religious revival are to be found in this guard of honour watching before the King of Heaven! Oh, that they would inspire their flocks with the holy ambition of asserting their profound faith in the real presence of Jesus Christ under the sacred elements, showing it by their continued presence before the Sacred Host, and by their grateful appreciation of His rôle of perpetual Advocate for the human race!

THE CHILDREN'S MASS

By the Rev. Dr Keane, O.P.

In a Congress that is international, composed of members of that Church which, though one in faith, one in submission to supreme authority, and one in fundamental discipline the wide world over, yet exhibits variety in its forms of devotional expression, it may be needful to explain at the outset of this paper what is meant by "the Children's Mass." It is the Mass celebrated in some parts of the Church on Sundays and Feasts of Precept for a congregation consisting exclusively, or almost exclusively, of children; a Mass during which the nave of the church is, as a rule, reserved to children. The custom is, I believe, pretty general throughout Great Britain, so far as the number of the Catholic body seems to demand and the strength of the clerical staff of the mission allows it: in Ireland it obtains in a few churches situated in some of the larger towns.

As though Providence had ordered it in view of the approaching Eucharistic Congress, the writer of this paper has found himself at various times within the past year one of a clerical group in which the Children's Mass was subject of conversation. The aspect of it which aroused interest on the occasions referred to was the question of the desirability or undesirability of the institution. And it has been felt that it is a subject to which one may becomingly invite the thought of those whom this Congress has gathered together.

The fact that the custom of a Children's Mass prevails in not a few important centres is a sign that it has the approval of some ecclesiastics. On the other hand, in the informal conferences on the subject to which I have listened, among ecclesiastics of more than average zeal and enlightenment, there was unanimity of disapproval. Since the opening of the Congress I have learned from French priests that anxiety as to the wisdom of the practice is felt by many of our brethren on the Continent. Which view shall we accept and be guided by?

The Children's Mass, though not a universal, perhaps not

even a general, practice, being, however, established in these countries to some appreciable extent, and being probably admired by many in whose churches it is not established, may be regarded for the purpose of the present discussion as "in possession." Those who disapprove of it may be regarded as objecting to the *status quo*. Hence it will probably be the better order in which to treat the subject, if we set forth in the first place the grounds whereon these latter seek to justify their objection to the system.

It is certain, and evident, that among the activities of children wherewith their seniors have to concern themselves, some are best done by the young people when they are grouped with others of their own age. Children's play, for instance, considered as play, is carried on more successfully when a large body of them are engaged in it together. For purposes of play it is desirable that the youthful spirits should be free from check; that the streamlets of innocent joy from many hearts should unite in one flood. Again, when there is question of educating children, in the general sense of the term, the work is probably best done if they are placed among their like, and in large bodies. Many a child who has developed unlovely traits would have been preserved from the evil had he been thrown more among his fellows. The daily necessity of considering the wishes, tastes, and needs of others is calculated to protect a lad from the baneful power of the selfish instinct, while the communion of school life exercises a disciplinary influence which tends to round off the angularities that threaten to spoil individual character. But, when there is question of the child's uplifting mind and heart to God, they to whom his higher interests are dear must desire for him quite different circumstances. To surround him at such a time with a multitude of his own age does not seem a helpful arrangement. The consideration which shows the desirability of child companionship for the little one who would fling himself heartily into play, goes to show the undesirability of such companionship when he would turn his mind to the solemn business of his soul, raise his heart to heaven, and speak to his Creator. Childhood's natural levity renders prayer particularly difficult. Surely the nearness of a large number of his playmates must

enhance the difficulty. The slight sense of responsibility of which the child is capable must surely be the slighter from the fact that he feels himself one of a large group of children. And the slighter sense of responsibility becomes yet slighter when, in addition to the positive cause of the presence of a large number of children, there is the negative cause of the absence of adults. What has been called the "psychology of the crowd" then operates unto the lessening of the sense of restraint, and it seems unreasonable to expect grave demeanour from poor children in such circumstances. Yet, gravity of demeanour, according to his capacity, is rightly demanded even of the child in time of prayer. There is actual need of it, and prospective need; actual, because of the sacred character of the work in which he is engaged; prospective, since reverence in prayer, which shall be a bounden thing for him in after life, must be taught him in tender years. If he is to be taught it effectively does it not seem that he should be protected from his individual levity, and from the stimulus to increased levity which there is in the corporate levity of the group of young people by whom he is surrounded; and this most of all during the celebration of the august Mysteries of the Altar, which beyond all other religious exercises call for man's profound reverence?

The apprehension which antecedent reflection leads one to entertain finds realisation in a sufficient number of instances to cause pain to those who are zealous for the children's spiritual weal. The testimony of many who have watched the children, with eye indulgent enough to make due allowance for the weakness of their age, while severe enough to satisfy the demands of wise solicitude for their higher interests, assures us that there prevails in many places where the Children's Mass is established a levity which it is painful to witness, and from which, if it be practised Sunday after Sunday for years, one rightly expects serious prejudice to the children's souls. In those cases in which harmful playfulness is not to be seen, the comparative quiet is due to the practically continuous occupation of the young people in the singing. The physical work of the singing, along with such mental occupation as it involves, is, naturally, an outlet for the child's tendency to inopportune

activity. But this, it is to be feared, is in almost every instance a mere natural occupation: reading aloud something of a non-religious character would have the same effect of sobering the excitable spirits of the young people, and warding off unbecoming fidgetiness.

How different is the picture presented to the eye which looks on the child kneeling beside father or mother, or adult brother or sister, during the Holy Sacrifice, when father or mother is of average Christian earnestness. Kneeling beside the parents the little fellow feels the strong, though gentle, power of nature helping him to a respectful attitude. Indeed, not many sights are more pleasing to the Christian whose heart is well adjusted than that of the child assisting at Mass beside his conscientious parents. All the charm of childhood's innocence is there, with the added charm of that winsome solemnity of which the young are capable. One sees the child then with an elevated attractiveness, which belongs to him perhaps at no other moment of his young life. The little fellow comes nearer to a sense of the Presence of the Heavenly Father, and of the reverence due to Him, because, with the influence of the holy place upon him, he has the earthly father or mother, vicegerent of God's authority, at his side. It is true that he remains a child; the strain of reverent attitude soon wearies him, and the tendency to youthful relaxation is felt. But he does not go far in obedience to his native levity when, as though conscious of his need of help, he turns an eye, or half an eye, to the parent, and, by the parent's example and sense of the parent's authority, steadies himself once again. It is true also that not all parents are edifyingly reverent during Mass. However, it is not often that we see them without such comportment as will be a helpful check on the little ones. Indeed it commonly happens that there is a reciprocity of beneficent influence; the parents are wont to be more watchful of their own comportment because of the presence of the young people, and this improved comportment of which the children are the occasion sends back upon the children its influence of salutary coercion. Moreover, supposing the Children's Mass to be abandoned, and the young people sent to church with the body of their elders, they will have, in addition to

their parents, the general congregation to rely on for salutary restraint.

It may well be questioned whether any lesson communicated to the young is so profitable as this. The impressing on them of the law of reverence during the Sacred Mysteries helps to bring home to them the restraining and elevating significance of their general religious teaching: it promotes what may be called the growth of conscience. Apart from the circumstance of the offering of Holy Mass, a wise view is the view of those who hold that the most assuring guarantee we have that the child of to-day will be the edifying Christian man of to-morrow is habitual reverence for the most adorable Sacrament from early years. May not the reason of this be that, though the Lord can bless beneath the open sky, on mountain-top, or on the broad ocean's bosom, He reserves His plenteous supply of heavenly gifts to the child for the hour when He finds him in reverent posture before the Tabernacle?

It will not be amiss to add here a consideration which somewhat increases the uneasiness felt by certain priests on the subject of the Children's Mass. In the Irish National Synod of Thurles, held in the year 1850, it was enacted that the custom of "stations" in the houses of the faithful in the rural districts should be discontinued. It has been asserted by those who had intimate relations with him that the argument which chiefly induced the President of the Synod, Archbishop, afterwards Cardinal, Cullen, to favour the enactment was the apprehension that, considering the abundant emigration from Ireland, the people who had been accustomed at home to have the Easter and Christmas sacraments brought to them at "station" time, would be, in consequence of that custom, less likely to bring themselves to the sacraments in foreign countries, especially as in many instances a great distance would have to be traversed. He, therefore, deemed it desirable that the people should be under the necessity of betaking themselves to the church for the holy sacraments; there would be the greater probability that they would make their way to the church for them if they should ever find themselves in the unfavourable circumstances of a foreign, un-Catholic land. The same thought may, perhaps, be applied to the

question of the Children's Mass. If the young people be accustomed to be set to hear Mass in serried ranks for some years, may they not, at the expiration of this time of tutelage, be in some risk of omitting attendance thereat because of the notable change in their relation to Mass-hearing? So long as he is one of a large troop which is regularly marshalled to fill the nave every Sunday and holiday, the young lad is borne to Mass as on a wave; when he ceases to be a child the wave which used to uplift and carry him along disappears. A striking fact in his young life which was wont to advertise the sacred duty to his mind, and thereby facilitate his fulfilment of it, is a fact no more. There may be danger of his omitting in his freer condition what he had been faithful to in the time of youthful discipline. Not much danger, it may be said; but in this grave matter all is worthy of serious thought.

So much for the grounds which appear to support the view of those who object to the Children's Mass: the time limitation which the procedure of the Congress has rendered necessary does not permit further amplification of them. Let me now deal with the arguments in favour of the opposite contention.

I have no doubt that in some of the missions where the custom prevails the Pastor inclines to felicitate himself, and felicitate the parish, on the fact. He may regard the Children's Mass as worthy of favourable prominence in a report exhibited to the Bishop. And not a few good souls among the faithful may be conceived as struck with something resembling shock by the suggestion that the Children's Mass should be discontinued; it may almost look to them like a proposal to extinguish a sacred light in the parish.

Some good members of the Church, not using language of technical argumentation, but expressing the feelings of pious hearts, will utter exclamations on the beautiful picture formed by the innocent children arrayed before the altar—the brightness of their countenances, the inspiring heartiness of their singing, etc.—and they will ask: Is it seriously proposed that this delightful part of our parochial activity should be done away with? that this fairest ornament of our church services should be removed? It can be said in reply—first, in general

terms—a practice may wear a pleasing exterior and yet lead to regrettable consequences; not for its pleasing exterior or surface aspect should we approve it. Secondly, those bright faces would probably be brighter still and the hearty singing more hearty, if cakes and toys were distributed to the children on their entrance to the church. Yet it would surely be unwise to distribute at such a time and place these objects of childhood's ambition.

Others may urge that by bringing the children in a body to the church the priest is given an opportunity of addressing them on the special subjects on which their condition demands that they should be spoken to, and in the form which befits a youthful audience. But this end of a Children's Mass can be attained quite as effectively by what is known as the Children's Service. This service, held in the afternoon, includes as one of the chief items of its programme an address to the young people. Nor may it be retorted that here also there may be lack of solemn attitude on the children's part: the Children's Service is far from having the solemn character that attaches to the celebration of Mass; nor does the little one's levity cause embarrassment to the adult worshippers, as it does during the Holy Sacrifice, at which, though it is tabulated on the church list for children, an appreciable number of men and women usually occupy the aisles or transept.

Some advocates of Children's Mass will, perhaps, find a recommendation of it, or, at least, a refutation of the objectors' contention suggested by the words of the Divine Master: "Suffer little children to come unto Me, etc." But there is no question of forbidding the children from coming to Our Lord. It is merely asked that they be brought to Him under the guardianship of the parents. What our Lord really said may have been: Suffer those mothers to bring their little children to Me.

Men of tender heart, reasoning under the influence of the heart, may ask: Why be severe on the poor children? But is there severity shown by those who would have them live their home-life under their parent's eye, helped by the restraining influence of the parents to observe the decorum which befits the home. Besides, if you set the school-teachers over them

during the Mass in order to their being kept in proper discipline, you cannot object to the more effective, but more agreeable, supervision of the parents.

It may be asked: Why this grave apprehension of lightness of demeanour in the young people? What harm is there in a child's looking about him during Mass? What harm is there in his nudging, or pinching, his youthful neighbour—speaking to his neighbour—during Mass? Surely there is no fault in this sort of thing when done by a thoughtless child. One from the other side might well ask: What harm is there in the child's amusing himself with his father's razor? Yet men of average conscientiousness hasten to wrest the razor from him, and endeavour to secure that he shall not take it into his hand again. There is harm for the child in all that impedes his training into the attitude of reverence for the great mysteries. It is an elementary principle of moral science that the desirable good of the man—the necessary good of the man—depends largely on certain things in the management of the child. And the tolerances, the risks, the disedifications in youth which tend to grave evil results in after life, are as a rule, found to consist in small matters. The foundation is taken away from the entire system of that most momentous of all departments of Christian solicitude—the training of the young—if we admit that a serious attitude is not to be assumed with regard to something in the child's life on the plea that it is "small." The small things in the child's formation are great; and great amongst the great is everything that pertains immediately to the leading of the young brain and heart to a sense of reverence for the most adorable Sacrament.

I have reserved for the close the argument which probably carries most weight with the members of the clergy who are advocates of the Children's Mass. If you abandon the Children's Mass, they say, you run the risk of seeing many children lose Mass, in consequence of the negligence of a considerable number of parents. Not a few parents, especially in large towns, neglect Mass; and it is judged, with good show of reason, that those who are themselves neglectful will not concern themselves as to the attendance of their offspring. Thus, the institution of the Children's Mass preserves a goodly

number of the little ones from loss of Mass: let it, therefore, be esteemed, maintained, and extended. One might plead against this that, even under the Children's Mass system the attendance of the young people depends largely on the parents. Perhaps there is as much conscientiousness — let us say, nearly as much conscientiousness—needed in the parents to see to the regular attendance of the young people at the Mass for the young people as is needed to secure their own assisting. However, it is very probable that of the fathers and mothers who themselves culpably fail to attend Mass not a few are careful to see that their little ones shall be faithful. And it would not be cause for surprise if we found that they took the more care in the matter on account of its being a special Mass for children. Wherefore, on the side of those who are in favour of the Children's Mass, the argument we are now considering, though here set forth last, is certainly not least. It is the only one which would lead the writer of this paper to hesitate before casting his vote for the abolition of the institution. One thing it assuredly proves—the priest who gives up the special Mass for children places himself thereby under the necessity of increased vigilance in the matter of the young people's attendance.

Such are the reflections for which we invite some small share of the pious thought which the members of the Congress have prepared to bestow on the various aspects of the august Mystery in honour of which we are assembled. Somebody has written that "everything in the world which is worth a thought, becomes, sooner or later, food for controversy." It is so even in the matter of some of the ways and means of furthering the people's spiritual weal which are subject to man's fallible discrimination. Whatever diffidence the writer of this paper may feel as to the correctness of the view on the subject of the Children's Mass for which he has indicated his preference, he has the comforting assurance that this distinguished assemblage comprises sufficient zeal and wisdom to secure that no prophet of unwise counsel shall lead it to condemn any institution which promotes the good of the dear children's souls and the glory of our Eucharistic Lord.

At the conclusion of the papers, Mgr. GROSCH, being called upon by His Grace The ARCHBISHOP, expressed his great satisfaction that Fr. Keane had finished by declaring that the weight of opinion was for, not against, the Children's Mass. He (Mgr. Grosch) could speak for the North of London, and if those present asked the priests of the North of London whether they were for or against the Children's Mass, the almost unanimous answer would be in favour of it. Some of the arguments used by Fr. Keane were, he thought, a little sophistical. He (Mgr. Grosch) would certainly have no hesitation in giving a child sweets or toys in going to Mass. "We find in our mission," the speaker continued, "that the poorer children are sometimes the means of inducing their parents to attend Mass. Sometimes, perhaps, we are unfair to the children, and ask them why their parents do not come to Mass, but these children effect some good by begging their parents to go to Mass so that they themselves may not be blamed in the school." He submitted that it was the duty of the priests to act *in loco parentis* to the children, and instil in them a sense of the responsibility which rested upon them of attending Mass and other religious duties, and until that was effected, nothing of permanent value could be done for the religious education of our little ones.

THE EUCHARIST AND THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER

BY THE REV. FATHER JOSEPH BOUBÉE, S.J., Director-General of the Apostleship of Prayer.

ON several occasions already, especially at Angoulême in 1904, and at Tournai in 1906, Eucharistic Congresses have kindly bestowed their attention upon the Apostleship of Prayer—a League of prayer and zeal in union with the Heart of Jesus. This must be my warrant for bringing under your notice once again our pious Association as a means of Eucharistic devotion.

Our end, in the Apostleship of Prayer, is to hasten the coming of God's kingdom by multiplying the power of inter-

cessory prayer. Our chief means is union with the Heart of Jesus, "ever making intercession for us." Who does not see, then, that in the very first instance our Associates are urged to approach the altar-rails as often as possible—that is to say, daily—in order that they may there unite themselves more and more closely with the Sacred Heart? Moreover, one of the practices of our League from the beginning has been the Communion of Reparation, which constitutes the Third Degree, in accordance with statutes solemnly approved at Rome.

At the present moment we number, throughout the world, 25,000,000 Associates, distributed among 63,000 centres. True it is that all of them are not Associates of the Third Degree, and consequently regular in their monthly Communions of Reparation. Nevertheless, it may be said that the majority of our Leaguers go as far as this. Let me take an illustration from the latest official statistics of our work in Portugal (to be found in the *Relatorio* of 1907). We read there that in a village of 125 families, our Associates made, in the course of last year, 20,601 Communions. This, if you reckon it up, represents an average of almost fifty-nine Communions a day, or more than one Communion every other day in each family. In another part of Portugal, a College where we number 210 Associates has put together in the course of the year a total of 23,471 Communions, representing for each pupil over 111 Communions per annum, or one Communion every three days.

I realise well that we have to pursue a yet loftier ideal, and (in accordance with both letter and spirit of the Pontifical Decree, which we cannot sufficiently bless) to urge onward all the faithful to daily Communion, which is so salutary, so stimulating a practice for every normally constituted good Christian. Our League does not exact from each and every Associate the immediate realisation of this ideal. Such a course would, so to speak, be a veto on the Apostleship's energies in the work of perfection and conquest by restricting its membership to a number of favoured souls. The Apostleship takes hold of Christians where it finds them, that it may lead them where they ought to go. It urges them at first, therefore, to monthly Communion, and afterwards to weekly. From the Associates of the Third Degree it expects, every month, one General

Communion; another on the feast-day of each Associate's monthly patron; a third on the day assigned by the monthly rotation of each group of thirty Associates; and finally, four other Communions, or even five in some months, on the day of the week that Associates have voluntarily chosen. But we are not satisfied with even this. And it is our happiness and —if you will allow me to say so—our glory, to be able to recall that we have ever urged souls to daily Communion, since the Papal Decree, and even long years before it.

A few facts will dispense me from lengthy considerations. Founded in 1846, and thoroughly organised from the year 1861 onwards, the Apostleship of Prayer has the French *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*—the *Messager du Cœur de Jésus*—as its principal organ. This periodical has always led the campaign on behalf of frequent Communion. For a long time it numbered among its contributors Father Cros, S.J., one of the earliest upholders of frequent Communion for children. So far back as 1872 it ventured to propose daily Communion in colleges. From the year 1873 onwards, it issued a series of articles entitled, "What was thought of Daily Communion before Jansenism." It supplied, also, a refutation of the objections then current against what some are pleased to call the "abuse" of Holy Communion. In particular it vindicated, by a course of short, special articles, vivacious in style, but solidly learned in matter, the right of children to frequent Communion, their need of it, and the emptiness of the difficulties they make or that others propose on their behalf.

When this salutary Pontifical Decree was issued, the *Messager* was one of the first publications of its class, if not the very first, to offer its readers the integral text, in Latin and in French. A little while afterwards, in the June of 1906, it devoted its leading article (a monthly explanation and development of the General Intention submitted for the prayers of all Associates, with the approval of our Holy Father the Pope) to an exposition of the letter and the spirit of the great Decree. Since then, on many occasions, and in many ways, we have returned to the charge. Let me instance only the series of meditations for monthly days of recollection that have appeared almost without a break for two years past, impelling the faith-

ful to frequent and daily Communion. To descend to particulars, the Meditations from October 1907 to the July of this year, most charmingly and originally written by Father Chauvin, S.J., have been solely devoted to systematic comment on the Holy Father's Decree. This series is not as well known as it deserves. It is made up of terse reflections and aspirations, couched in a style whose zest and vigour and picturesqueness are the garments of a solid doctrine, not always to be found in this particular class of literature. Father Chauvin's Meditations must count among the likeliest of literary endeavours to make the lessons of our Holy Father the Pope on daily Communion understood and beloved by all the faithful, even such as are worldly and indifferent.

Lastly, in the biographies published monthly by the *Messager*, we have always been careful to select those of *friends* of the Sacred Heart: that is to say, of friends of the Holy Eucharist. The gallery of these 576 soul-pictures is a true Eucharistic collection. Devotional writers are well aware of the fact, and it is one of the glories of our periodical that authors who yearn to propagate daily Communion—Mgr. Curé, for instance, and Father Tesnière—have more than once betaken themselves to the *Messager* biographies when seeking examples to confirm their doctrine.

Just one word, if I may still detain you, concerning some other manifestations of love for the Holy Eucharist to which our work of the Apostleship of Prayer effectively contributes. The Communion of the Nine First Fridays is now more widely spread than ever. For over fifty years the Apostleship of Prayer has toiled to make the Great Promise well known and understood. The most noteworthy books on this subject have been either published in the first instance as *Messager* articles (like the remarkable studies of Father Vermeersch), or written by our contributors, zelators, or provincial and diocesan Directors. Take as examples the works of Father Guillaume (*Les Promesses du Sacré Cœur*); M. Ballester (*Las Promisas del Sagrado Corazon*); Father Van den Bosch (in Dutch); Father Hesse (in German), and the booklets published on the same subject by our *Messengers of the Sacred Heart* in Ireland, England, America, Australia, Poland, etc.

It is sometimes said that the Jesuits have "invented" the Great Promise, and its marvellous effects. If the assertion means that we have toiled earnestly to saturate the masses with the significance, the love, and the practice of the precept enjoined by the Promise, we thank God for it, and we account it as glory. What is most certain is that our Associates of the Apostleship have been enabled, in every land and in every latitude, to read in their thirty-seven *Messengers of the Sacred Heart* unceasing and thrilling calls to the practice of the First Fridays. And these appeals have brought forth good fruit, as you would realise if you saw at Dublin, for instance, or in Cracow, the special monthly Mass of our Associates, at which four or five thousand men approach the altar-rails to receive Holy Communion. If we have not as yet such consoling results to show everywhere, particularly in France, we can yet point out with satisfaction that important towns like Toulouse and Bordeaux have several thousands of men enrolled in the Apostleship of Prayer, and that every month, at their special Mass, some hundreds approach the Holy Table.

My task is done. I say nothing of the Holy Hour, of visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and of other practices of Eucharistic devotion in common vogue with us. All these partake of the spirit of our Third Degree, the spirit of Eucharistic Reparation which was demanded by our Lord of the Blessed Margaret Mary, and of all true friends of His Sacred Heart.

This year, in order to offer to our Holy Father the Pope a gift according to his own heart, we have thought we could do no better than to set on foot, among our twenty-five million Associates throughout the world, a Crusade of Holy Communions. Our thirty-seven *Messengers* have taken up the idea, and pushed it vigorously. It is too early to give full figures. Yet it gives me pleasure to state that at the time of writing these lines (15th August 1908), the French Associates of the Apostleship alone had already offered up for the Pope more than *five hundred thousand* special Holy Communions. Some of our organs abroad have registered yet higher figures. If you take note that these periodicals, as I have pointed out, number thirty-seven, and that, moreover, many Associates do not trouble to send their Directors a note of the Communions they have

made, it will be seen that the Jubilee offering presented to His Holiness Pius X. by our Associates, is well over twelve or even fifteen million Communions in the course of this year.

It seems to us then that the Apostleship of Prayer, as parish priests have often declared, by word of mouth and in letters to us, is one of the best means to bring about the Second Spring of the practice of frequent and daily Communion. This, I hope, will serve as my excuse for having commended it at some length to your courteous consideration.

Before the PAPAL LEGATE delivered the final address in this Section of the Congress, the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER once more drew attention to the great object which that Congress had in view. "If," he said, "there is anyone who has not been led to a greater love for the Blessed Sacrament and to a desire to receive Holy Communion more frequently, then the Congress has failed as far as that individual is concerned. Conferences of other kinds and in other places have a multiplicity of objects; the Eucharistic Congress has one object only. Let the little children also come far more frequently to receive our Lord. Only two conditions are required: freedom from mortal sin, and a right intention; and who more likely to fulfil these two conditions than the little children?"

The PAPAL LEGATE then addressed the audience in French. He said that the Congress had been perfectly successful. It had exceeded all expectations. He need not tell them how historic and important they considered the gathering, nor need he speak of the profound impression made upon him by his reception. The magnificent attendances at the various meetings and evidences of devotion were a surprise to him. He quite understood that everything done to him ought to be taken as addressed to the Holy Father. The Holy Father loved and thanked the English Catholics, and would be immensely pleased when he (the Legate) told him personally what he had seen, heard, and experienced in London. His Eminence then imparted the Holy Father's blessing.

SECTION C (FRENCH)

MORNING SESSION

The French Section met for the last time on Saturday morning, with an attendance so densely packed that it did not leave even standing room. The President was Cardinal FERRARI, Archbishop of Milan, and he was supported by a most imposing array of prelates and clergy. Among those present on the platform were Archbishop Sbaretti, Apostolic Delegate to Canada; the Archbishop of Paris; Mgr. Cardot, Vicar-Apostolic of Southern Burmah; and the Bishops of Angers, Arras, Autun, Bethsaida, Birmingham, Canea, Langres, Lugo, Mazzara, Olinda, St Brieuc, St Dié, Soissons, Valleyfield, and Verdun. The proceedings were again directed by the Right Rev. Dom Cabrol, O.S.B., Abbot of Farnborough.

Dr DURET, Lille, read a paper on "Les Guérisons à Lourdes sur le passage du St Sacrement."

Before the next paper was read, one of the Canons of Cologne, Dr LIEBERT, made a short statement in the name of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Cologne, who, but for a severe illness, would have attended the Congress in person. "He has sent me," Dr Liebert said, "to give you all a hearty invitation to the Eucharistic Congress at Cologne next year, and to promise you the best of German welcomes, especially to our French brethren. They will be the most welcome of all. We will show the world that, with the common love of our Divine Lord to unite us, nothing on earth can keep us asunder."

LA SAINTE EUCHARISTIE ET LES ŒUVRES SOCIALES

Par Arthur Verhaegen, Député au Parlement Belge.

Malgré la surprise que m'a causée la très gracieuse invitation du Comité organisateur du Congrès, je n'ai pas hésité longuement à l'accepter, parce qu'elle m'offre l'occasion d'affirmer publiquement les rapports étroits qui existent entre la Foi catholique et le Très Saint Sacrement de l'Eucharistie d'une part, et les œuvres qualifiées, d'œuvres sociales, d'autre part.

M'est-il permis, Mesdames et Messieurs, de le rappeler? J'ai consacré la plus grande partie de ma vie publique à m'occuper des œuvres sociales, c'est-à-dire des œuvres qui ont pour objet immédiat d'améliorer les rapports sociaux entre les producteurs des richesses, entre les patrons et les ouvriers, et qui cherchent ainsi à amener la paix sociale. Œuvres d'intérêt matériel bien souvent: mutualités, caisses de retraites, caisses de secours contre les accidents du travail, maisons ouvrières, crédit pour les petits bourgeois, sociétés coopératives de production et de consommation, syndicats pour la défense des conditions du travail, etc.

Comment montrer la connexion étroite qui existe entre ces œuvres d'ordre matériel, qui touchent à la terre par tant de côtés, et le gage d'amour donné aux hommes par Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, lorsqu'Il institua le Très Saint Sacrement de l'Eucharistie? Hélas! Je m'en sens bien peu capable, mais vous avez fait appel à ma bonne volonté, Messieurs, et elle vous est acquise tout entière. Je veux essayer de vous faire partager une conviction qui est profondément ancrée dans mon cœur et qui est comme la synthèse d'une expérience déjà longue et de ma vie d'homme d'œuvres. Cette synthèse, je la résume d'avance en quelques mots: "Il ne peut exister de bons rapports sociaux entre les producteurs des richesses, patrons et ouvriers, en dehors de l'observation fidèle de la loi du Christ: 'Aimez-vous les uns les autres.'"

De tout temps, il a existé des rapports sociaux entre les producteurs des richesses. Que furent ces rapports sociaux

sous le paganisme? Que sont-ils encore aujourd'hui dans les régions où le rayonnement du Christ n'a point illuminé les intelligences et échauffé les cœurs? A Athènes et à Rome, la civilisation, tant au point de vue de l'art et de la littérature qu'au point de vue du bien-être matériel, atteint un développement que nous avons à peine dépassé et néanmoins la barbarie des rapports sociaux éclate à tous les yeux. Dans l'immense empire romain, sur cent vingt millions d'habitants, il y a tout au plus six millions d'hommes libres: cinq pour cent! Tous les autres sont esclaves. Toutes les femmes vivent dans la dépendance la plus dégradante de l'homme. L'on voit les hommes libres user et abuser, au gré de leurs caprices et de leurs passions, de l'enfant, de la femme et de l'esclave. Lorsque l'on va au fond des choses, on ne trouve guère de différence entre les rapports sociaux tels qu'ils existent dans les brillantes cités d'Athènes et de Rome et ceux que nous constatons aujourd'hui même parmi les peuplades sauvages de l'Afrique Centrale. Il est bien vrai que les Grecs affinés et les Romains de haute culture ne mangent pas eux-mêmes, comme de vulgaires anthropophages, leurs prisonniers et leurs esclaves, mais ils les font déchirer sous leurs yeux par des tigres et des lions, ils les font dévorer par des murènes, et la foule en délire à laquelle ils président applaudit à ces monstruosités! Ils les font s'entr'égorger dans les combats de gladiateurs, et, aux jours de grandes illuminations, ils les font servir de torches vivantes dans les fêtes officielles! Voilà le régime social du paganisme; il n'y a pas de solidarité entre les hommes! L'humanité est divisée en deux camps: le camp très restreint des hommes libres, jouisseurs, égoïstes, et féroces, et le camp immense des misérables, assujettis, et opprimés.

Jésus-Christ paraît, et voici que de proche en proche son enseignement va illuminer les intelligences et échauffer les âmes. "Aimez-vous les uns les autres," telle est la grande loi sociale que Jésus-Christ apporte au monde et qui retentit d'un bout de l'humanité jusqu'à l'autre. Insensiblement, cet enseignement pénètre les cœurs et transforme les rapports sociaux. L'esclavage s'humanise d'abord, puis il fait place au servage, qui en est une forme adoucie. Le progrès s'accentuant, le servage lui-même disparaît et nous voyons s'élever partout

au moyen-âge de fières et libres communes, qui sont comme la personnification de la solidarité chrétienne. Et dans les communes nous voyons se former des gildes et des corporations entre les producteurs des richesses. Il faut les avoir étudiées de près, Messieurs, ces corporations du moyen âge, pour se rendre compte de l'action de l'Église, qui prêche sans se lasser jamais l'amour du prochain, et pour constater combien est étroite la solidarité, disons la fraternité, qui unit les patrons, les ouvriers, et les apprentis, combien le travail est protégé et honoré, combien le capital est contenu dans son rôle naturel et modeste d'ampliaire du travail.

Messieurs, il n'est pas un homme de bonne foi au courant des faits de l'histoire qui puisse se refuser à proclamer que c'est avec l'Église et par l'Église que la solidarité, c'est-à-dire, pour les chrétiens, la fraternité et la charité, ont fait leur entrée dans le monde. C'est l'époque où montent vers le ciel les grandes cathédrales, dans toutes les cités des états chrétiens, ces grandes cathédrales qui personnifient dans la pierre la solidarité chrétienne et la foi. Élevées en l'honneur de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ présent au tabernacle, entourées de chapelles édifiées la plupart du temps par les corporations elles-mêmes, ornées de vitraux splendides souvent dûs à l'obole anonyme des humbles, pavées de dalles qui recouvrent les cendres d'autres chrétiens morts dans la même foi, les cathédrales ouvrent toutes larges leurs vastes nefs au peuple chrétien. L'on voit alors ce que l'on n'a pas encore vu: les hommes et les femmes de toute condition, depuis le riche et le noble jusqu'au plus humble artisan, jusqu'au plus pauvre ouvrier, se pressent dans le vaste édifice, s'agenouillent devant le même Dieu et lui adressent la même prière. Frères, ils s'approchent ensemble de la table sainte et reçoivent de la main du père de la grande famille le pain des forts qui leur permettra de refouler l'égoïsme dans les bas-fonds et d'aimer leur prochain comme eux-mêmes.

Tel est, Messieurs, le régime de la solidarité humaine, pour employer l'expression moderne. Au fond, c'est le régime de la charité, de la fraternité chrétienne; il dure aussi longtemps que conserve son empire la loi du Christ: "Aimez-vous les uns les autres."

Mais voici qu'éclate la réforme marquant le premier retour à l'égoïsme depuis l'origine du christianisme. *Non serviam!* L'égoïsme prend pied dans les rapports entre patrons et ouvriers et s'introduit dans les corporations. On voit s'y élever des querelles fâcheuses, des dissensions intestines, la recherche des satisfactions personnelles. Des coalitions d'intérêts purement matériels remplacent dans les corporations l'esprit de renoncement, de charité et de bienveillance et l'on voit insensiblement les forts réussir à imposer le poids de leur force aux faibles. L'Église perd, de son côté, la part d'influence politique qu'elle avait exercée pour le plus grand bien du peuple chrétien pendant des siècles, et le moment arrive où la Révolution française, d'un dernier coup de pic, consomme la ruine de l'arbre gigantesque qui abritait la solidarité chrétienne dans les corporations et les gildes. Nous allons assister à l'avènement d'un régime nouveau, basé, disent ses auteurs, sur la seule raison humaine affranchie du dogme et de la foi, affranchie de toute dépendance envers Dieu, affranchie, enfin, de l'esprit de charité, qui est qualifié d'atteinte à la dignité de l'homme. Il ne sera plus question désormais des vieilles lois que Jésus-Christ a apportées au monde. Nous allons voir à l'œuvre l'homme affranchi de Jésus-Christ. "Laissez faire, laissez passer," telle sera désormais la loi du jour, celle qui remplacera la loi du Christ: "Aimez-vous les uns les autres." Les triomphateurs du jour n'ont pas cependant réussi à abdiquer tout christianisme; ils sont baptisés et, au moment de poser les bases du nouveau régime, ils proclament comme principes fondamentaux la liberté, l'égalité, et la fraternité, c'est-à-dire des principes chrétiens, que l'Église a pratiqués pendant tout le moyen âge et qui lui ont permis d'atteindre cette efflorescence de solidarité que nous avons constatée. Chez les maîtres du jour, ces principes sont devenus des mots sonores; en même temps qu'ils proclament la liberté, l'égalité, et la fraternité, ils suppriment d'un trait de plume toutes les mesures protectrices que l'Église, au moyen âge, avait insérées dans la législation en vue de donner aux petits, avec la fraternité vraie, la liberté vraie, et l'égalité vraie, toute la somme de bonheur à laquelle l'homme peut aspirer en ce monde.

Les auteurs du nouveau régime ne consacrent qu'un seul

principe de façon absolue: celui de la liberté économique illimitée. Nous entrons dans le régime de l'individualisme. Celui-ci donne à l'individu une liberté économique sans réserve; l'individu est libre désormais, il agit suivant son bon plaisir, suivant ses passions, suivant l'égoïsme qui grouille dans son cœur. Et il use de la liberté économique, et l'on voit les forts acquérir, grâce à elle, des forces nouvelles, tandis que les faibles sont livrés à leur irrémédiable faiblesse. Ainsi, au lieu de l'égalité, au lieu de la fraternité, l'abîme se creuse entre les forts et les faibles. Et les économistes, par voie de déduction logique, ajoutent leurs conseils au principe nouveau. "Enrichissez-vous!" crient-ils à l'homme. Tel sera désormais le but de l'homme sur la terre. Vous savez à quoi aboutit ce conseil épouvantable à une époque où la machine à vapeur fait son apparition, où la mécanique se perfectionne, où le crédit s'étend d'une façon presque illimitée et où la grande industrie fait son apparition dans le monde. Il aboutit à une servitude que l'on peut comparer à l'esclavage antique, avec cette aggravation que cette fois les maîtres du jour ont été baptisés et qu'ils ne peuvent pas exciper, comme les maîtres payens, de leur ignorance de la loi du Christ.

Messieurs, l'engouement est tel pour ces lois économiques que même les chrétiens qui s'occupent de grande industrie en arrivent, par suite de l'influence du milieu, par suite de la situation générale à laquelle ils participent, à considérer comme vrai le principe de la liberté économique illimitée, à placer au second rang la loi du Christ et à s'incliner avant tout devant les nécessités de la concurrence et les lois d'économie politique. C'est alors qu'on voit, pendant toute la première moitié du XIX^{e} siècle, les artisans, que le travail des mains ne rémunère plus, entrer dans les fabriques et accepter à tout prix le travail industriel. A tout prix, ils travailleront pendant de trop longues journées de travail, ils travailleront la nuit, ils travailleront le dimanche, ils useront leurs forces avant l'âge et iront finir une existence misérable à l'hospice, ou dans la misère noire d'un foyer déshonoré. Foyer déshonoré, oui Messieurs, parce que non seulement le père de famille est allé passer le plus clair de sa vie au pied d'un métier, mais sa femme, mais la mère de famille que l'Église avait dotée du sceptre de la

royauté familiale, qui était la couronne et la gloire du foyer, la mère de famille elle-même se voit obligée d'aller à la fabrique, en vue d'augmenter par son travail le maigre salaire du mari. Et non seulement elle y va, mais elle y entraîne sa fille! Oui, les jeunes filles, dans les centres industriels, vont gagner, elles aussi, leur vie et elles échangent, trop souvent, contre un maigre salaire, l'auréole sacrée de leur honneur virginal. L'on voit même les enfants, parfois dès l'âge de six ans, dans certaines régions industrielles, se rendre à l'usine ou à la mine avant l'aube. On les voit y faire de longues et meurtrières journées de travail, comme les adultes.

Telle a été la situation pendant la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle: personne ne me contredira, car c'est là de l'histoire. Et telle aussi s'est montrée l'action de l'homme affranchi de la loi de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ: "Aimez vous les uns les autres." La solution libérale des rapports sociaux entre les producteurs des richesses, la voilà, Messieurs!

Il y en a une autre, qui se réclame aussi de la raison, et qui est la solution socialiste de ces mêmes rapports sociaux. Elle est, vous le savez, très en vogue aujourd'hui dans les milieux ouvriers, elle est, en quelque sorte, la solution formulée qui ont rompu avec les préceptes de l'Église—et ils sont, hélas! au nom des travailleurs eux-mêmes . . . je parle des travailleurs nombreux. Cette solution s'inspire d'un fait d'expérience qui a frappé les socialistes: c'est que la liberté économique illimitée accordée aux individus engendre la servitude. Le socialisme va à l'extrême opposé; il condamne la liberté, au lieu de se borner à la contenir, et il veut fonder la fraternité si ardemment souhaitée, sur l'égalité absolue imposée aux hommes . . . et aux femmes. Et pour réaliser cette absolue égalité, il rêve de concentrer dans les mains de l'état tous les moyens de production et d'échange. Cette solution, Messieurs, il suffit de l'énoncer pour pouvoir prédire son échec et la condamner. Pourquoi? Mais parce que le socialisme méconnaît la nature humaine. Le Créateur a voulu qu'il y eût des inégalités entre les hommes: est-ce que le socialisme arrivera à les supprimer? Non, elles subsisteront. Le socialisme veut la concentration, dans les mains de l'état, de toute la puissance économique. Jamais le bonheur de l'humanité ne sortira de cette centralisa-

tion qui ne pourra que ramener l'esclavage antique dans toute son horreur.

Mais voici qu'à côté de ces solutions extrêmes, la solution libérale d'une part, et la solution socialiste d'autre part, des hommes sages, des hommes de bonne volonté, appartenant un peu à tous les partis—et je me glorifie de compter parmi ces hommes de bonne volonté et d'avoir consacré une grande partie de ma vie aux œuvres qu'ils ont entreprises—des hommes de bonne volonté, dis-je, sont arrivés à inscrire dans la législation des peuples civilisés bon nombre de mesures de protection en faveur des petits et des faibles. Le progrès s'accentuant, le moment arrivera où ces mesures de protection seront comparables à ce qu'elles ont été dans la législation chrétienne du moyen âge. Je me féliciterai de ce résultat. Les réformes d'ordre matériel et les mesures de protection en faveur des faibles ont pour effet de rendre aux petits une partie de cette égalité qui leur a échappé sous le règne de la liberté illimitée; elles ont pour effet de secouer le joug que font peser sur les petits les abus de la liberté économique, tels le travail du dimanche, le travail de nuit, la promiscuité des femmes et des hommes dans l'industrie. J'estime que toutes ces mesures doivent servir de base à la réforme sociale. Voilà pourquoi je pense que nous, chrétiens, nous avons le devoir de nous y associer, en vue d'en étendre le bénéfice aux ouvriers le plus possible. Mais, et c'est ici qu'intervient la synthèse dont je parlais tout à l'heure, tous ces efforts si généreux et si sages seront impuissants, ils resteront comme un corps sans âme, aussi longtemps qu'ils ne seront pas vivifiés par le souffle de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ. Quoi que fasse le législateur, quoi que fasse le sage qui s'affranchit des lois et des préceptes de l'Église, il n'empêchera pas qu'il y ait toujours des inégalités dans le monde. Il y aura toujours des faibles et des forts. Peut-être les faibles seront-ils demain les patrons et les forts les ouvriers, si les syndicats arrivent à s'organiser suffisamment; mais encore y aura-t-il des faibles et des forts, et pour les mettre d'accord, pour faire régner entre eux la paix sociale, il n'y aura jamais qu'une loi, la loi du Christ: "Aimez-vous les uns les autres." Lorsque je regarde autour de moi, et que je scrute l'histoire, je ne trouve pas un seul législateur qui ait

essayé d'imposer, dans les lois humaines, l'amour du prochain, qui ait osé dire aux hommes: "Aimez votre prochain comme vous-mêmes," et qui ait dit aux forts: "Vous abandonnerez une partie de votre force au profit des faibles." Pas une loi humaine qui ait essayé de dire cela, et je ne pense pas que nous en voyions jamais. Il a fallu une loi surhumaine, une loi que, seule, la doctrine catholique a imposée à ses fidèles. Aimer le prochain comme soi-même; c'est là ce que l'Église catholique a réussi à faire accepter comme un commandement et à faire pratiquer grâce à la Sainte-Eucharistie, grâce à ce banquet fraternel où nous nous asseyons tous, où nous allons recevoir des mains du prêtre l'Hostie Sainte, c'est-à-dire le pain qui donne la force, qui nous aide à combattre l'égoïsme, qui nous fait aimer Dieu et notre prochain,—c'est-à-dire les petits—en Dieu et pour Dieu!

Messieurs, si cette thèse est la vraie, et vous vous y associez tous, vous me permettrez de conclure que nous, catholiques de tous les pays, nous avons un impérieux devoir à remplir: ce devoir, c'est de chercher à multiplier le plus possible le nombre des catholiques aux fortes convictions; des catholiques qui s'efforcent d'appliquer la grande loi du Christ, même au détriment de leurs intérêts personnels. Telle est la conclusion à laquelle nous devons arriver. Or je constate que, lorsque dans un pays les fortes convictions baissent, c'est parce que la foi baisse, et la foi baisse quand l'éducation chrétienne baisse et quand l'éducation neutre monte. L'éducation neutre, que les libres-penseurs la revendiquent et même qu'ils l'obtiennent pour leurs enfants, je n'y contredis point. Mais, pour l'amour du Christ! que tous les parents chrétiens, que tous ceux qui ont au cœur des convictions fortes, cherchent, dans les pays où ils habitent, réclament, insistent, et finissent par obtenir, non seulement pour leurs enfants, mais pour les enfants des pauvres, chrétiens comme eux la pleine éducation chrétienne! Là est non seulement leur devoir, mais c'est aussi leur droit. Les législateurs qui refuseraient de reconnaître ce droit violeraient la toute première des libertés, de ces libertés dont ils sont si fiers,—la liberté de conscience. Car la liberté de conscience ne consiste pas simplement en la faculté de croire ou de ne pas croire, mais aussi dans la faculté pour le père de

famille de former la conscience de son enfant à l'image de la sienne.

Messieurs, laissez-moi vous rappeler, en terminant, un souvenir propre à mon pays: Il y a trente ans, les catholiques belges ont inscrit dans leur histoire religieuse la vérité que je viens de rappeler—le droit à l'éducation chrétienne; ils l'ont inscrit en une page magnifique. Nous venions d'être battus aux élections législatives et les libéraux avaient remplacé les catholiques au pouvoir. Mais, battus sur le terrain électoral, les catholiques n'entendirent point se laisser battre sur le terrain de l'éducation chrétienne de leurs enfants. Et voici que le gouvernement libéral, comme don de joyeux avènement, fait voter une loi consacrant l'instruction neutre! Immédiatement, les catholiques belges relèvent le gant, et dans tout le pays s'élève un cri, comme un cri de guerre, comme un cri de croisade: "*Ils n'auront pas l'âme de nos enfants!*" Et à ce cri répond une prière, formulée par Son Eminence le cardinal Deschamps, archevêque de Malines, et l'un des prédécesseurs de l'éminent cardinal belge qui a annoncé son arrivée au Congrès Eucharistique de Londres. Cette prière, que les catholiques reprennent immédiatement dans tout le pays, la voici: "Des écoles sans Dieu et des maîtres sans foi, délivrez-nous, Seigneur!" Les catholiques belges ne se bornent pas à redire cette prière dans le fond de leur cœur, ils mettent immédiatement la main à l'œuvre. Sur tous les points du pays, dans les petites communes rurales comme dans les grandes cités, les écoles catholiques sortent de terre, nombreuses, superbes. Les maîtres des écoles officielles restés chrétiens en grand nombre désertent l'enseignement qui répugne à leur conscience de chrétiens et viennent apporter à l'enseignement libre et catholique leur dévouement et leur foi. Les catholiques riches prodiguent leur or et leur dévouement: c'est à eux qu'est due la construction de toutes ces écoles qui ont couvert la Belgique. Les catholiques pauvres, les pères de famille pauvres, donnent plus encore: ils donnent leur énergie, leur dévouement; ils vont jusqu'à se laisser persécuter par les administrations publiques—de bienfaisance et autres—par les patrons irréligieux, pour maintenir intact leur droit d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école catholique.

Aussi, la victoire ne se fait pas attendre, et au bout de six ans, le gouvernement sectaire est balayé et avec lui la loi scolaire que les catholiques avaient qualifiée de " loi de malheur."

Vous me permettrez peut-être, en terminant, et en voyant combien vous approuvez cette attitude de mes compatriotes, d'il y a trente ans, vous me permettrez peut-être, après avoir rappelé une dernière fois que l'éducation chrétienne de la jeunesse est la base nécessaire de la solidarité chrétienne, vous me permettrez peut-être—je vous le demande sans avoir consulté le Comité du Congrès—d'émettre le vœu que les catholiques de tous les pays adoptent cette prière des évêques et des catholiques belges de 1878, et qu'ils répètent désormais, non pas seulement dans le fond de leur cœur, non pas seulement en paroles, mais en actes d'énergie, la prière des évêques belges: " Des écoles sans Dieu et des maîtres sans foi, délivrez-nous, Seigneur!"

L'EUCHARISTIE ET L'ORDRE CARTUSIEN

Par Dom Ambroise Mougel, Chartreux.

Dans son Commentaire sur le Psaume lxxvii. S. Bruno signale avec douleur les nombreux hérétiques, *multi hæretici*, qui, de son temps, s'étaient élevés contre le mystère de l'Eucharistie. C'était en effet la question du jour. Dès 1047, pendant que le futur fondateur des Chartreux achevait paisiblement à Reims ses humanités, un personnage célèbre, Bérenger, écolâtre de Tours, commençait à troubler le monde latin par son enseignement hétérodoxe—nous allions dire, moderniste—sur les rapports de la raison et de la foi, et comme corollaire, sur le mode de la présence de Notre Seigneur au sacrement de l'autel. Imbu de cette idée que " dans la recherche de la vérité la raison est incomparablement le meilleur des guides, et qu'y renoncer pour suivre une autre autorité, c'est renoncer à ce qui est en nous l'image même de Dieu," il affichait la prétention de soumettre au critère de la raison les données de la foi, et cette même raison n'ayant pu lui démontrer la présence réelle du Christ sous les espèces sacramentelles, il la nia pour lui

substituer une sorte de présence figurative. Après dix condamnations, il consentit enfin à signer au Concile de Latran en 1059 une dernière rétractation, qu'on a lieu de croire sincère: "Moi, Bérenger, je confesse que le pain de l'autel après la consécration est le vrai corps du Christ, celui qui, né de la Vierge, a souffert sur la croix, et est assis à la droite du Père, et que le vin après la consécration est le vrai sang qui a coulé du côté du Christ."[1] Mais le mouvement excité par lui ne s'arrêta pas pour cela, et le bérengianisme, qui survécut à son auteur, allait troubler encore le siècle suivant. L'Ordre cartusien, institué en 1084, est donc né au sein de la plus grande crise qu'ait connue au moyen âge la foi à l'Eucharistie.

Son fondateur avait-il été, comme d'aucuns l'ont affirmé sur la foi d'une vieille chronique,[2] disciple du fameux hérésiarque, c'est au moins douteux; mais ce qui ne l'est pas, c'est la position qu'il prit dès l'origine parmi les combattants, et qu'il garda jusqu'à la fin. Simple écolâtre de Reims, chargé d'expliquer l'Ecriture sainte à ses auditeurs,[3] il argumentait contre ces hérétiques qui, toujours en défiance de la puissance divine, s'en allaient répétant, *Numquid poterit*

[1] T. Vernet, "Bérenger de Tours," dans le *Diction. de Théologie* de Vacant, t. ii., col. 728.

[2] "Hic iterum Fulbertus docuit Berengarium, canonicum S. Martini. Qui item Brunonem Remensem et alios multos heredes philosophiæ reliquit. Bruno quidem, perfectus philosophus, monachus factus est eremita apud Calabriam, multorumque monachorum pater obiit in Christo." — *Chronic. S. Maxentii, vulgo dictum Malleacense*, apud Labbe, *Biblioth. Nova*, t. ii., p. 205. Pour sauvegarder l'honneur de S. Bruno,—honneur qui n'est pas en cause,—quelques uns ont imaginé de rapporter *qui item* à *Fulbertus;* mais S. Fulbert de Chartres mourut incontestablement en 1029, et Bruno de Cologne naquit au plus tôt en 1030. Il faut dont restituer *qui item* à qui de droit, c'est-à-dire à Berengarius. Reste seulement à discuter l'autorité de la Chronique de Maillezais.

[3] Autant qu'il est permis de hasarder une conjecture en matière aussi obscure, il semble bien que le commentaire sur les Psaumes soit le résultat de son enseignement de Reims, où plusieurs des titres funèbres composés en son honneur nous apprennent qu'il commentait le psautier, "Remensis didascalus . . . in psalterio luculentissimus (tit. 172), novit psalterium (tit. 175), doctus psalmista" (tit. 107).—Le commentaire sur S. Paul serait au contraire un fruit du désert de Chartreuse, si l'on en croit cette note d'un vieil exemplaire vu par Mabillon: "Explicit glosarius Brunonis eremitæ in epist. B. Pauli apostoli."

Deus parare mensam in deserto, c'est-à-dire, maintenant qu'il est remonté au ciel et qu'il y réside *localiter* et *corporaliter*, comment pourrait-il transformer le pain d'aujourd'hui en une chair qui vivait il y a plus de mille ans? Et pourtant Dieu a ouvert pour eux les portes du ciel, et a fait pleuvoir sur eux la manne, c'est-à-dire le Verbe, pain naturel des anges, devenu chair pour s'accommoder à notre faiblesse, le pain que nous demandons chaque jour, *panem nostrum quotidianum*, nourriture indivisible et incorruptible, bien que sous l'espèce du pain elle paraisse brisée et broyée sous les dents des fidèles. C'est là un mystère impénétrable à la raison, mais qu'il faut croire d'une foi inébranlable.[1] Plus tard, dans la solitude de Chartreuse, précisant son enseignement: "Ce que Dieu nous donne dans l'Eucharistie, c'est son vrai corps et son vrai sang, qui n'ont conservé les apparences et la saveur du pain et du vin qu'afin de ménager nos répugnances naturelles, *ne sumentes abhorreamus*. Sacrement double en apparence, parce que Dieu a voulu ainsi signifier la double sanctification opérée en nous, sanctification de notre chair par sa propre chair devenue le gage de notre incorruptibilité future, sanctification de notre âme par son sang, parce que le sang est le siège de l'âme et son image matérielle la moins imparfaite; mais sacrement unique en réalité parce que sous le pain et le vin se trouve une seule et même divinité."[2] Enfin sur le point de clore sa longue existence, comme pour prémunir une dernière

[1] "Quod corpus et sanguis una esca est, indivisibilis et incorruptibilis, licet sub specie panis videatur frangi et a dentibus fidelium conteri: quod quidem mysterium insolubile est, videlicet quare frangi et conteri videatur quum indivisibile permaneat; firma tamen fide credendum est." (S. Bruno in ps. lxxvii., Ed. Monstrol, p. 341).—Si l'on rapproche ce texte de la rétractation imposée à Bérenger au Concile de Rome en 1057: "Ego Berengarius, anathematizo omnem hæresim, præsertim eam de qua infamatus sum, quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum et non verum corpus et sanguinem D. N. J. C. esse, nec posse sensualiter in solo sacramento . . . frangi aut dentibus fidelium atteri; consentio autem S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et ore et corde profiteor panem et vinum . . . verum corpus et sanguinem Christi esse, et sensualiter, non modo sacramento, sed in veritate . . . frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri,"—on verra qui visait le commentateur.

[2] S. Bruno, in 1 Cor. x., ed. Monstrol., p. 130.

fois ses disciples contre l'erreur régnante, il voulut faire devant eux une suprême profession de foi au sacrement de l'autel: "Je crois tous les sacrements que croit et vénère l'Eglise; je crois en particulier que ce qui est consacré sur l'autel est le vrai corps, la vraie chair et le vrai sang de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, que nous recevons en expiation de nos péchés et comme gage de la vie éternelle."[1]

A quoi si l'on ajoute cette autre clause de la même confession: "Je crois que la B. Vierge Marie, Vierge très chaste avant l'enfantement, Vierge dans l'enfantement, est restée et reste éternellement Vierge après l'enfantement," et la dévotion aux âmes du purgatoire, qui apparaît aux premiers jours de l'Ordre, on aura la triple dévotion, le *funiculus triplex*, légué par le saint patriarche à sa postérité.

Le culte de l'Eucharistie est donc lié aux origines même de la vie Cartusienne et n'a cessé de l'inspirer et de l'animer; et c'est l'histoire de son développement que nous voudrions présenter dans ces modestes pages.

Héritiers des traditions des pères du désert, les premiers Chartreux étaient avant tout des solitaires, et tout dans leur vie était subordonné à l'observance de leur solitude; de plus ils étaient pauvres. Il ne faut donc pas chercher en Chartreuse le nombre et l'éclat des cérémonies extérieures que l'on a pu voir dans d'autres Ordres. Au début, dans le pauvre monastère, un seul autel, comme aux premiers siècles de l'Église,[2] sur lequel ou ne célébrait qu'assez rarement la messe; nul objet d'or ou d'argent, sauf le calice, la cuiller d'argent pour mettre l'eau à l'offertoire, et le chalumeau d'or qui servait à prendre le précieux sang à la communion;[3] nul ornement précieux, de simples chasubles blanches de futaine ou de bougran,[4] que l'on mettait à la lessive quand le besoin s'en faisait sentir, et sur lesquelles, en guise d'orfrois, le sacristain piquait des croix de laine de différentes couleurs, pour les adapter à la fête du jour;[5] pas de tapis, ni de tentures (*pallia*),

[1] Confessio S. Brunonis, Migne, P. L., t. 153, col. 572.

[2] D. H. Leclercq, article "Autel" dans le *Dictionn. d'Archéologie chrétienne*, t. i., Part. II., col. 3185.

[3] Guig., *Consuet*, cap. 40, n. 1. [4] Le Couteulx, *Annales*, i., 275.

[5] *La Grande Chartreuse*, par un Chartreux, 2e édit., p. 58.

ni de coussins brodés, ni de carreaux (*quarelli*) armoriés; pas de peintures, ni de sculptures curieuses.[1] Le luminaire était à l'avenant: à la messe un seul cierge, que l'on plaçait dans une lanterne,[2] le luxe des deux cierges était réservé aux solennités,[3] c'est-à-dire à quatorze jours dans l'année, et à certaines messes moindres chantées par le prieur ou en présence d'étrangers de distinction.[4]—Pas de processions;[5] pas d'adorations, ni de visites au saint sacrement; deux fois par jour un office chanté devant l'autel, deux ou trois fois la semaine une messe conventuelle, une communion hebdomadaire, et c'est tout. Et ainsi en fut-il pendant deux siècles.

Mais le temps devait faire plus d'une brèche dans la rigueur de ces observances.—La plus gênante, sans contredit, était la règle de l'unique autel qui, outre l'obstacle qu'elle mettait à la dévotion particulière des religieux créait des difficultés spéciales aux étrangers en visite parmi nous.[6] Aussi dès 1250 les réclamations s'élèvent. La Chartreuse d'Aillon, en Savoie, demande deux autels, et le chapitre s'en réfère à la volonté des communautés, "de duobus altaribus suscipiendis requiratur consensus conventuum." Un prieur entreprenant, le prieur de Bellary (Nièvre), en profite (1251) pour se faire un autel particulier, "parce que le temps était proche où chaque maison aurait ses deux autels."[7]—On ne voit pas qu'il ait été blâmé, et les *Antiqua Statuta* publiés quelques années plus tard, en 1259, considèrent la question comme résolue, en réglant le service des messes du second autel.[8] On ne devait pas en rester là. Le chapitre de 1276 accordait un troisième autel, entre le chœur des religieux et celui des frères convers. Dès lors la digue étant rompue, les autels se multiplient; en 1340 la Chartreuse de Paris en comptait six;[9] et la *Tertia Compilatio* de 1509 permet de célébrer la messe dans les granges et celliers sur des autels portatifs.[10]

[1] Guig., *Consuet.*, xl., 1; Le Couteulx, i., 275.
[2] Le Couteulx, ii., 384.
[3] Guig., *Consuet*, cap. viii., *passim*.
[4] Le Couteulx, ii., 384.
[5] Guig., *Consuet*, vi., 1; *Antiq. Stat.*, par. i., c. 2, N° 16.
[6] *Antiq. Stat.*, pars, ii., cap. ix., 19-21.
[7] Le Couteulx, iv., 123.
[8] *Antiq. Stat.*, pars, i., cap. xli., 43.
[9] Le Couteulx, iv., 324.
[10] "In grangiis et cellariis possumus cum altari portatili missas celebrare."—*Tertia Compil.*, i., 60.

En même temps, aux chasubles primitives de bougran venaient s'adjoindre des chasubles de soie, anciennes robes de noce pour la plupart, que la dévotion des nobles dames consacrait ensuite au Seigneur; et dans nombre de Chartreuses on pouvait jusqu'à la Révolution voir de ces anciennes chasubles où, en l'absence d'un règlement universellement reçu, la fantaisie avait varié les couleurs, chasubles bleues, jaunes, perses, incarnates, à ramages,[1] si amples qu'elles venaient jusqu'au bout des doigts, et "qu'il n'y avait à s'en servir au XVII[e] siècle, que les prêtres qui ne craignaient pas la gêne." [2] Refuser ces présents eût été souvent difficile. Les *Antiqua Statuta* (1259) tolèrent la soie blanche pour les chasubles, *casulas de bocaran vel de serico albo sustinemus*,[3] mais l'Ordre réserve ses sévérités pour les ornements d'or et d'argent,[4] pour les orfrois, tapis, tentures (*paltia*),[5] qu'il supprime sans miséricorde partout où ils lui sont signalés.[6]—Toutefois les *Nova Statuta* de 1368 dessinent un premier mouvement de recul.[7] Bientôt devant l'avilissement progressif de ces matières autrefois précieuses, la défense disparaît, et D. Le Masson dans sa *Disciplina* résume la pratique actuelle de l'Ordre: "Servata religiosa decentia, nimiam sumptuositatem reprobamus." [8]

Le luminaire avait subi une transformation analogue. En 1222, sous le prieur Jancelin, on commence à allumer deux cierges aux messes conventuelles, l'un dans une lanterne, l'autre sur un chandelier,—et les jours solennels, un troisième cierge placé aussi sur un chandelier.[9] En 1233, l'usage des deux cierges s'étend aux messes privées.[10] En même temps on voit apparaître deux concessions qui deviendront plus tard des règles: la première, c'est que dans nos églises on pourra suspendre deux lampes qu'on allumera pendant les offices; la deuxième, c'est que quand on célèbre de grand matin et que l'on ne peut voir le corps du Christ, le diacre

[1] Ganneron, *Antiquités du Mont-Dieu*, c. 23.
[2] Lebrun, *Cérémonies de la Messe*, t. i., p. 52.
[3] *Antiq. Stat.*, 2 part., xxxii., 2. [4] *Ibid.*, N° 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, N[os] 2 et 3. [6] Chapitres de 1280, 1424, 1476, 1503.
[7] "Si sine scandalo fieri possit," *Nova Stat.*, Part. II., c. i., N° 7; *Tertia Compilatio*, iii., 5.
[8] Le Masson, *Disciplina Ord. Cart.*, p. 115; Le Couteulx, i., 278.
[9] Le Couteulx, ii., 384. [10] *Ibid.*

pourra tenir un cierge allumé derrière le célébrant à l'élévation, pour éclairer le saint sacrement.[1]—La plupart de ces innovations furent consacrées par les *Antiqua Statuta* (1259) qui fixent le nombre des cierges à deux pour les messes ordinaires,[2] à quatre pour les solennités,[3] et prescrivent de tenir perpétuellement allumée la lampe du sanctuaire, et pendant les offices, celle du chœur.[4] Il n'y est pas question de la torche (*intortitium*) de l'élévation, que le diacre tient à la main en soulevant la chasuble du célébrant, mais le Chapitre de 1276 comble cette lacune pour les messes conventuelles,[5] et celui de 1343 pour les messes privées:[6] deux décisions qui trouveront place dans les *Nova Statuta* de 1368,[7] et auxquelles la *Nova Collectio*, édition de 1689, ajoutera les *quatuor intortitia*. ou quatre cierges, de l'élévation des jours de solennités.[8] Ces cierges, œuvres du sacristain,[9] étaient exclusivement réservés au service divin, et sous aucun prétexte il n'était permis de les employer à des usages profanes.[10]—Du reste, la dévotion des fidèles pourvoyait souvent à leur entretien. Comme on fondait une Chartreuse, une cellule, un autel, on fondait des fournitures d'église, huile, encens, cire, vin, hosties, lampes.[11] Les comptes de nos vieilles Chartreuses mentionnent à chaque page des fondations de ce genre: rente pour l'entretien de deux cierges allumés au maître-autel, depuis la consécration jusqu'à

[1] Le Couteulx, ii., 384.

[2] *Antiq. Stat.*, 1 pars, xli., 29.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxxii., 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, xli., 30. L'*Ordinarium* de 1582 ajoute un petit mot: "Provideat ut duæ *saltem* lampades in Ecclesia superiori habeantur," et conseille (laudamus) de les tenir allumées jour et nuit. C'est ce *saltem* qui a introduit la troisième lampe du chœur des frères (*Ord.*, xxiii., 39).

[5] Le Couteulx, iv., 411.

[6] *Ibid.*, iv., 432.

[7] *Nov. Stat.*, 1 pars, c. v., n. 13.

[8] Dans les éditions de l'*Ordinaire*, 1582 et 1641, c. xxix., n. 14, on lit simplement: "Verum in solemnitatibus intortitium non exstinguit (diaconus) ipse, sed sacrista;" dans l'édition de 1689: "Verum in solemnitatibus — *quibus quatuor intortitia accenduntur* — intortitium non exstinguit ipse, sed sacrista."

[9] *Antiq. Stat.*, 1 pars, xli., 32.

[10] "Candelas cereas quæ dantur hospitibus, reprehendimus, nisi forte ad dicendum divinum officium dentur."—*Antiq. Stat.*, 2 pars, ix., 23.

[11] Le Couteulx, i., 222; iv., 202.

la fin de la messe[1]—rente annuelle de 30 sous pour l'entretien de deux cierges à toutes les messes[2]—rente pour l'entretien d'une lampe dans l'église et d'une autre dans le cloître[3]—rente d'un setier de froment pour l'entretien d'une torche de cire qu'on allumera à l'élévation.[4] Ces libéralités se faisaient par devant notaire avec les témoins obligés et tout le luxe de formalités d'une stipulation testamentaire ou commerciale.[5] Félicie, comtesse de Rethel, fondant deux cierges à la Chartreuse du Mont-Dieu, place sa libéralité sous le suprême patronage de Grégoire IX., qui ne dédaigne pas de la confirmer par une bulle solennelle datée d'Anagni, le troisième des Ides de Novembre 1216.[6]

Enfin, chose plus grave, les cérémonies extérieures elles-mêmes allaient se multiplier.—Dès 1264 Urbain IV. avait institué la fête du saint Sacrement, mais sa mort prématurée avait empêché qu'elle fût reçue partout. Après les nouvelles constitutions de Jean XXII., le chapitre de 1318 ne crut pas pouvoir se dispenser d'adopter la solennité nouvelle avec son octave, telle que l'avait réglée le Souverain Pontife. Celui de 1347 transporta au mercredi, veille de la fête, l'abstinence ou jeûne au pain et à l'eau, de règle dans l'Ordre le vendredi de chaque semaine, *ob reverentiam tantæ festivitatis*.[7]—Les *Nova Statuta* de 1369 prescrivent pour chaque jour de l'octave la messe de la solennité, avec chant si elle est seule, *sine cantu* si elle coïncide avec une autre messe d'obligation.[8] Enfin, en 1422, la solennité est étendue aux frères convers, qui devront ce jour-là cesser leurs travaux et suivre les offices des religieux de chœur.[9] La dévotion particulière eut aussi son rôle.

[1] Chartreuse de Paris.

[2] "Chartreuse du Mont-Dieu (Ardennes), 1216," Le Couteulx, iii., 401.

[3] Fondation de Jeanne d'Evreux, Chartreuse de Paris.

[4] "Grande Chartreuse, 1292," Le Couteulx, iv., 411.

[5] "Factum hoc fuit apud Meolanum in virgulto cellarii dictæ domus, juxta puteum, testibus Fr. Joanne Ayroardi, Joanne Aloerii et aliis, anno 1292, indictione quinta, die sabbati post Purificationem B. V. Mariæ, coram Notario publico."—Le Couteulx, iv., 411.

[6] Le Couteulx, iii., 402.

[7] *Ibid.*, iv., 250.

[8] *Nov. Stat.*, 1 pars, c. ii., n. 20.

[9] Le Couteulx, iv., 251.

En 1475 un prieur d'Erfurt faisait faire un ostensoir[1] (*monstrantiam*) d'argent doré, du prix de 25 florins, pour y exposer le saint Sacrement pendant toute l'octave. Plus tard, vers 1550, on adoptait dans quelques maisons l'usage de faire une procession dans le cloître;[2] et ces deux innovations trouvaient bon accueil dans la *Nova Collectio* de 1582, qui établit le cérémonial définitif de la fête: messe priorale où communient tous les non célébrants, procession solennelle où Jésus-Hostie sera porté à travers le cloître, escorté de toute la communauté portant des cierges allumés, enfin exposition permanente où, pendant huit jours, il recevra jour et nuit l'adoration de deux religieux ou convers se relayant d'heure en heure ou de demi-heure en demi-heure.[3] Le jour de l'octave une seconde procession le matin, et le soir après vêpres, un salut du saint Sacrement, le seul de l'année, terminent cette série de manifestations, qui sont le grand événement de l'année cartusienne, et tout rentre dans le silence pour un an. Avec le quart-d'heure d'adoration qui précède chaque matin la messe conventuelle, et qui s'introduisit au cours du XIX^e^ siècle, on a là tout le culte extérieur rendu en Chartreuse au sacrement de l'autel. C'est bien peu, sans doute, mais peut-être trouvera-t-on que c'est beaucoup si l'on réfléchit que ces démonstrations si modestes sont comme autant de victoires remportées sur l'esprit de solitude par l'amour toujours grandissant de l'Eucharistie.

Aussi bien n'est-ce point là la principale dévotion de l'Ordre, ni peut-être celle que Dieu préfère;[4] elle est dans la place faite à l'Eucharistie dans la vie cartusienne.—Si la T. S. Vierge est la patronne obligée de toute Chartreuse,[5] notre Seigneur au saint sacrement en est de droit le Lord, le Maître incontesté. C'est à lui, comme au premier et principal supérieur, qu'est due la première visite quand on arrive dans une maison;[6] c'est par

[1] Ces *monstrantiæ* étaient de date toute récente dans l'église, car il en est fait mention pour la première fois au Concile de Cologne, 1452, auquel prit part Denys le Chartreux, et semblent avoir été inspirées par l'institution de la fête du saint sacrement.—Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, t. xxii., p. 554; *Année liturgique*, t. x., p. 314.

[2] Le Couteulx, iv., 251. [3] *Nova Collect.*, 1 pars, liii., 12-14.

[4] *Année liturg.*, t. x., p. 211.

[5] Guig., *Consuet.*, xxiii., 1; lxxiv., 1.

[6] *Antiq. Stat.*, 3 pars, xxvi., 11, 12.

lui, comme le plus digne, que commence toute visite canonique.[1] Dans les maisons régulièrement construites l'église occupe l'espace intermédiaire entre les dépendances extérieures et le cloître des religieux, et le chevet s'appuie sur le côté inférieur du cloître. Autour de lui, en éventail, s'épanouissent les cellules comme les chapelles d'un immense sanctuaire, et parfois même le petit oratoire de chaque cellule a été intentionnellement orienté vers le chevet de l'église, afin que le solitaire pendant ses exercices et ses offices ait les yeux tournés vers le tabernacle où réside le Maître. Placé ainsi au centre du monastère, comme l'âme dans le corps, Jésus-Hostie anime et dirige toute la vie cartusienne, entièrement subordonnée pour la distribution de ses journées aux exigences variées de la liturgie.

A ce Maître l'Ordre donne un serviteur particulier, le père sacristain, choisi parmi les religieux les plus fervents, *valde religiosus, maturus et gravis*,[2] chargé de représenter devant lui la communauté, et de réciter à ses pieds les nombreux offices qui ne sont pas destinés à être chantés conventuellement,[3] et de réaliser cette prescription du statut: "Comme nous n'avons rien sur la terre de plus vénérable que le corps du Christ, nous ordonnons que tout ce qui touche au culte de l'Eucharistie, comme les églises, vases, linges, et ornements sacrés, soit tenu avec la plus grande propreté et la plus grande décence (*mundissima et nitidissima*), parce que la négligence dans les choses divines accuse un esprit étranger à la crainte de Dieu." [4]

Il donne des prêtres, car tout religieux de chœur est appelé à devenir prêtre. A cet étranger qui, en posture du suppliant, la face contre terre, demande à être reçu dans la société de l'Ordre pour être le serviteur de tous, on pose une question préalable: "Utrum possis ad sacros ordines ascendere?"—en l'avertissant que son marque de sincerité sur ce point pourrait entraîner son renvoi même après la profession.[5]

[1] *Nova Collect.*, 2 part., xxiii., 20.
[2] *Ordinar.*, xxiii., 1. [3] *Ibid.*, xxiii., 36.
[4] *Nov. Collect.* de 1582, 2 pars., vii., 32; quinta editio (Statuts actuels), 2 part., vii., 27.
[5] *Antiq. Stat.* (1259), 2 part., xxiii., 4; quinta editio (Statuts actuels), 2 part., xvii., 11.

Enfin, il rend un triple hommage: l'office de nuit, la messe quotidienne, et la communion fréquente.—L'office de nuit apparaît dès les premiers temps de l'Ordre.[1] Placé d'abord aux dernières heures de la nuit, comme pour préparer au sacrifice du matin, il s'est avancé ensuite pour occuper une place laissée libre dans la perpétuelle psalmodie de l'église. "Diverses congrégations en effet récitent l'office canonial entre huit et dix heures du soir, d'autres dans les premières heures de la journée; le milieu de la nuit n'était occupé par personne: ce fut la part que la Providence assigna aux enfants de S. Bruno."[2] En même temps qu'une consécration du jour qui commence, c'est une préparation à la messe prochaine, et l'on a vu dans des communautés décimées par l'épidémie, le prieur seul ou la sacristain, se traîner jusqu'à sa stalle et y réciter à haute voix l'office divin devant le saint sacrement, pour que cet hommage séculaire ne fût pas un seul jour interrompu.

Ce n'est pas du premier coup qu'on est arrivé chez nous à la célébration et à la communion quotidiennes. Plus épris de solitude que leurs successeurs, les premiers Chartreux chantaient et disaient rarement la messe. "Rarement chantons-nous la messe, dit Guigues, parce que notre principal objectif est l'observance de la solitude et du silence."[3]—Ce *raro* toutefois doit s'entendre relativement. D'après le même Guigues, la messe se chantait en Chartreuse tous les jours de Carême;[4] pendant les octaves de Noël, Pâques, et Pentecôte,[5] tous les jours de solennités, de chapitre et de douze leçons,[6] au nombre de quarante-et-un, tous les dimanches;[7] les trois jours de quatre temps,[8] les vigiles, au nombre de huit;[9] et enfin un jour par semaine pour les bienfaiteurs,[10] soit environ deux cents jours par an.[11] Mais on estima bien vite que c'était peu, car les *Antiqua Statuta* de 1259 trouvent l'usage établi de chanter la messe tous les jours, et règlent l'ordre des messes à chanter pour

[1] Guig., *Consuet.*, xxix., 1, 2.

[2] Lefebre, *S. Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*, i., 231.

[3] "Raro hic missa canitur quoniam præcipue studium et propositum nostrum est silentio et solitudini vacare."—*Consuet.*, xiv., 5.

[4] Guig., *Consuet.*, iv., 7, 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, iv., 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, vii., 6, 7; viii., 5, 7.

[7] *Ibid.*, viii., 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, iii., 1, 2.

[9] *Ibid.*, viii., 1.

[10] *Ibid.*, xiv., 4.

[11] Le Couteulx, i., 295.

les jours libres, c'est-à-dire *vacantibus:* les lundis, une messe *pro benefactoribus,* les mardis et mercredis une messe *pro vivis vel defunctis,* à volonté, le jeudi du saint Esprit, le vendredi de la Croix, le samedi de *Beata.*[1]—Ces messes se chantaient plus tôt et moins solennellement que les messes de fêtes,[2] et il était permis au prieur, *ex aliqua necessitate,* de changer l'ordre établi, sauf pour le samedi, invariablement réservé à la sainte Vierge.[3]

Plus rares étaient les messes privées. En dehors d'une centaine de messes annuelles, tricénaires, anniversaires, etc., qui se répartissaient entre les religieux,[4] il n'était permis de célébrer des messes privées que les dimanches et les jours de Chapitre,[5] et sur l'autel unique du monastère il n'était pas possible de donner satisfaction à tous. Aussi, bien que la règle reconnût aux prêtres le droit de célébrer les jours de dimanches et de fêtes,[6] en pratique cette permission ne profitait qu'à deux ou trois, et un auteur évalue à deux par mois en moyenne, le nombre des messes de dévotion possibles à cette époque.[7] Les bons religieux en souffraient, et les biographes manquent rarement de nous dire que les Chartreux devenus évêques, comme S. Anthelme ou S. Hugues de Lincoln, se dédommageaient par une célébration quotidienne, des privations qu'ils avaient subies en Chartreuse.[8] D'autres encore, qu'on ne pourrait pas précisément appeler bons religieux, en prenaient prétexte pour retourner dans le siècle, comme cet Alexandre, chanoine de Lewes, l'ingrat disciple de S. Hugues de Lincoln,[9] contre lequel écrivit Pierre de Blois.[10] Pour toutes ces raisons, à partir de 1183 la faculté de dire des messes de dévotion fut étendue, au moins en certaines maisons, aux

[1] *Antiq. Stat.*, 1° part., cap. xliii., 67-72.
[2] *Ibid.*, 75. [3] *Ibid.*, 74. [4] Le Couteulx, i., 295.
[5] Guig., *Consuet.*, ix., 2, 3. Le Masson, *Disciplina Ord. Cart.*, pp. 57, 67.
[6] Guig., *Consuet.*, iv., 29; vii., 7. [7] Le Couteulx, i., 292.
[8] "Omni fere die—quod ei raro licebat ante—salutarem Dei hostiam offerebat (Anthelmus)." Le Vasseur, *Ephemerid. Ord. Cart.*, ii., 388.
[9] S. Hugonis *Magna vita*, lib. ii., c. ii.
[10] *Petri Blesensis*, Epist., 86.—Le Couteulx, i., 515. "Hoc in Ordine Cartusiensi causaris et arguis quod singulis diebus missas non faciunt, et hujus religionis aut potius superstitionis obtentu, tuum machinaris egressum."

jours fériaux; mais c'est surtout la multiplication des autels après 1250, qui favorisa la fréquence des messes privées. En 1370, d'après un vieux coutumier de la Grande Chartreuse, on regardait comme bien peu fervents, *bene miseri*, ceux qui ne célébraient pas au moins trois fois par semaine, et le sacristain devait les dénoncer au chapitre, pour que le prieur procédât contre eux, *ut præsidens opportunum valeat remedium contra tales pigros et miseros adhibere.*[1] La *Nova Collectio* de 1582 recommande à tous les prêtres de se rendre dignes de célébrer chaque jour, comme on a la louable habitude de le faire en beaucoup de nos provinces.[2]

Quant aux non célébrants, ils avaient deux sortes de communions, les communions de précepte et les communions de dévotion. Dès l'origine de l'Ordre nous trouvons trois communions de précepte: les jours de Noël, de Pâques, et de Pentecôte,[3] et une communion de dévotion hebdomadaire fixée au dimanche.[4] Ces communions se faisaient en commun, à la messe conventuelle, et sous les deux espèces, au moins jusqu'en 1230.[5] Pour cela, l'usage des petites hosties n'étant point encore introduit, on prenait la grande hostie conservée dans le tabernacle depuis le dimanche précédent, et on la brisait en morceaux pour la distribuer aux communiants.[6] Le chapitre de 1335 rend obligatoire la communion du premier dimanche de chaque mois;[7] celui de 1368 y joint la communion du Jeudi Saint,[8] celui de 1494 la communion de la Fête-Dieu,[9] la *Nova Collectio* de 1681 celle de S. Bruno,[10] ce qui portait a 18 le nombre des communions obligatoires "pour toutes les

[1] Le Couteulx, ii., 523.

[2] "Multum hortamur celebrantes ut sacramentalem confessionem frequentent, sicut est laudabilis mos multarum provinciarum Ordinis nostri, quod sacerdotes non legitime impediti sæpius confiteantur et quotidie celebrent." *Nova Collectio*, 2 part., vii., 2.

[3] Guig., *Consuet.*, iv., 30, 35; viii., 5.

[4] "Laici nostri nonnisi diebus dominicis communicare solent."—Le Couteulx, ii., 387.

[5] Le Couteulx, i., 348. [6] *Ibid.*, ii., 389. [7] *Ibid*, v., 364.

[8] *Ibid.*, vi., 85. [9] *Ibid.*, iv., 252.

[10] *Nova Collect.*, 2 editio, 2 part., cap. vii., 25. L'addition de la fête de S. Bruno appartient à la 2 édition de 1641, et ne se trouve pas dans la 1 édition de 1582, 2 part., vii., 29. Le reste des dispositions est le même.

personnes de l'ordre qui ne célébrent pas, tant novices que professes, quels que soient leur sexe, état, et condition,"[1] sans préjudice de la communion privée qui est recommandée, au moins aux religieux non célébrants, *singulis saltem dominicis diebus et solemnitatibus.*[2]

C'était beaucoup pour l'époque, car à nous en tenir à un traité de Denys le Chartreux, *De Sacra Communione frequentanda*, composé vers 1460, la communion de tous les quinze jours en temps ordinaires, de tous les huit jours en avent et en carême, et de quelques grandes fêtes dans l'année, en usage dans la plupart des monastères d'Allemagne, était considérée comme très fréquente (*valde frequenter*), si fréquente même que la conscience de maint directeur en était allarmée.[3] Mais l'élan était donné et l'on éprouvait le besoin toujours plus vif de la communion. En 1676, l'usage autorisait les novices et les jeunes profès non prêtres à communier au moins deux fois par semaine, le dimanche et un jour à leur choix.[4] Deux siècles plus tard, vers 1830, on permit à ceux qui n'étaient pas prêtres de communier trois fois par semaine, le dimanche, et généralement le jeudi et le samedi; pour outrepasser cette mesure il fallait l'autorisation du confesseur et même du prieur. Inutile d'ajouter que le décret *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* a été reçu avec joie et que la communion quotidienne est de plus en plus en honneur dans les cloîtres cartusiens.

Et ici nous nous retrouvons dans la tradition vraiment cartusienne. S. Bruno n'avait-il pas posé le principe dans son commentaire sur S. Paul? "Les Iraélites n'ont pas bu une fois seulement l'eau du rocher, mais ils buvaient chaque jour, parce qu'il ne nous suffit pas de boire une seule fois la sang du Christ, mais que, péchant tous les jours, nous avons besoin tous les jours du celeste remède."[5] Et Denys le

[1] *Nova Collectio*, 1582, 2 part., vii., 29. [2] *Ibid.*, N° 31.

[3] Denys le Chartreux, *De Sacra Commun. frequentanda*, Art. I. Op., t. xxxv., p. 443.

[4] Le Masson, *Directoire des Novices*, c. ix.

[5] "Non semel sed continue bibebant (Judæi de petra) quia non sufficit nobis qui quotidie in peccatum labimur, semel sumere sanguinem Christi, quia sicut quotidie cadimus, ita jugi medicamine egemus."—S. Bruno in 1 Cor., cap. x., Edit. Monstrol., p. 128.

Chartreux, fidèle écho de son B. Père, déclare : "Quoiqu'il soit bon parfois de s'abstenir de la communion par crainte et révérence, il vaut mieux cependant s'en approcher chaque jour avec amour et confiance, car les actes de l'amour sont supérieurs aux actes de la crainte."[1]—Et dans un traité spécial, développant les raisons de son opinion : "Ceux qui vivent pieusement," dit-il, "comme doivent le faire tout prêtre et particulièrement tout solitaire, doivent célébrer tous les jours, parce que c'est une chose éminemment fructueuse, sainte, et salutaire ; et ceux qui ne sont pas arrivés encore à cette perfection, mais qui désirent sincèrement y arriver, doivent célébrer encore, parce que c'est le moyen le plus court (*compendiosius*) pour arriver à la perfection qu'ils désirent.[2] . . . Quant aux laïques pieux, la communion quotidienne pour eux est conforme à l'usage des premiers chrétiens, conforme à la fin du sacrement, qui est de nourrir nos âmes, et que pour cela nous appelons notre pain quotidien, conforme à l'esprit de l'église, et le prétexte d'humilité dont se couvrent beaucoup de prêtres et de religieux pour ne pas communier, n'est trop souvent que tiédeur et paresse, car la perfection à laquelle sont tenus les religieux, les oblige à se sanctifier et à célébrer tous les jours pour ceux qui les font vivre de leurs aumônes."[3] Un autre Chartreux non moins célèbre, celui qu'on a appelé le "dévot" Lansperge, ne parlait pas autrement : "C'est une chose lamentable que le commun des chrétiens se contente de communier une fois l'an. Quelle charité y a-t-il en cela, quelle reconnaissance, quelle vie spirituelle ? Ah ! si l'on pouvait amener chaque chrétien à communier au moins tous les dimanches, comme le voulait S. Augustin, comme le monde en irait mieux ! . . . Pour nous, frères bien-aimés, résistons à la tiédeur générale, efforçons-nous de recevoir le corps du Seigneur le plus souvent que

[1] Quamvis bonum sit interim ab hoc Sacramento abstinere ex timore et reverentia, propter propriam imperfectionem, melius tamen est quotidie accedere ex ferventi amore et amicabili familiaritate et fiducia : actus enim caritatis dignior est actu timoris."—Dionys. Cart. in 1 Cor., xi., 29. Op., t. xiii., p. 181 ; t. xxxv., p. 476.

[2] *Expositio Missæ*, Art. xxx. Op., t. xxxv., p. 367.

[3] "An concedendum sit devotis personis laicis quotidie sive alternatis diebus in qualibet hebdomada communicare ?"—*Ibid.* Op., t. xxxv., p. 474.

nous pourrons (*creberrime*); et si vous m'objectez que vous n'êtes pas digne, je vous demanderai: Quand serez-vous jamais digne, qui que vous soyez? Le Bon Pasteur ne considère pas nos péchés, mais nos besoins. Et n'est-ce pas précisément l'Eucharistie qui vous donnera la force de réprimer vos passions et enflammera votre piété?[1] Et ailleurs: "Quiconque a le regret de ses fautes passées et la bonne volonté d'éviter le péché, n'est pas indigne du sacrement, quand même il n'éprouverait aucune dévotion sensible. Qu'il s'approche du Seigneur avec confiance, comme un malade de son médecin. Et qu'il ne se plaigne pas d'être insuffisamment préparé; mille ans de préparation ne lui confèreraient pas la dignité. La communion d'aujourd'hui sera la meilleure préparation à la communion de demain."[2]

Mais la communion fréquente suppose une préparation sérieuse; aussi l'Ordre réclame-t-il de ses communiants une grande pureté de cœur et de corps.[3] Dès l'origine, lorsque la communion du dimanche était la seule pour la plupart des religieux, nous trouvons l'institution d'une confession appelée commune ou générale,[4] parce qu'elle se faisait pour tous le même jour, le samedi, sauf empêchement.[5] Ce jour-là, après la récordation, sorte d'exercice commun où l'on préparait le chant de l'office du soir, le prieur et les autres confesseurs se rendaient à l'église ou au chapitre,[6] où chacun à son tour, tête nue et prosterné, allait leur accuser ses fautes,[7] puis le prieur passait dans les cellules des infirmes pour les confesser.[8] —Cette confession de règle n'empêchait pas les confessions de dévotion dans les cellules des confesseurs.[9] Dans la *Nova Collectio* de 1582, la confession commune a disparu, mais non la

[1] Lansperg, *In Solemnit. Ven. Sacram.*, t. ii., p. 370.

[2] *Ibid.*, *In Solemnit. Ven. Sacram.*, t. iii., p. 425. "De præparatione forsan quis adhuc conqueritur quod indignus sit, nec, ut aiunt, quantum in se est fecerit. Atqui si mille se annis quis præparaverit, indignus manebit. Quasi hodierna sacramenti hujus sumptio præparatio sit tibi ad crastinam." *Ibid.*, p. 426. *Cf.* Le Masson, *Disciplina Ord. Cart.*, p. 422.

[3] *Antiq. Stat.*, 1 part., xliii., 82-89.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2 part., xi., 2, 5.

[5] Guig., *Consuet.*, vii., 2; *Antiq. Stat.*, 2 part., xi., 1.

[6] *Antiq. Stat.*, 2 part., xi., 3.

[7] *Ibid.*, n. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, n. 9.

[9] *Ibid.*, n. 4, 5.

confession fréquente, car après avoir prescrit au diacre,[1] et à tous les non-célébrants, novices ou profés, de se confesser tous les dimanches et jours de fêtes, c'est-à-dire les jours même où ils doivent communier,[2] elle ajoute à l'adresse des célébrants : "Quant aux célébrants, nous les exhortons beaucoup à fréquenter le sacrement de pénitence, et nous voulons que tous les jours, après prime, on sonne pour les confessions, et que les confesseurs se rendent au lieu désigné, afin que ceux qui voulent se confesser tous les jours, puissent le faire chaque jour, comme on le fait dans beaucoup de nos provinces."[3]

C'est là ce qu'on peut appeler la dévotion commune et de règle. Mais au-dessus de la règle il y a place pour la générosité des âmes d'élite, et les Ephémérides de l'Ordre parlent presque à chaque page de l'ardent amour porté à l'Eucharistie par nos anciens pères, depuis ce prieur d'Enghien, Arnold Kaerman († 1481), qui en célébrant versait des larmes si abondantes que le chapitre général crut devoir lui prêcher la modération dans l'intérêt de sa vue compromise, et qui répondait avec S. François d'Assise : "Il ne faut pas faire tant de cas d'une vue qui nous est commune avec les mouches,"[4]—jusqu'à ce prieur de Scala Dei (Tarragone), Vincent Bru († 1615), qu'on trouva si souvent en extase, et qui, un jour, disant sa messe, fut saisi après la consécration d'un tel sentiment d'amour qu'il s'affaissa au pied de l'autel et en mourut dans la nuit ;[5]—et cet autre, Gundisalve de Diosdado, recteur de Xérès, si dévot à Jésus-Hostie qu'après avoir assisté au salut final de l'Octave du saint Sacrement, il sortit de l'église tout transporté, et que, rentré à son oratoire et incapable de contenir plus longtemps l'ardeur de son amour, il y expira le 17 juin 1621.[6]—De cette moisson abondante nous prélèverons seulement quelques épis, sous les réserves imposées par Urbain VIII.

Telle était, disent les Ephémérides, la dévotion de Boniface Ferrier, vingt-huitième prieur de la Grande Chartreuse (1402-1410), envers la sainte Eucharistie, qu'il voulut composer lui-même un traité des cérémonies de la messe pour l'instruction des jeunes prêtres, et qu'il fit une ordonnance longtemps

[1] *Nova Collect.*, 1 part., xxix., 1. [2] *Ibid.*, 2 part., vii., 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 2. [4] Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ord. Cart.*, i., 175.
[5] *Ibid.*, i., 411. [6] *Ibid.*, ii., 341.

en usage dans plusieurs maisons, que les hosties destinées au saint sacrifice seraient faites du froment le plus beau qu'on pourrait trouver, moulu et pétri non par des personnes séculières, mais exclusivement par des religieux revêtus de la cuculle ecclésiastique, et qui durant ce travail s'abstiendraient soigneusement de toute parole inutile.[1]

Non moins fervent était D. Jérôme Marchand, quarante-cinquième prieur de la Grande Chartreuse (1588-1594).—L'avant-veille des grandes fêtes il se rendait à l'église, et lui, général de l'Ordre, passait plusieurs heures à balayer et à nettoyer le saint lieu. Il devançait souvent l'heure des matines pour aller prier devant l'autel, pieds nus, un cierge à la main, en proférant ces paroles: "Vous êtes le Christ, Fils du Dieu vivant." On le vit parfois huit heures à genoux devant le saint Sacrement, répétant continuellement ces mots: "Gloire soit au Père, au Fils, et au saint Esprit."[2]—Sous son généralat, le 31 Octobre 1592, veille de la Toussaint, la Grande Chartreuse fut, pour la septième fois depuis sa fondation, victime d'un terrible incendie. Prévenu dès le début, D. Jérôme se rendit, non point sur le lieu du sinistre, mais bien à l'église. Là, ayant ouvert le tabernacle, il prit le saint ciboire entre ses mains et resta agenouillé au pied de l'autel dans le plus profond recueillement. Les religieux, après avoir travaillé quelque temps, mais en vain, à maîtriser l'incendie, venaient l'un après l'autre s'agenouiller autour de leur supérieur et prier avec lui. Les flammes approchaient toujours; déjà la toiture était en feu, bientôt les cordes qui soutenaient les lampes du sanctuaire et du chœur furent brûlées et les lampes tombèrent avec bruit sur le pavé. Le prieur comprit à ce signe qu'il était temps de partir: accompagné de tous ses moines il se rendit processionnellement à Notre Dame de Casalibus pour y déposer la sainte Eucharistie. Mais arrivé au pré du Cernay, sur cette éminence qui domine tout le monastère, se tournant vers la Chartreuse en flammes, il la bénit avec le saint Sacrement en disant ces simples paroles: "Sit Nomen Domini benedictum in sæcula." Puis il passa le reste de la nuit en prières devant la sainte Hostie, dans la chapelle

[1] Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ord. Cart.*, i., 527.
[2] Tracy, *Vie de S. Bruno*, p. 278. Le Vasseur, iii., 405.

de Casalibus, répétant sans se lasser : " Le Seigneur a tout bien fait, que son saint nom soit béni ! "[1]

Plus près de nous, à Londres même, voici un fils de la noble Angleterre, le B. Jean Houghton. Il était sacristain. " Un jour un frère convers atteint d'une maladie contagieuse reçut le saint Viatique. Son estomac ayant rejeté les saintes espèces, le vicaire qui présidait en l'absence du prieur, les reçut avec soin et les porta chez le sacristain pour les brûler. Au dernier moment les deux officiers se demandèrent qui allait les jeter au feu. N'ayant pu s'y résoudre ni l'un ni l'autre, ils mirent le tout en lieu sûr. Au bout de trois jours, Jean Houghton enleva la sainte Hostie et la déposa dans un calice pour la consommer à la messe du lendemain. . . . Il lui restait cependant une certaine répugnance. . . . Il s'avisa donc de consulter un bon convers particulièrement cher au cœur de Dieu, et auquel, disait-on, Dieu ne savait rien refuser. . . . Le convers pria avec sa ferveur habituelle, et la nuit suivante, vers l'heure de matines il vit en esprit, rangée dans le sacrarium autour du calice de Jean Houghton une foule nombreuse vêtue de blanc et tenant un cierge allumé ; puis la vision s'évanouit. Et la frère de raconter le lendemain au sacristain toutes les circonstances de cette adoration nocturne. Aussitôt Jean Houghton, n'écoutant plus que sa foi, monte à l'autel et consomme la sainte Hostie avec un respect profond mêlé de ferveur sensible."[2]

Et Dieu, qui ne se laisse vaincre par personne en générosité, se plut a récompenser l'humble amour des anciens Chartreux par des faveurs sans nombre, faveurs invisibles connues de lui seul, faveurs visibles aussi, dont le récit remplit les pages des éphémérides : apparitions de Jésus Enfant dans l'Hostie, comme

[1] Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides*, iii., 390 ; *La Grande Chartreuse*, par un Chartreux, 2 ed., p. 125.

[2] Chauncy, *Historia Martyr. Cart.*, cap. 2 ; Doreau, *Henry VIII. et les Martyrs Chartreux*, p. 106. A notre connaissance, deux cas semblables—moins la vision—se sont produits dans l'Ordre, d'une hostie rejetée par un malade et consommée par un célébrant dévoué : le premier à Porta Cœli (Valence, Espagne), vers 1560 (*Ephemerides*, ii., 497), le second à la Grande Chartreuse, vers 1870, par le premier recteur de Parkminster, D. Pascal Séné.

à S. Hugues de Lincoln,[1] et à la B. Béatrix d'Ornacieux;[2] communions miraculeuses, comme pour Marguerite d'Oingt,[3] et un simple convers de Séville;[4] ravissements pendant la messe,[5] odeurs suaves exhalées par les communiants,[6] préservation merveilleuse, comme pour ce prieur de Porta-Cœli (Valence, Espagne), qui voyageant de compagnie, s'arrêta pour célébrer la sainte messe, et échappa au sort de ses compagnons tombés aux mains des voleurs,[7] ou ce procureur de Capri qui, voyant sa maison envahie par les Corsaires algériens, se réfugia au pied de l'autel et devint invisible à ses persécuteurs;[8] transport miraculeux, comme pour ce convers de Porta-Cœli, qu'un insatiable amour du saint Sacrement enchaînait au pied du tabernacle; aussi lorsque les affaires de la maison l'appelaient à Valence, profitait-il de l'occasion pour visiter toutes les églises de la ville? Un jour que sa ferveur l'avait retenu plus longtemps que de coutume dans l'église de la Roqueta, un des faubourgs de la cité, il s'aperçut qui le soir tombait, et qu'il était loin, bien loin de sa maison. "O bon Jésus," dit-il, "qui me donnera de me retrouver à la Chartreuse? Si vous le voulez, vous le pouvez." Et sur le champ, sans qu'il pût s'expliquer comment, il se retrouva dans sa maison de Porta-Cœli.[9]

Un dernier trait seulement. Non loin d'ici, dans cette grande ville de Londres, entre Clerkenwell Road, Aldersgate Street, S. John's Street, et Charterhouse Street, s'éleve un vaste établissement aujourd'hui encore appelé Charterhouse, et qui ne fut point sans gloire. C'est là qu'en 1535 vivait une communauté fervente sous la direction d'un saint, le B. Jean Houghton. Les temps déjà étaient mauvais. Cette année même le chef de la nation avait pris un titre nouveau: "Henricus, Dei gratia . . . summum in terra caput Anglicanæ ecclesiæ," et l'heure était venue pour les catholiques fidèles de confesser leur foi devant les rois de ce monde. Inquiet pour la persévérance de ses frères plus jeunes, le prieur ordonna un triduum solennel: premier jour, confession générale, confession

[1] *Magna Vita*, lib. v., c. 3; Le Vasseur, iv., 291.
[2] Le Vasseur, iv., 426.
[3] *Ibid.*, i., 127.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv., 598.
[5] *Ibid.*, i., 51, 98; ii., 313, etc.
[6] *Ibid.*, iv., 387.
[7] *Ibid.*, iv., 256.
[8] *Ibid.*, ii., 232.
[9] *Ibid.*, i., 147.

de moribonds à la veille de paraître devant Dieu; deuxième jour, réconciliation générale, car le martyre même ne profite point à ceux qui n'ont point la charité fraternelle; troisième jour, messe du saint Esprit pour attirer sur la communauté la lumière et la force de Dieu. Et ainsi fut fait. Le premier jour laissé aux émotions intimes de la confession sacramentelle, le deuxième jour le prieur réunit au chapitre sa communauté, et se prosternant devant chacun, lui demanda pardon pour tous les manquements, fautes, et scandales dont il s'était rendu coupable envers lui; puis tous à son exemple, prosternés les uns devant les autres, se firent la remise de leurs légères offenses mutuelles. Le troisième jour, le prieur monta à l'autel pour chanter la messe votive du saint Esprit. Rien ne troubla le rit liturgique jusqu'au moment de la consécration. Mais voici qu'alors un souffle léger, à peine perceptible, mais résonnant à l'oreille comme une harmonie céleste, passa sur l'assemblée en prière, pénétrant les âmes d'une onction suave et indéfinissable. Plus irrésistiblement saisi que ses frères, parce qu'il était plus abondamment favorisé, le célébrant dut interrompre un long moment le sacrifice, pour donner libre cours aux larmes qui le suffoquaient. Et pendant ce temps l'onction divine, franchissant le sanctuaire et le chœur des religieux, allait jusque dans les chapelles voisines se faire sentir aux frères convers. D'où venait ce souffle, et où il allait, nul n'aurait su le dire; mais tous, clercs et laïques, y reconnurent la touche de l'Esprit Saint.[1] De ce jour, la communauté fut transformée et prête aux pires éventualités: dix-huit de ses membres allaient porter leur tête au gibet de Tyburn ou mourir dans la prison de Newgate pour la défense de leur foi.

Puisse le souffle doux et fort qui passa sur les Chartreux de Londres en 1535 et les arma pour le martyre, passer à nouveau sur ce grand pays, qui a ouvert si larges à leurs successeurs les portes de son hospitalité, et réveiller en lui la foi d'antan, alors

[1] Chauncy, *Historia Martyrum*, c. 9; Le Vasseur. i., 574; Doreau, *Henry VIII. et les Chartreux Anglais*, p. 193; D. L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 133, *et seq.* Il existe au couvent des Dames de l'Adoration, à Tyburn (London), un tableau remarquable représentant la messe du saint Esprit, de 1535, par Mrs Dering, de Knowle (Warwickshire).

que sous les voûtes de Westminster Abbey se chantait la messe catholique, et que la vieille Angleterre était le joyau de l'Eglise et le "douaire de Marie," la très douce Mère de Jésus-Hostie!

LE DISCOURS DE MGR. AMETTE

Eminence, Messeigneurs, Mesdames et Messieurs—

Je regrette que le comité d'organisation du congrès ait annoncé mon allocution de clôture après le discours [de M. Verhaegen] que nous venons d'entendre. J'aurais aimé que la prière jaillie du cœur des évêques et des catholiques de Belgique, si magnifiquement exaucée par Dieu dans leur pays, restât comme le dernier mot et le bouquet spirituel de ce congrès. Il me semble que rien n'aurait pu être plus agréable au Cœur de Jésus, qui est vivant dans l'Eucharistie et à qui sont si chères les âmes d'enfant.

Mais puisqu'on vous a annoncé une allocution de clôture, je vous la dois: je la dois brève en raison de l'heure tardive et ne fût-ce que par compassion pour les nombreux auditeurs qui sont venus se presser ce matin à cette dernière réunion de notre section de langue française, et que je vois courageusement debout depuis tantôt deux heures. Mais cette allocution de clôture, que peut-elle bien être au moment de voir se terminer ce merveilleux Congrès, sinon une effusion d'une action de grâces? Une reconnaissance vive, profonde, émue, éprouvant le besoin de jaillir en action de grâces? N'est-ce pas là le sentiment qui remplit toutes nos âmes et qui en déborde à cette heure?

Il me faudrait la voix d'un poète pour la chanter, notre action de grâces au ciel et à la terre, ou la voix puissante d'un orateur tel que celui que nous venons d'applaudir et dans les paroles duquel nous avons senti vibrer l'âme d'un grand chrétien, plus que cela, d'un apôtre, je dirais presque une âme d'évêque! Notre action de grâces, je veux essayer simplement de la balbutier en quelques mots et vos cœurs suppléeront à ce que je ne saurai pas dire.

Elle va tout d'abord, n'est-il pas vrai? à celui à qui nous

devons, après Dieu, ces jours merveilleux, à l'archevêque de Westminster. C'est lui qui, dans sa foi simple et calme, a eu la pensée, je dirais presque l'audace, de demander et de vouloir un Congrès Eucharistique International, à Londres. Oui, cela pouvait paraître une audace, mais Monseigneur Bourne l'a eue. Il savait qu'il pouvait compter non seulement sur la bénédiction de Dieu qui, bien plus et bien mieux que l'antique Fortune, favorise les sages audaces, mais aussi sur ce sentiment qui fait l'honneur du peuple anglais, sur son respect, je dirai plus, sur sa sympathie pour toutes les libertés humaines, y compris celle que l'on nous rappelait tout à l'heure et qui est la plus légitime, la plus noble, la plus haute: la liberté de croire, c'est-à-dire la liberté de s'incliner devant la vérité de Dieu et la liberté de manifester sa foi.

Monseigneur Bourne ne s'était pas trompé, vous vous le savez tous pour en avoir été témoins pendant ces jours, et nous le saurons mieux encore demain, j'en suis sûr, après la procession triomphale qui se prépare. Nous savons tous quel accueil, non seulement respectueux, mais vraiment hospitalier, la grande cité de Londres a fait aux catholiques de toutes les nations réunis ici pour adorer Dieu dans l'Eucharistie.

Notre action de grâces va aux membres du comité permanent des Congrès eucharistiques et aussi aux membres, si nombreux, du Comité Organisateur du Congrès de Londres qui ont si bien tout prévu, tout disposé, et pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour donner à ces fêtes incomparables un éclat qui ne s'était encore vu nulle part ailleurs, et vous me permettrez d'exprimer ma reconnaissance toute spéciale au Comité permanent, qui a bien voulu, dans ce Congrès, réserver une section particulière aux catholiques de langue française. Ils se sont bien gardés d'oublier que l'Œuvre des Congrès Eucharistiques Internationaux est une œuvre d'inspiration et d'origine françaises, et que la langue française—certes je le dis sans vouloir en rien manquer de révérence envers les autres langues, ni envers la belle langue anglaise, ni envers la langue harmonieuse qui est la vôtre, Le Cardinal Légat—mais enfin ces messieurs et Nos Seigneurs du Comité permanent se sont rappelé que la langue française est encore la langue internationale par excellence.

Notre action de grâces, elle va tout particulièrement à vous,

mon Révérendissime Père abbé, président de cette section française, qui vous êtes acquitté de votre tâche avec tant de compétence, de distinction et de bonne grâce. Comme nous sommes heureux de saluer sur la terre d'Angleterre, à la tête de notre section française, un Bénédictin français, un digne successeur de ces moines qui s'appelaient Saint Augustin de Cantorbéry et le vénérable Bède, et qui ont fait à l'Angleterre son âme catholique!

Notre action de grâces, elle va, n'est-ce pas? à tous ceux qui sont venus prendre part à ce Congrès et y apporter le concours de leur présence, et, pour beaucoup de leurs travaux. Elle s'adresse tout specialement à ces légions de prêtres de tous pays, parmi lesquels, on me permettra de le constater, après les prêtres de nationalité britannique, nos chers prêtres de France sont ajourd'hui le plus grand nombre.

Elle va, notre action de grâces, plus haut encore; à ces princes de l'Église, cardinaux, archevêques, évêques, venus de toutes les parties du monde à ce congrès où toutes les puissances sont représentées, y compris la lointaine Australie, l'Afrique, qu'on peut appeler la jeune, puisque c'est une terre nouvelle qu'on vient de découvrir pour la donner à Notre-Seigneur, et la vieille Asie, en la personne vénérée du Vicaire Apostolique de Birmanie, un Français, lui aussi, au milieu de nous.

Et enfin, notre action de grâces, ah! qu'elle monte vers notre père à tous, vers l'auguste et bien-aimé Pontife du Vatican. Il a voulu faire sien ce Congrès Eucharistique en le bénissant par la si belle lettre que vous avez pu lire, qui a voulu enrichir ces réunions de nombreuses faveurs spirituelles; pendant ces jours, a été avec nous par la pensée, par la prière, par l'âme, et il a voulu être présent sensiblement en la personne de l'éminent légat qui a présidé ces assemblées tout ensemble avec une dignité si haute et une si parfaite bonté.

Mais notre action de grâces va surtout n'est-ce pas? à l'auteur de tous dons parfaits, à Notre-Seigneur Jésus et à son Père infiniment adorable et infiniment bon, à qui nous devons la joie pure et la grâce inestimable de ces grands jours. Oui, nous bénissons Dieu et nous le bénirons toute notre vie, de nous avoir appelés à être ici témoins d'un si grand spectacle,

d'un spectacle où je dirais volontiers que, comme dans le mystère de l'Eucharistie, ce qui se voit n'est que le signe et le voile de réalités plus belles encore, je veux dire de cette renaissance catholique de la vieille Angleterre dont nous avons pu saluer ici plus que l'aube, mais déjà l'épanouissement, et dont nous saluons dans l'avenir, dans un avenir que ce Congrès rendra plus prochain, le rayonnant midi.

Un spectacle pareil est pour notre foi un réconfort puissant, car c'est la démonstration par les faits de la perpétuite du règne de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ par la Sainte Église Catholique que, tant de fois dans le cours des siècles on a attaqué, qu'on s'est vanté d'avoir à jamais détruite, tout au moins d'être à la veille de détruire, et qui renaît plus forte et plus splendide, alors que les ennemis qui avaient cru sceller sa tombe ont depuis longtemps disparu.

Oui, on a bien cru aussi sur la terre anglaise qu'il en était du Christ vivant dans son Église et dans l'Eucharistie comme du Christ du Vendredi-Saint, qu'il était pour jamais au tombeau. Mais c'est toujours aussi la même histoire, et le Christ ressuscite toujours le troisième jour. Pour l'Angleterre Catholique, les trois jours ont été trois siècles, mais enfin le matin de Pâques est venu, et nous y sommes !

Mes frères de France, qu'il me soit permis de le dire, ce réconfort semble spécialement fait pour nous. Oui, c'est vrai—on le croit à l'étranger plus encore peut-être que ce n'est vrai, mais enfin c'est vrai—les jours sont mauvais pour la religion catholique, pour la sainte Église Catholique, dans notre cher pays. Mais confiance ! nos tribulations sont loin d'égaler celles qu'a connues l'Église Catholique d'Angleterre. Nous n'en sommes pas venus aux jours d'Henri VIII. et d'Elisabeth. Notre épiscopat, notre clergé, nos fidèles sont restés, malgré tout, indissolublement unis comme un bloc intangible, et nous n'attendrons pas trois siècles pour voir—(Applaudissements). Vous avez achevé ma phrase magnifiquement, mieux que je n'aurais pu le faire. Non, nous n'attendrons pas trois siècles pour voir le plein retour de la liberté religieuse sur notre vieille terre de France !

Et maintenant, ce n'est pas seulement pour ces jours du Congrès, pour la joie, pour le réconfort, pour l'espérance que

nous leur devons, qu'il faut faire monter notre action de grâces vers Dieu. Il faut que notre action de grâces aille à lui, plus profondément sentie que jamais, pour ce don qui dépasse tous ses dons, pour ce don de l'Eucharistie qu'il a fait à l'humanité tout entière, et qu'il nous a gardé à nous, nations catholiques.

On n'apprécie jamais si bien les dons que l'on possède que lorsqu'on a vu de près ceux qui en sont privés: voilà pourquoi nous vous disons, à vous, les riches de la terre, qui, habitués à votre opulence, ne songez plus à en remercier Dieu et considérez tous ces biens qui vous entourent, toutes ces aises, toutes ces jouissances de la vie comme s'ils étaient votre dû, nous vous disons: allez donc voir de près ces déshérités, voyez ce qui leur manque et ce dont ils souffrent; alors vous comprendrez ce dont vous jouissez et vous saurez dans quelle mesure vous en devez remercier Dieu.

Eh! bien, nous sommes venus dans ce pays, dans ce pays si grand, si riche, si puissant, à qui, semble-t-il, rien ne manque de tout ce qui fait la gloire et la prospérité d'un peuple; et pourtant, n'est-il pas vrai qu'en le voyant, nous avons senti nos cœurs émus d'une respectueuse et profonde compassion fraternelle à son égard.

A Dieu ne plaise que je veuille me prévaloir devant ce peuple, qui nous accueille si bien, du don que Dieu nous a gardé et que lui a perdu. Si la comparaison s'impose à nous, ce n'est pas, certes, pour lui faire reproche de ce qu'il a perdu, mais pour le plaindre tendrement et lui souhaiter de retrouver bientôt le trésor qui nous est resté.

Quand nous voyons ces splendides églises que Monsieur le député belge décrivait si merveilleusement tout à l'heure, ces grandes cathédrales gothiques où tout semble fait pour abriter et glorifier l'Eucharistie, n'est-il pas vrai qu'en les visitant, plus fort encore que par un sentiment d'admiration pour leur splendeur, nous sommes étreints par un sentiment de profonde tristesse pour ce qu'elles sont devenues. Ah! oui, elles ont gardé toutes les beautés de leur architecture, mais tout cela était fait pour couvrir un autel et un tabernacle. Dans beaucoup d'entre elles, l'autel est resté debout, mais ce qu'on y offre n'est plus le sacrifice vivant et véritable; ce n'est plus—ils le disent eux-mêmes—qu'une céré-

monie commémorative. Dans la plupart, le tabernacle a disparu et—comme le disait éloquemment l'autre jour Monseigneur le coadjuteur de Cambrai—là où on essaie de le rétablir, c'est encore un tabernacle vide. On peut y mettre une hostie, mais il n'y a pas eu de sacerdoce authentique, certain, valide, pour le consacrer: Jésus n'est pas là. Quand je vois ces splendides monuments elles me font l'effet de corps superbes dont l'âme s'est envolée, ou du tombeau de Jésus qui était vide et sur lequel Madeleine pleurait.

Eh! bien, nos autels à nous sont tous les jours rendus féconds par le véritable sacrifice de la Divine Victime. Vous vous rappelez avec quelle raison serrée, indiscutable, on en a fait la démonstration, le tabernacle l'abrite toujours et Elle y habite jour et nuit. En quelque lieu que ce soit, dans le tabernacle modeste et pauvre de la dernière église de campagne, aussi bien que dans le tabernacle d'or ou de marbre de la plus splendide cathédrale, partout Jésus est là, partout notre Dieu est avec nous.

Mes frères, n est-il pas vrai que nous apprécierons comme nous le devons ce bonheur, et que nous éprouverons le besoin de rendre toute notre vie grâce à Dieu, à Dieu qui nous l'a donné et qui nous l'a gardé? Car nous aussi—ne nous faisons pas meilleurs que nous ne sommes—nous avions mérité cent fois de le perdre, et c'est pure miséricorde de la part du Seigneur de ne pas nous l'avoir ôté.

Eh! bien, puisque vous savez que l'action de grâces que Dieu demande surtout en retour de ses dons, c'est qu'on sache en user, puisque sa bonté demande à se répandre et qu'on ne peut jamais mieux dire merci qu'en ouvrant les mains et le cœur pour recevoir ses dons, nous traduirons plus que jamais à l'avenir notre reconnaissance pour l'Eucharistie sachant en user.

Dieu, dans l'Eucharistie, s'immole en sacrifice sur nos autels. Nous irons tous les jours, au moins en pensée, si nous ne le pouvons pas corporellement, assister, participer à son Sacrifice. Dieu, dans l'Eucharistie, se donne en nourriture à nos âmes: nous irons l'y recevoir, comme on nous invitait à le faire avant-hier, par la réception physique, et aussi par la réception spirit-

uelle, celle qui fait communier non seulement au corps et au sang du Christ, mais à son esprit et à sa vie. Dieu demeure dans l'Eucharistie; il habite des maisons, voisines des nôtres; elles seront désormais plus fréquentées par nous; nous n'aurons pas, parmi nos amis, d'amis que nous visitions aussi souvent que Jésus-Christ, comme nous n'en aurons jamais dont l'amour et le dévouement approchent du sien.

Voilà la conclusion que je tire de ce magnifique Congrès, et que je propose à la généreuse bonne volonté de cette grande assemblée. Et parce que, dans cette séance encore, comme dans les précédentes, la très sainte Vierge Marie nous est apparue comme le virginal canal par lequel Dieu nous a donné Jésus, non seulement dans l'Incarnation, mais encore dans le Sacrement de l'autel, puisqu'on l'a montrée si soucieuse de la glorifier, de la montrer et de la donner aux foules; nous ne séparerons pas dans nos résolutions Jésus-Eucharistie et la Vierge, à qui nous devons l'Eucharistie.

Je vous dirais volontiers qu'outre la raison qu'on a rappelée nous en avons une autre pour glorifier, mais vous la connaissez mieux que moi, de glorifier Notre-Dame de Lourdes dans ce Congrès Eucharistique. C'est à Lourdes que la Vierge est venue il y a cinquante ans sur la terre de France, nous dire: "Je suis l'Immaculée Conception"; mais, bien des siècles auparavant, c'est sur la terre d'Angleterre que la vierge Marie avait commencé à inviter moines, prêtres, et fidèles à honorer sa Conception sans tache. C'est de la chrétienté anglaise que le culte de l'Immaculée-Conception est venu dans ma chère Normandie, que vous me permettrez bien de nommer ici, et c'est de la Normandie que la fête de l'Immaculée-Conception passa dans la grande Université de Paris, où elle s'appelait la fête aux Normands. C'est donc d'Angleterre que partit en Occident le magnifique épanouissement de cette dévotion que Dieu se plaît à glorifier en nos jours par tant de prodiges.

Eh bien! en sortant de ce Congrès, plus que jamais, n'est-il pas vrai? nous aurons et nous garderons dans nos cœurs ces deux grandes amours: l'amour de Jésus au Très-Saint-Sacrement et l'amour de la Très Sainte Vierge, sa Mère. Ayons confiance; quel que puisse être le torrent furieux que nous

ayons peut-être un jour à traverser, eussions-nous à passer à travers les flammes de l'incendie social que préparent ceux qui ravissent au peuple sa croyance en Dieu et son amour pour le Christ: unis au Pape, protégés par Marie, munis de l'Eucharistie, nous serons invincibles et nous arriverons heureusement aux rives de la paix future, en attendant la paix éternelle.

The BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM rose and thanked Mgr. Amette for what he had said of the Catholics of England, and the BISHOP OF AUTUN asked the audience to stand and join with him in a brief invocation of the Sacred Heart. "The devotion," he said, "began in my diocese. I am the Bishop of Paray-le-Monial."

Before giving the closing blessing, CARDINAL FERRARI read a telegram from one of his suffragans, the Bishop of Bergamo. It was dated that morning from Lourdes, where the Bishop was with the pilgrims of his diocese, and expressed cordial union with the London Congress. Then, speaking in Latin, the CARDINAL OF MILAN added his testimony to that of the Archbishop of Paris as to the wonderful success of the Congress, which, he said, would surely have lasting effects not in England only, but in all the places represented by that gathering from many nations.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

THE CHILDREN'S PROCESSION

One of the most touching incidents in the Congress was the procession of nearly 20,000 Catholic children gathered from the schools in and around the Metropolis.

Long before two o'clock, the hour fixed for falling into line, the children began to assemble and to take up their positions on the Embankment, in readiness for the procession to the Cathedral. They came from all parts of London, arriving in brakes, on foot, by train, bringing with them banners and streamers and gay devices, the papal colours being everywhere very much in evidence. They were of all degrees —none too poorly dressed, none too dainty to take part—some in special and picturesque costumes, girls with veils and wreaths, boys with sashes and rosettes, others in their everyday or best attire—all joyous, enthusiastic, and patient, waiting and talking and singing, but never flagging in their delight.

In the early part of the afternoon the weather was nearly perfect. The river looked very gay along the Embankment as the sun shone brilliantly from an unclouded sky, and the light breezes stirred the river into a glitter of silver. Unfortunately, owing to the wedding of a prominent Cabinet Minister which took place at St Margaret's, Westminster, at about the same hour, the children were kept waiting much

longer than had been intended. But shortly after three o'clock, Father Fletcher, with whom was a police inspector and some mounted constables, led the way to Victoria Street, and the traffic being less on a Saturday afternoon, the children were allowed to have the roadway to themselves. Bands if not numerous were not lacking, the place of honour being deservedly given to that of the North Hyde Orphanage. About a hundred banners were carried, some beautifully worked and some bearing the name of the mission to which the school belonged. With the children walked their teachers, and in many cases the nuns and some of the clergy. The police arrangements were admirable, and the crowd of spectators were thoroughly interested and sympathetic, many breaking into applause.

The course was rather a long one for some of the little folk, and of the successive groups many began to show signs of fatigue before they reached the top of Victoria Street; but turning into Ambrosden Avenue, their spirits revived, and the children broke into shrill cheers as they saw the Cardinal Legate with the Archbishop of Westminster and other Cardinals about him smiling down upon them from the balconies of Archbishop's House. There were not a few spectators whose eyes were wet as they gazed on the scene before them—the children wildly enthusiastic and the Holy Father's Representative looking with loving eyes and raising his hands in benediction. The stewards were almost powerless to keep the lines in proper formation when the little ones came in sight of the balcony, for they felt that at that moment all their long wait on the Embankment and their journey from their homes in the morning were rewarded. The children's enthusiasm was infectious, and the cheering was taken up by the crowd.

Then arriving at the Cathedral doors, the little ones with their teachers passed in till the great building could hold no

more, and then the doors were closed. CARDINAL LOGUE thereupon delivered an address, which is printed below; and Benediction, given by the Cardinal Legate and attended by other cardinals and a large number of dignitaries, concluded the ceremony.

Meanwhile thousands of children for whom there was no room in the Cathedral were taken, some to the Horticultural Hall, where they were kept happy and interested by the humorous eloquence of Fr. James Nicholson, S.J., others to the hall in Buckingham Gate, where Mgr. Grosch gave them a bright and stirring address. In due time Cardinal Logue visited the halls and spoke at some length to the children in each.

CARDINAL LOGUE'S ADDRESS TO THE CHILDREN

His Eminence took for his text the words of our Lord: "Suffer the little children to come to Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." He said that he was delighted to see the children there in such vast numbers to take a leading part in that memorable celebration in the centre of the great British Empire. Catholics of many lands assembled to testify their faith, and to pay homage to our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist. They might differ in nationality and many other things, but there was a great golden bond which bound them closely together, and that was the bond of their common faith. There was another bond akin to it, not the same, and that was the love of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. However they differed, they were all assembled in peace and brotherly feeling round the throne of God and the most Holy Sacrament. This was a great privilege for them (the children) to have been able to take part in that great celebration. It would be to them in after life a great memory, to which they could look back with pleasure and with profit. It was a happy thought of their good Archbishop to invite the little ones to take such a leading part in that manifestation of Catholic faith. But he (the

Cardinal) had quoted from the chapter of St Mark: "Suffer the little children to come to Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Those were the words our Divine Redeemer addressed to the people when He passed through Galilee, when they brought little children that He might lay hands upon them. And when the people thought the children were a great annoyance to Him, He soon corrected that wrong idea by saying: "Suffer the little ones to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." He blessed and embraced them, and set them up as an example to us, saying: "Unless you are converted and become as little children, you cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Now, throughout the ages those words of our Divine Lord had been echoed over and over again by His Church. The Church, inspired and directed by Him, regarded the lambs of the flock, the little ones, as the most precious part of her inheritance. Hence it was that she watched over and controlled them, and provided for their proper education, endeavouring, as far as possible, to shield them from all dangers to their faith and to their morality. It was not an easy task which the Church had undertaken. If the Church had merely to deal with and direct the children, to win their affections and gain their little hearts, she could do so with ease and success, but unfortunately there were influences at work in opposition to the Church, and one of the hardest battles which she had to fight was for the protection and safeguarding of the little ones entrusted to her care. In some countries evil men professedly endeavoured to destroy and root out the faith and corrupt the hearts of the children of Jesus Christ. In other countries—and it was true he feared in their country—men, unconsciously it might be, but none the less effectually, sought to attain the same object—to bring up the children without religion, to teach morality without faith, without sanction—a thing that was impossible. As well might they ask men to work a motor-car in the street without petrol or electricity. It was impossible. If these men wanted a railway to be worked without steam, they would be known to have lost their reason; and yet the same men were guilty of a greater absurdity when they imagined that they could have children brought up and taught morality without dogma, without belief in

the immortality of the soul, without belief in future rewards and the punishments. It was impossible. But, thank God, owing to the zeal of the great Archbishop of Westminster and his priests, they were guarding against the danger, and would continue to guard against it. But it was not on that point he (the Cardinal) wished to speak to them. There were two things suggested to him by the words of our Divine Lord which he had quoted, and these two things, he thought, would suggest some reflections that might be useful to them. The first was the fact that our Divine Lord had Himself been a child, and that He directed childhood and youth by His example and teaching. There were so many proofs of the fact that they were familiar to everyone. They knew that when the Creator of the universe, the Lord of all being, all powerful, determined to redeem the human race by uniting their poor nature to His Divine person, He became not merely a child—a little infant—but subjected Himself to all the vicissitudes of infancy and childhood, and went through youth, and grew up, to all appearance, like any other child. Remember, that for nearly three years in His public mission He was working miracles, healing the sick, and teaching the people, and that He spent thirty years in laying the foundation of the instruction to be given to youth. That was a proof of His love for little children. The words he had quoted offered the clearest proof of how He loved little children, and they could not by any possibility love Him as much as He loved them. Though they could not fathom the depths of His wisdom, they could understand why the children were dear to our Divine Lord. It was their innocence—their innocence of heart and innocence of life. There was also a virtue that He was never tired of preaching, and one which they found in the little ones, and that was the virtue of humility. Take the children as God made them, and they found that they had this virtue. Another characteristic of childhood was generosity, and our Lord loved the generous heart. Generosity in yielding obedience to the Divine law, not considering the sacrifice it entailed; generosity in carrying out those exercises of piety, and in everything spiritual and temporal, was a characteristic of childhood, and our Divine Lord loved that generosity. Then there was another virtue, perhaps the most salutary of all for

children, and that was obedience. Of all the virtues of childhood and youth that was the virtue which ought to be cultivated by them with the greatest diligence. The obedient child was secure—obedient to parents and to the priests and to the law of the Church. By keeping pure of heart—"Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God"—they would see God. Purity of heart, innocence, generosity in God's service, meekness, and humility—these were the virtues that should adorn the souls of little children. And, above all, obedience. That was a magnificent virtue for every one of them. It was their chief security to sacrifice their goodwill, and when that sacrifice was made they had security. They knew the example our Divine Lord gave them when He went out of the Temple with His Blessed Mother and St Joseph, and, returning to Nazareth, was subject to them—not merely obedient, but subject to them. These were the little lessons which they could learn from the words he had quoted for them. There was one more important thing. They were all there that day in their thousands and in their innocence. Considering the state of the world at the present day, they would require to be very vigilant, and be watched over by their parents and guardians. This was an age of materialism, and an age of the forgetfulness of God, when men thought of everything except of what was spiritual and eternal. Remember, it was not enough to love the Faith, to have a special wish to keep the Faith. Let them not be afraid to approach our Divine Lord frequently in the Holy Communion, or to say, "Faith of our fathers, glorious Faith, we will be true to it till death."

MEN'S MEETING IN THE ALBERT HALL

The Meeting in the Albert Hall in the evening was for men only. The event had been looked forward to with the greatest interest, and every ticket was taken; indeed, double the quantity could have been disposed of had the great building been able to accommodate a larger audience.

The hall filled rapidly as soon as entrance was permitted, while the great concourse that encircled the building without was swollen by the thousands who had poured in from the country for the procession of the next day. A roar of cheering heralded the approach of the bishops and the Legate, and the scenes of Thursday night were re-enacted with a difference. The cheers that now thundered in deafening crescendo were the roar of eight thousand stentorian voices of men, and when the Legate made his appearance, every man upstanding, and handkerchiefs waving, the storm followed him across the arena, continuing for many minutes after he had taken his seat in the place of honour.

The arrangements were a repetition of those of the General Meeting on Thursday. The abbots with certain other privileged prelates, bishops, and archbishops entered first, making an imposing display as they took their places upon the platform. Then came the cardinals, five in number, viz., Cardinals Gibbons, Logue, Sancha y Hervas, Ferrari, and Mercier, Cardinal Mathieu being still unfortunately prevented by illness from taking an active part in the proceedings of the Congress. Finally, amid a scene of indescribable enthusiasm the Cardinal Legate appeared, preceded by the Archbishop of Westminster, by whom he was conducted to the presidential chair. Close upon ninety cardinals, archbishops, and bishops formed the Legate's court, not to speak of the abbots and other

prelates present. The Duke of Norfolk and several prominent laymen were also conspicuous in the serried ranks that surrounded the representative of the Holy See.

When the applause was hushed by the Legate's rising and again asking the Archbishop to direct the proceedings, there was sprung upon the assembly a great dramatic surprise, which called forth expressions of almost incredulous astonishment and execration of the Government. Before the formal business of the meeting was proceeded with, the Archbishop stood up to make the painful announcement that at the eleventh hour the Prime Minister had intervened and prohibited the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament in the procession. Speaking in tones of studied moderation, without any touch of anger but with stern face and direct words, His Grace told the story of his recent communications with Mr Asquith. A storm of angry cries and hisses greeted the announcement and continued for some time, until the Archbishop had at length to ask the meeting to hear his statement without interruption. Upon this, calm was restored, and throughout the rest of the proceedings, the vast audience, save for the occasional outburst of some hot-headed Congressist here and there, kept itself well in hand. The self-restraint shown at a time of such extreme provocation was a great tribute of respect to the representative of the Holy Father, to His Grace the Archbishop, and, we may add, to the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist which so many of those present were to receive on the morrow.

In reading the reports of the speeches which follow, it should be noted that the Archbishop's statement, as well as many of the subsequent addresses, were constantly interrupted by outbursts of applause and expressions of indignation, which it would be tedious to record as they actually took place. The full text of the communications which passed between the Archbishop and His Majesty's Government, although too

voluminous to read to the audience on Saturday night, was made public in the newspapers of the following Monday, and will be found on p. 572, at the close of the account of the meeting with which we are now concerned.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S STATEMENT.

The Archbishop of Westminster made the following statement:—

I have an announcement to make which will be a source of pain and of surprise to you all. On Thursday last I received a private intimation from the Prime Minister deprecating the procession to be held on Sunday. The communication as to the procession advocated its abandonment. I replied at once that I could not act upon a private intimation of this kind, and Mr Asquith answered that his communication was purely confidential and must not be published. I insisted that if any change were needed at this late hour he must take the responsibility of making a public request to that effect. I will give you my message, which I sent last night.

Prime Minister, Slains Castle, Port Errol, Aberdeenshire.

Having considered your communication, I have decided to abandon the ceremonial, of which you question the legality, provided you authorise me to state publicly that I do so at your request. You must recognise the extreme urgency and delicacy of the position in which you have placed me.

This morning Mr Asquith replied as follows:—

Archbishop, Archbishop's House, Westminster.

Your telegram received last night too late to answer. Since your Grace refers the matter to our judgment, I have to say that his Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be better in the interests of order and good feeling that the proposed ceremonial, the legality of which is open to question, should not take place. I much regret the inconvenience and disappointment which its abandonment may cause.

Asquith.

I at once made answer:—

Have received your telegram. All elements of ecclesiastical ceremonial shall, in deference to your wish as Prime Minister, be eliminated from procession. Cardinals and bishops will walk in full Court dress

of their respective rank. Expect Government to ensure all comfort and courtesy to our honoured guests. Must, of course, explain fully and publicly the reason of change in arrangements.

I have, therefore, the duty of asking their Eminences and their Lordships to proceed to the Cathedral to-morrow afternoon not directly, but by the route marked out for the procession, dressed in cassock, rochet, and mantelletta, or other garment of their order and rank. The ceremonial procession will take place within the Cathedral walls, and the Benediction will be given to the multitude who cannot enter, from the balcony of the Cathedral. I trust I shall in this way satisfy to some extent the legitimate desire of the thousands of our people to have some part in the Congress, and at the same time avoid any action, the legality of which might be called into question even by the most captious and capricious. I ask our people to accept this arrangement with the loyalty and respect which are due both to their ecclesiastical superiors and to the civil authorities, and to refrain from any action which might be wanting in dignity or self-restraint. As a loyal Englishman, and still more as a Catholic striving in all things to be obedient to our faith, I feel it my duty to conform myself to the publicly expressed wishes of the constituted authority. But I am not prepared to submit to the dictation of the Protestant Alliance or any similar society. I trust when all the circumstances are known you will approve of the action which I have taken. I should in justice say that up to this very moment I have complete assurance from the police that no danger was to be apprehended from the ceremonial aspect of the procession. And I desire to place on record my appreciation of the courtesy and consideration shown to us throughout by the authorities of the Metropolitan Police. Also, so far as I am aware, no protest of any kind has been received from any person living on the line of route chosen for the procession. I have only one or two words to add. I want all the other arrangements of the procession to go on as before. I want our people to go and do honour to the representative of the Holy See, to receive his blessing, to give a greeting from their hearts to the other prelates who are honouring us by their presence in our midst,

and although it is not permitted to us to carry with us our Divine Master, I do hope and trust that all those present, by the sentiments of their heart, by the fervour of their singing, will make not only of the Cathedral, but of the whole of Westminster, one great sanctuary of the most Blessed Sacrament.

His Eminence Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, then moved the first resolution:—

That this Nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress pledges all who assist at it to promote, by every means in their power, solid and earnest devotion to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, according to the mind and teaching of the Holy Catholic Church.

His Eminence, speaking in English, said:—

We cannot really love our faith without feeling the desire to see it spread far and wide, without sharing in some degree the need of expansion which characterised apostolic souls. In realising the Catholicity of our faith we all experience a feeling of brotherhood binding all the souls assembled here, and calling those who but yesterday were strangers by the sweet name of brothers, and to recognise one another as really such. But you English Catholics, you are to us Belgians more than brothers. Your race has been to us in a spiritual sense a mother; for were not children of Britain and of Ireland our fathers in the faith, the apostles of our native land? Yes wherever we go through Belgium the shrines and churches of English and Irish saints meet our view. You have been, I know, generous creditors: too generous, perhaps, because for four centuries you neglected to claim the payment of our debt of gratitude. So to-day with what genuine joy we bring you in part payment some slight token of our deep gratitude by coming here to take our share in the immense procession in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. How often have I thought of you dear English Catholics in the years of my youth and in the course of my career as Professor at the University of Louvain. Louvain is full of the memories of your glorious ancestors in the faith. It was there that many of the highest and noblest of England's and Ireland's sons and daughters

lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and so it happened that the centre of religious learning in our country was also the sacred school in which the faithful and priests were formed for their apostolic work in England. I am happy to come to you to-day, not as a Good Samaritan bending over a wounded brother to heal his wounds, but as a witness of your grand Christian courage. I congratulate you on your splendid strength of purpose, and breathe with enthusiasm the blessed air of your Christian liberty. Your venerated archbishop, your faithful bishops have won universal sympathy, and command the admiration of the whole Catholic hierarchy by showing how they appreciate the liberty secured to them by their countrymen, and how earnestly they can make use of it for national and religious progress. In order to live, food is necessary. To live the Christian life, viz., to develop that life, to grow in it, and to propagate it, we must eat our daily bread—"Give us this day our daily bread," or, better still, our super-substantial bread. To those who examine history with a superficial and cursory glance, races may seem to differ widely, succeeding generations may appear to have little in common; but those who with the eagle eye of an Augustine, a Bossuet, may penetrate beneath the surface, see that the human race to-day does not differ substantially from that of the fourth or of the seventeenth century. Now, as in the time of St Augustine, it may still be said that humanity, considered as a whole, may be divided into two cities, one earthly and the other heavenly, the first being ruled by egotism, the latter animated with spiritual charity. According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Christian people have an altar on which our Divine Saviour is prepared as a food for our spiritual nourishment; but as the flesh of the victims of the old Covenant was to be burned outside the camp, as our Lord went out, as Catholics would state, to offer his sacrifice on Calvary, so we ought to go by humility and brotherly love out of ourselves, to strip ourselves of selfishness, in order to eat worthily and fruitfully the Eucharistic Bread. When our Divine Master girded Himself with the towel and knelt and washed the feet of His disciples as if He were the servant of all, He recommended them to do as He had done. "I have given you an example," He said, "that as I have done to

you so you do also," and then, in that overflow of love so natural on the eve of separation, He impressed on them the duty of mutual charity, and taught them the way of knowing and loving God, by knowing and loving Himself. "Love one another," He said, "as I have loved you," and if we are faithful to this divine teaching, we are assured that our tears will be dried, our sorrow will be changed into joy; rest, peace, happiness will dwell in our souls.

Need I tell you that selfishness and pride are ever at work in the world? You know the words of St John on the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes and the pride of life. Is not this typical concupiscence in existence in the world, does it not penetrate even into the Christian life? Does not forgetfulness of Christ lead to agnosticism, which is forgetfulness of God? Are not different classes of society but too often ready to war against each other, and sometimes like to animals in their struggle for the means of subsistence?

What shall we do to bring about a revival of charity and to promote the reign of peace? Let us go to Jesus in the Holy Eucharist and receive Him in the spirit in which He wishes to be received. Let us also love one another, and above all let us love our separated brethren, confidently praying to the Good Shepherd for their return to the fold, so that there may be but one flock and one pastor. Let us make God known by making Jesus Christ known, for there is no salvation for the world except through our Divine Redeemer. Were we all to act thus we should promote social peace, not a fictitious peace, but the peace of Christ in the mortification of our passions, in ever increasing the union of our judgment, of our feelings, of our will, with the judgment and the feeling and the will of our Lord Jesus Christ. Have you ever considered this contrast? Take at random any gathering of men, of workmen for instance, of business men, or of capitalists, who have no faith, and ask them if they are quite satisfied with their lot, if they are thoroughly happy. Their answer, I fear, will be made up of murmurs and recriminations, perhaps interspersed with cries of hatred. Take on the other hand some of our Christian families, or, better still, take some of those chosen souls who people our cloisters, of those who have reduced to a minimum

the comforts of life, do daily penance and bear labours and hardships of all kinds, and ask them whether they are dissatisfied. Open wide the doors of their cloisters as the persecutors are doing in France. Do they regard as benefactors those who pretend to restore them to liberty? No; far from it. It is the conclusion of our daily experience that the more the soul resists selfishness and the more completely it lives for others and for God, the nearer it is to peace and to perfect happiness. On the other hand nothing in the world can make a man perfectly happy if he has not Jesus Christ in the spirit of charity. From these facts let us deduce valuable lessons, let us draw for ourselves a rule of conduct, let us resolve to go more frequently, even daily, to Holy Communion, let us live more entirely with Jesus in the Eucharist. There we shall find the very source of mutual love, the food of eternal life, and even on this earth the secret of peace for ourselves and families, for our beloved country and for mankind. May God bless this great nation in return for the magnificent act of faith she is accomplishing to-day, and may He requite her a hundredfold for the large-hearted hospitality she has shown to our brethren in the faith.

The Most Rev. JOHN A. MAGUIRE, Archbishop of Glasgow, seconded the resolution.

The humour which enlivened his speech, and more particularly the earlier portion of it, was quickly successful in its barely concealed object of dispelling something of the gloom which had settled down upon the audience in consequence of the announcement which had so recently been made to them. Hearty laughter alternating with cheers punctuated almost every sentence, and when His Grace turned to more serious themes he commanded the undivided attention of every person present. The whole speech from first to last afforded an admirable exhibition of tact and oratorical power.

I cannot pretend to come here [said His Grace], as Cardinal Mercier did, to repay a debt. No Scotchman admits that he owes anybody anything. I must confess I had some difficulty

in facing the task laid upon me; and that difficulty has not been decreased by looking at this wonderful, this unexampled audience. I have a difficulty personal to myself. Cardinal Mercier comes before you as a distinguished foreigner, and he speaks to you in the English language in a way that I am sure excites your envy. Ask any of the right rev. gentlemen behind me to make a speech in Flemish. His Eminence displays a scholarly knowledge of the English language. I come before you unknown to any one of you—come before you as an alien, as a double alien; at least I should think a Scotchman of the name of Maguire carried with him the proof that he is not Anglo-Saxon. Cardinal Mercier has learned English; I speak unfortunately a dialect of English, and I was not quite sure you would understand me. Scotland has given prominent men to you. We have given you two ex-Prime Ministers, both alive. The Prime Minister whom you have to-day is an Englishman. Looking around the hall this evening, I am amazed at its size. It gave me great pleasure when I learned that a very large proportion would be working men, and the reason why I am pleased to be allowed to speak to working men is that I could not help feeling to some extent that this resolution is of supreme importance, not only to working men themselves but to the country, to Europe, and to the world. Cardinal Mercier has already hinted at this in his speech. Power is passing day by day more into the hands of the working-classes. It looks as if it were coming, as if the working men will rule the world. You know very well that whilst Liberalism on the one hand looked upon the last General Election as the greatest triumph that Liberalism had ever known and Unionism looked on it as a great defeat, men who observed the signs of the times said the great fact of the last General Election was the birth of the Labour party. That was more significant than any triumph or defeat. Some people say that if the country, if the world, is ruled by working men then will come the millennium, and then will the lamb lie down with the lion and not inside it. Is it certain that the millennium will come even in that case, is it certain there will be nothing but good government and fair play? I hope so; but, after all,

remember working men are men just as well as other people, and men have their feelings and their weaknesses. People say one man is as good as another, and I think that is true; but one man is also as bad as another, and what one man is capable of any other man is capable of too. Considering this, we have to ask what is the principal abuse of power. The principal abuse of power is to look upon it as given to you to make you a great man, and to give you your own way, and I am afraid that a good many people in the past had power which they looked upon as their own property. The true principle not merely of Christianity, but of high policy, is that a man who is put in power should look upon himself as being put there first and foremost for the benefit of others. Our rulers should have the honour due to their rank, but in the eyes of God they have to remember they are no better than their subjects, and on the day of judgment they will have to answer not for their rank and intellect, but for the deeds they have done. What greater object-lesson will you find than in our Saviour in the Holy Eucharist? There you find the King of kings and Lord of lords, and this is how He uses His power, not to make Himself great, but to spread His grace and blessing as far as it can be spread. This is the Christian idea of power. Every dynasty that has fallen has been brought to the ground because this power has been abused.

God knows working men have grievances enough. No one can deny there has been class legislation, no one can deny that there have been partial laws, that the rewards of capital have been greater than those of labour. What did capital risk? Money. But labour risked its life. How different is the poor man who is inefficient to the man in the higher place who is inefficient. How many men of high place who were inefficient are buried in Westminster Abbey! When you have an inefficient Cabinet Minister, when you have an inefficient General, you give him a pension; an inefficient working man retires to the workhouse! I say these things to show you how necessary it is that those into whose hands power is passing to-day, should be just and generous. If they are not, if they are full of the same spirit with which so many governments have been full, then nothing but horror can lie before

the world; because they have bitter things to remember and because it is difficult to get rid of a multitude. If power is in the hands of one man he can be removed, but it is difficult to do so when it is in the hands of a multitude. No matter who are the rulers, no matter who are the governors, it is necessary everybody should have fair-play. You had an instance at the beginning of this evening of what treatment you can receive even from a great and free people, and such things would be possible no matter what kind of constitution we were living under. I do not believe that any Catholic who receives Holy Communion regularly, who worships Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament regularly, would be able to persecute his brother man even though he knows the man belongs to a class which had persecuted his forefathers in times long gone by.

You have instances in Ireland: go to the north of Ireland, and you find there intolerance; go to the south of Ireland, where are descendants of people who have been persecuted; go to the west of Ireland, and there you find non-Catholics can live in peace because the majority round about them are Catholics and are tolerant. Some of you will say, You speak of Ireland; but the Scotch are just as good. Please allow me to say this, because I have to go home again. In conclusion, let me say if we have a true devotion to Holy Communion, and if little by little we could spread a belief in the Blessed Sacrament amongst those who do not believe, and the desire to receive it as food and drink, we should be doing a great deal to bring about the reign of peace amongst men which many fantastic-minded people are trying to bring about by other means, by overturning Governments. This could be brought about by a higher Christian spirit, and so we should be doing something to accelerate the day of which the great Scotch poet wrote: "when man to man, the warld o'er, shall brithers be, for a' that."

The resolution was supported by Sir CHARLES SANTLEY, who said:—

I feel the honour that has been done to me in being allowed to second this resolution. I speak as a layman to laymen. I was present at a meeting, in this Hall, of Catholics

a short time ago, and the proceedings terminated with the singing of "Faith of our fathers." And a glorious sound it was to hear all those voices joining in singing "Faith of our fathers, Holy Faith, we will be true to thee to death." As I was returning home a thought struck me, and has been in my mind very many times since. I should like to know whether we all understand the significance of those words, "Faith of our fathers." Let us seek an illustration of what our fathers did by taking the persecution and death of four martyrs. The first martyr was St Stephen, who was stoned to death. Then we turn to St Bartholomew, who was stripped of his skin. Can we realise the terrible agony which he must have endured by this awful form of suffering. Next we have St Lawrence, who was not burned, but roasted to death slowly on a gridiron. So too we remember the lingering torments of a St Sebastian; and then we turn to the Early Christians—men, women, and children, who were placed in the arena to await on their knees, praying to God for help, the horrible death which confronted them, by being torn limb from limb by wild beasts. These are only some of the persecutions which our forefathers had to suffer for their faith. What was it that gave them strength to face these dangers? It was the Blessed Sacrament. Such was the faith of our fathers. Now let us come to our own day. We have no persecutions to dread, we have no spies to fear or death to face for our faith. Our churches throughout Christendom are open all day. In every Catholic church Mass is celebrated, yet how few—and I speak especially of week-days—how few there are who fully appreciate the great privileges which the Gracious God had bestowed upon His people! I have travelled over a great part of the world, and as I constantly go to Mass on week-days, I cannot fail to observe the small attendance, and the very few who go to receive Holy Communion, and of this number the smallest proportion are men. Why should we stay away? Are we so much better than the women that we do not want spiritual help to carry us through the day? Is religion an effeminate practice that must be left to the opposite sex? We are the heads of the family, and we are responsible for our wives and children. We have a great question before us in these days, and that is the education

question. We must leave no stone unturned, but remember that the stone which the builders rejected became the corner-stone of the edifice. It is to that stone that all must look. It requires no physical force to remove it, it will fall back easily to disclose to us a great treasure—the treasure of treasures—the Blessed Sacrament. The Almighty implores us to accept this wonderful proof of His love for us. Our only remedy for the wounds caused by sorrow and affliction, and the only help we can rely upon in our conflict with the powers of evil is the Divine Redeemer. By this devotion to the Blessed Sacrament we shall learn to live in, and so be prepared to die for, the faith of our fathers.

The resolution having been put by the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, and carried with acclamation, the *O Salutaris* was then sung by all present. No one who took part in that act of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament will easily forget the thrill produced by the resonance of those eight thousand male voices singing in unison.

The CARDINAL LEGATE then rose and announced that a telegraphic message had been received from the Holy Father. This was read by Mgr. BIDWELL, of the Secretariate of State, the audience standing:—

The Holy Father has received with the greatest satisfaction an account of the splendid inauguration of the Eucharistic Congress. His Holiness is much gratified by the resolution expressing devotion to the Holy See and respect for its instructions, and he blesses with all his heart the bishops, clergy, and faithful who by their attendance in such large numbers have contributed to the consoling success of this solemn manifestation among the English people of the Catholic faith. The respectful attitude of all affords a fresh proof of the nation's love of true liberty and civilisation.

The Most Rev. JOHN HEALY, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam, then proposed the second resolution:—

That this Nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress proclaims the unalterable fidelity of all its members to the Apostolic See, and their desire to conform themselves in all things to the instructions of the Holy Father.

I daresay the reason why His Grace has asked me to propose this resolution is the fact that I am an Irish prelate, and, as everyone knows, Irish Catholics all over the world are conspicuous for their loyalty and devotion to the Holy See. It is, however, for me a labour of love to propose the resolution before this most distinguished assembly. My whole heart goes with it; I should like to see it written in letters of gold, fit to present to the Holy Father; and if I fall short of the occasion it is not from the want of goodwill, but rather of adequate thought and speech to do full justice to the lofty theme. Newman has said in one of his beautiful lectures that the obligations which we owe to the Holy See are of a twofold character—obligations of duty and obligations of gratitude. The distinction is a just one. Our obligations of duty to the Holy See are imposed on us by the divine law; they are definite in their nature, and cannot be transgressed without sin. Our obligations of gratitude are more human in their character, more indefinite and more intangible, but not the less real, because they are not so much the outcome of positive law, as the promptings of grateful, loving hearts, softened by human sympathy and elevated by divine grace.

Worldly-minded men outside the Church cannot understand the intense and affectionate devotion which all true Catholics cherish for their Holy Father the Pope. They can understand, and they do cherish justly, devoted loyalty to his Majesty the King; but the Pope—is he not, they say, a foreign Prelate living in Rome, and why should freeborn Englishmen look upon him as little less than a god? Well, we do not look upon the Pope as a kind of god, nor do we believe him exempt from the frailties and imperfections of our human nature. But we believe, and we know, that he is the Vicar of Christ, and that his dignity is, therefore, the highest on earth. We know from the unerring words of Christ Himself that Peter, who lives for ever in his successors, has been invested with many high prerogatives clearly set out in the Gospel; that he is the supreme ruler and legislator of the Church of God; that he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven; that what he binds on earth is bound also in heaven. We know that he is the infallible teacher of the universal Church, which he cannot

lead astray; that he is its rock foundation, the source of its strength, and the centre of its unity. We know that he is the inflexible guardian of the moral law, the faithful custodian and fearless exponent of the whole Truth of God; that he has always warred against oppression and injustice, and that neither kings nor parliaments, nor peoples, though they have often tried, can ever silence his voice or paralyze his power. He is the Ruler of the City set upon the Rock that can never be overthrown, "for its builder and maker is God." The Chair in which he sits was not fashioned by human hands; the prerogatives with which he is invested were not given to him by human or popular vote, but by Him to whom all power in heaven and on earth belongs. Other kingdoms and empires rise, flourish, and pass away, like all human things, but his throne endures for ever, and his sceptre no human power can break. He may be robbed as his predecessors were often robbed before, but we love him even more in his poverty than in his riches; he may be imprisoned, but his voice will reach us through his prison bars, and be heard and obeyed by faithful hearts; he may even be put to death by wicked men like so many of the early Popes, but his martyrdom will be a new strength to his throne and a new triumph for his children. Look back upon the past and you will see all these statements proved by the facts of history, all these prerogatives of the Popes at all times active in beneficent operation.

I cannot stay to give examples from the general history of the Church, but I will briefly point to some few things which the Popes have done for these kingdoms. "Go teach ye all nations"—it was a far cry from Rome to the Isles of Britain in those days, and a dangerous journey; but they came, those teachers, commissioned by the Popes, and God visibly blessed their work If we accept the testimony of Bede, the first British churches in these islands were founded by missionaries from Rome sent by the Pope at the request of a British king. Certain it is that St Ninian studied at Rome, and came by the authority of the Pope, bringing the doctrine and discipline of Rome to the infant church of Candida Casa, which thus became the cradle of British Christianity in the North. Certain it is that it was Pope St Celestine who sent first Palladius, and,

when he failed, St Patrick, to preach the gospel in Ireland; and certain it is, too, that from the summit of Croagh Patrick in the far west of Ireland that same Patrick sent in the Lent of 441 his own nephew, Munis, "with counsel for the Abbot of Rome," that is to congratulate Leo the Great on his accession to the papal throne; to give an account of and beg the confirmation and blessing of the Pope in the work of his mission in Ireland. And the Annals of Ulster, the most authentic of our annals, tell that this confirmation and blessing he received from the Pope the following year, and by the same messenger. And surely everyone knows that it was St Gregory the Great who sent Augustine and his companions to convert the Saxons and the Angles, and thereby became the prime founder of the See of Canterbury and of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

We hear the Catholic Church in England sometimes sneered at as an Italian mission. Well, the Christian Church in England was from the beginning an Italian, or rather a Roman, mission, and whatever Christianity the people possess they got through the Italian mission. The subsequent negations and corruptions are their own, but it is undeniable that their positive Christianity, such as it is, they owe to a Roman mission. They may sneer at it now, but it reminds one of a shameless child sneering at the parents who gave it birth. The Christianity of England was planted by the Popes, and watered by the Popes, and under their protection grew up to be a stately tree laden with the golden fruit of manifold good works, until its spreading branches were rudely broken on account of the incredulity of its children. "Tu fide stas"—we stand by faith rooted in the Rock. It was not the fault of the people but of their rulers. The tyranny of a licentious king and servile parliament like a storm swept over the land, and that fair and fruitful tree was torn from its roots and laid prostrate on the earth. I have said that the Pope is the inflexible guardian of the moral law. Well he proved it then, for, though he knew he risked the loss of a kingdom to the Church, he refused to grant the king the dispensation forbidden alike by the laws of God and man. So it was in England, but not so in Ireland. We, too, had to deal with their Henrys and Cranmers and Elizabeths; but we had the

teaching of St Patrick to guide us: "Before all things be loyal to Rome"—"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis." That principle had sunk deep into the hearts of our fathers, and had become to them and to us a second nature. And so it came to pass that when the same storm burst upon Ireland, though it blew long and furious, and left all the branches bare, the tree of Ireland's faith, rooted in the rock, withstood the storm, and once more burst into bloom when the wild fury of the blast had passed away. St Patrick's teaching and his prayers and tears on the Holy Mountain for the perseverance of his children in the faith had prevailed against all the strength of the storm—yet not these alone without Rome, for during all the dreadful time the Irish people were strengthened and sustained by the exhortations and counsels and material resources furnished by the Popes. It was the "wine from the royal Pope" so often borne across the seas that proved to be for the afflicted people of Ireland a cordial of spiritual strength and vitality, which kept life in their breaking hearts.

Then, again, we owe an undying debt of gratitude to the Popes for all that they have done for Christian education, and especially for higher education, in these kingdoms. No country has up to the present been more unfortunate than Ireland in the matter of University education. Our ancient schools were very famous, but were destroyed by foreign invasions, and although the Popes, on three different occasions, sought to establish a university in Ireland, their efforts failed, owing to internal dissensions and religious persecutions. It is to the Popes that Scotland owes her ancient and famous University, and both Oxford and Cambridge were founded not by kings and parliaments, but by great Catholic prelates, with the sanction and blessing of the Holy See, who not only founded, but endowed them with royal munificence. And this is true, not only of England and Scotland, but, to some extent, of every country in Europe, for they all owe their ancient and famous universities to the fostering care of the Popes, and of great Catholic prelates under the guidance and encouragement of the Popes. Yes, the Popes were ever the munificent patrons of learning and of learned men, the arbitrators among warring princes, and the great moral force that civilised barbarian

Europe. And, in later days, is it not to the saintly Pius IX. that you owe the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, and all the Catholic schools and colleges, which are the outcome of that restoration? He it was who sent from his own city a truly great man, Cardinal Wiseman, with plenary authority, to build up from the stones of the ancient sanctuaries of this land a new spiritual edifice, of which your noble Cathedral is the outward and visible expression. And was it not our present Holy Father, Pius X., who authorised his Grace the Archbishop, the worthy successor of Wiseman and Manning, to gather here, in this city of London, the imposing and most representative Eucharistic Conference that we have yet seen assembled in Europe?

And can there be any more striking and significant act of faith than the proceedings of this International Eucharistic Congress in this city of London, here, where it was treason to proclaim the supremacy of the Pope, and where the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was, and is still, declared to be idolatry—here, where More and Fisher and Plunkett, and hundreds of others, laid down their lives for the Pope and for the Mass? And this is only one of the strong claims that the present illustrious occupant of St Peter's Chair has on our affectionate loyalty and devotion. During the five or six years of his Pontificate he has done many great things for God and His Church. "To restore all things in Christ" is his lofty purpose, and, surely, he has already done much to accomplish it. He has been frequently assailed, and threatened and calumniated; but, immovable as the rocks on which the billows dash themselves in vain, with fixed purpose and steadfast courage he confronts all the enemies of the Church, and has already conquered them. Not Leo, when he faced Attila, not Hildebrand, when he confronted the German Emperor, not Pius VII., when, with calm courage, he defied Napoleon, fronted the foe with more resolute and unbending fortitude than that with which Pius X. resisted and conquered the godless Government of France, even when his heart was breaking for the starving priesthood of that hapless nation. We love and admire our Holy Father for many things—for the beautiful simplicity of his character, for his pastoral virtues—his zeal, his charity, his

patience, his humility, but more than all we love and admire him for his steadfast unyielding courage in fighting the battle of the Church in France. Before all, we—the children of poor, persecuted Ireland—admire him, we, whose whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, have been one long struggle for the faith; we, who would live and die in poverty rather than tolerate any tampering with our religion or our religious education; we, who have spurned their proposed endowments of every kind whenever there was a shadow of a suspicion that they were intended as bribes to weaken our faith, or to fetter our religious freedom—we, before all others, love and reverence our Holy Father for the noble stand he has made to secure the freedom of the Church of France, by breaking for ever the fetters that bound her to a godless State and Government. Yea, and for that reason, before all other, we pray for our Holy Father day and night, that God may lengthen his days and strengthen his arm, until he sees the emancipated Church of France once more grow fair and strong with the coming years; it may be in apostolic poverty, but it will also be in apostolic virtue.

We, too, in these kingdoms, had our days of repression and tribulation, but, thanks to God, we have at length won the victory of patient endurance. All these are things of the past, and we are now the free citizens of the empire, and though we get no favours from the State, either in privilege or endowment, we have what we value far more, perfect freedom of action and absolute equality before the law. This very assembly in this great city, gathered together in connexion with our Eucharistic Congress, the reception everywhere accorded to the members of the Congress, the space that the proceedings occupy in the public Press, the enormous crowds that attend its meetings, are adequate proof that the old evil days are gone, let us hope for ever, and that we live to-day in the light of a more generous freedom, and of a larger and kindlier appreciation. Newman tells us in the beautiful sermon called the "Second Spring," that the days are not long past, not yet a century, since the Catholics of England were contemptuously ignored, and their Church consisted for the most part of colonies of Irishmen living in the poorest parts of this great city, and here and

there a few grave individuals of high birth and noblemen who clung to the ancient faith—but they were without regular bishops, without decent churches, without political or social influence—beings who seemed rather to belong to another world. Contrast that state of things with what you see to-day —with the majestic grandeur of your cathedral, the solemn pomp of its worship, the hundred mitred heads you have seen around the altars, the illustrious personages, the heads of national churches at home and abroad, clothed in the scarlet robes of Rome, the crowds of clergy and laity of high and low degree who fill this spacious hall, and one may well say that it is not merely a Second Spring, but a resurrection from the dead. Yet the Catholic Church in England was never really dead. She was overthrown and prostrate, but the principle of life was still within her. If she were like other churches, a mere human institution, and was struck down as she has been struck, she could never rise again. But she was not a mere human institution. She had within her even in the worst days the divine principle of life and living unity which bound her to Rome, so when the furious tempest had passed away, she felt the quickening influence of that living unity. She began once more to raise her head slowly and painfully, but gathering strength by degrees, she grew in vigour, until at length she stood upon her feet like a patient recovered from a deadly fever, weak indeed, but wearing the ancient lineaments of stateliness and beauty—a marvel to all who beheld her and had thought she was dead. It was not a new tree, but a new shoot from the old stem, growing from the old roots and vitalised by the same sap.

Yes, thanks to God and to the Vicar of Christ, the sight we see to-day is a glory and a wonder—not a thing to make us proud, but full of thanksgiving. "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis." Thine be the praise and the glory; be it ours to be humble and thankful. No such ecclesiastical assembly has been seen in England since the Reformation, no, nor before the Reformation. England never saw an assembly graced by so many princes of the Church, from so many countries of Europe, with a Cardinal Legate representing the Pope at their head. Of old they might have had more civic pomp and secular power

around them. We have what is better still—a great gathering of the highest prelates in Europe and America, drawn together by the bonds of faith and love, at the invitation of the successor of St Augustine, and under the presidency of the Legate of that See which sent Augustine to found the Church of England. Here there is unity and Catholicity and continuity which binds together the near and the distant, the present and the past. It is not an aggregate of discordant units, but a homogeneous gathering of prelates obedient to one rule, animated by one faith, inspired by one purpose—to honour Our Saviour in the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, and next to that to add the testimony of their homage and devotion to our Holy Father the Pope. Besides the prelates and clergy of England under his Grace the Archbishop, we have here to-day the Cardinal Primate of Ireland, the heir of St Patrick, to testify to the unity in faith and charity of the Catholics of England and Ireland. We have the eloquent Cardinal Primate of the United States, with many prelates and priests from that great and growing Church. We have the learned Archbishop of Melbourne—coming, like myself, from the West of Ireland—and some of his colleagues from the young Church of Australia. We have the Cardinal Primate of Belgium, not only the head of the Belgian Church, but a most distinguished scholar of his own great University of Louvain, and who himself rendered signal service to the cause of University Education in Ireland by his luminous evidence given in this city before the Robertson Commission. We have also the Cardinal Primate of Toledo, the successor of the illustrious Ximenes, the glory of the Spanish Church. We have also, I am told, French prelates, whom we gladly welcome here in this time of their trial, as they often welcomed our countrymen from England and Ireland, to whom they gave hospitality and education when they dared not have it at home. I believe we have here to-day clergymen and laymen from every country in Europe, as well as from the whole Western world, assembled for the same purpose, and animated by the same Catholic spirit of love for the Blessed Eucharist and loyalty to our Holy Father the Pope, in which they are joined by thousands of the laity of all classes, from the

illustrious head of England's nobility down to the poorest of the poor.

And with one heart and with one voice we will ask you, my Lord Cardinal Legate, to bear to our Holy Father this loving message of loyal devotion to his person and his See. We ask your Eminence to tell him in our name that we thank him for his splendid services to the Church, that we deeply sympathise with him in his trials and afflictions, and that we shall always pray God to sweeten the cup of his sorrow and lighten the burden of his labours and anxieties. Tell him how we admire his lofty purpose, so faithfully carried out, of "restoring all things in Christ." Tell him we are grateful for his vigorous and authoritative condemnation of the recent errors of Modernism, which are utterly subversive of Christianity. Tell him that we are specially grateful for his Encyclical on Frequent Communion, and on the duty of giving catechetical instruction to our flocks, both of which have already produced much fruit, and also for the latest Jubilee Exhortation to the clergy all over the world. Tell him, above all, how we love and admire him for his unflinching courage in vindicating the liberty of the great Church of France, and spurning the proffered doles of its godless Government, which were only to be purchased at the price of a new enslavement. Moreover, we ask your Eminence to tell our Holy Father what you have seen and heard in this city of London during the progress of this Congress. We think you may tell him you have seen here no sign of wavering faith or timorous loyalty to the Holy See, that heart and soul, beyond the mountains as within the mountains, we are its devoted children; that in this the new churches and the old churches, the churches beyond the ocean, and the ancient churches of Patrick, Columba, and Augustine, are animated by the same spirit and inspired by the same devotion to the See of Peter; and you can truly tell him also that we are to-day as ready to fight, and, if necessary, to die for our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and for the Primacy of the Pope, as our fathers were in the past, so many of whom suffered and died in that great cause; and you may add that we promise faithfully to put in practice the instructions contained in his beautiful Encyclical on Frequent Communion. Tell his

Holiness also that we shall never cease to pray for him, and that with yearning hearts on bended knees we implore his Apostolic Blessing for ourselves and for our flocks, for our families and our friends, that we may be united hereafter in heaven as we are all united here to-day, in love and devotion to the Blessed Eucharist and loyalty to the Holy See.

The eloquent speech of the Archbishop of Tuam, whose powerful voice filled the vast building and was well heard in every part, was received with constant outbursts of cheering, and His Grace finally sat down amidst a storm of applause.

The resolution was seconded by Mr Hilaire Belloc, M.P. for South Salford. Mr Belloc said that it was too often forgotten, it was almost entirely forgotten in modern history, as it was taught in our modern universities, that for some sixteen hundred years, a type of society totally different from anything known before, had possessed the soul of Europe. That type of society was Christendom, and within that society only one institution had survived despite attacks from all sides. Nations had decayed and shown signs of decay, but the Catholic Church could not show signs of decay, and it was the only institution in the history of the world of which this could be said to be true. The enemies of the faith very often misunderstood the Church, and were nearly always ignorant of one or more vital points regarding it, but they never misunderstood the importance of attacking the Papacy. How ignorant the enemies of the faith could be—he had been personally a witness during the debate in the House of Commons upon the matter of education. It was almost impossible to make men, not Catholics, understand that one should care for something that was not of this world. They would say, If only you will give up that devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament, if only you will see that your children are taught the truths of the faith for fewer hours of the week, you will have less mistakes in their arithmetic. When we told them that primary education was nothing to us, and that we put forward the religious aspect as the first principle, they could not understand. There had been another most deplorable instance of this attitude given them to-day. If they desired

to suppress what they might think was an æsthetic ceremonial they would touch a nerve that would cost them very dear indeed. He did not think that this generation of Catholics would ever allow that decision to be forgotten.

After speaking of various attempts made to uproot the authority of the successors of Peter, Mr Belloc said that, both abroad and in this country, the struggle of the Church would be worse in the future than it had been in the past. When the reaction, which was already a considerable intellectual reaction, towards Catholicism grew stronger amongst the chief nations in the West of Europe, they would have to look out for persecution, and when it came they would have to remember the importance of unity and obedience to the chief who commanded the army.

The Archbishop of Westminster said that, in order that all nationalities might be represented, he would call upon Mgr. Jara, Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud, Chile, who was attending the Congress as the special representative of Cardinal Vives y Tuto, to support the resolution. His lordship first spoke a few words in Spanish, and then delivered the following address in French:

Si le mystère de la Divine Eucharistie n'était pas un mystère d'humilité et de charité, je ne serais pas venu occuper cette place. Mais Monseigneur le Très Vénéré Archevêque de Westminster veut montrer la diversité de races, de langages, de nationalités qui prennent part à ce Congrès incomparable de Londres. Il a voulu qu'après la parole autorisée de si Illustres et Vénérés Confrères appartenant aux plus grandes nations européennes vint un peu se faire entendre ce pauvre évêque américain venu d'un pays si éloigné, afin de contempler le spectacle ravissant de l'Hostie Sainte dominant l'autel, rayonnante et lumineuse. Au nom de tout l'Episcopat américain, Monseigneur Bourne, je viens vous exprimer notre reconnaissance à nous, évêques de la République argentine, du Brésil du Mexique, du Pérou et de la République du Chili, ma chère patrie. Permettez-moi avant tout d'exprimer au nom de l'Amérique latine la reconnaissance qu'elle doit à l'Espagne qui lui a donné sa langue, ses coutumes et surtout sa Foi, dans le

siècle glorieux où cette grande nation ouvrit un nouveau monde à la civilisation chrétienne. Il m'est d'autant plus doux de m'acquitter de cette dette de reconnaissance que je suis venu ici sous l'ombre prestigieuse de la pourpre cardinalice de l'Éminent Cardinal Vives y Tuto qui a bien voulu me charger de le représenter dans ce Congrès, de ce Cardinal qui est la gloire de l'Espagne—de l'Espagne, dont le jeune, vaillant et sympathique Roi, Alphonse XIII., a tenu à chercher la compagne de sa vie, la femme forte de l'Évangile parmi les jeunes filles de votre pays, la Grande Bretagne. Soyez sûrs que l'Espagne est fière aujourd'hui de voir la couronne de ses Illustres Reines sur le front de Victoria de Battenberg. En ma qualité d'Évêque et de citoyen de la République du Chili, je ne saurais oublier de rendre hommage à un des illustres enfants de la Grand Bretagne, à Lord Cochrane qui fut le premier amiral de la marine chilienne et qui a combattu pour ma patrie.

Je ne saurais oublier non plus qu'au moment affreux où deux peuples frères, l'Argentine et le Chili, divisés par une question de frontières, allaient se lancer dans une lutte fratricide, ces deux peuples, jetant leurs armes, se sont embrassés grâce à la sage sentence arbitrale (1903) de votre grand Souverain. Oui, nous devons exprimer notre reconnaissance à l'Angleterre qui a fourni à l'Amérique latine les capitaux destinés à développer ses industries.

Mais les relations entre l'Angleterre et l'Amérique latine entreront dans une ère nouvelle grâce à ce Congrès mondial. Indépendamment de cette livre sterling qui circule, qui parcourt le monde entier sans rien perdre de sa valeur, l'Angleterre, dans la personne des catholiques anglais nous fournira une autre monnaie d'un or plus précieux qui parcourera aussi le monde, qui nous arrivera sous forme de brochures, de journaux, de Lettres Pastorales des Évêques. . . . Je dois terminer, Messieurs, en exprimant un vœu que forme mon cœur. Je n'ai pas le droit de présenter ici de résolutions, mais je voudrais que nous donnions au Souverain Pontife l'assurance que nous voulons prendre comme modèle l'apôtre de la charité et de la fidélité, du Saint Apôtre de l'Eucharistie: Saint Jean l'Evangéliste, pour lequel le Saint Père a une dévotion

spéciale. Ce sera certainement une grande joie pour le Saint Père que cette réponse à sa dernière Lettre apostolique.

Imitons tous ce grand apôtre et unissons nous tous dans l'amour de Dieu et de notre prochain. Avant de finir, Éminences, Messeigneurs, Messieurs, je prononce du fond de mon cœur cette prière: Béni soit le Sang de Dieu, béni soit le Saint Sacrement de nos autels.

The reception accorded to the two resolutions of the evening was acknowledged by the CARDINAL LEGATE, who spoke as follows:—

Éminences, Messeigneurs, Messieurs,—Hier j'ai été ravi de la piété vraiment filiale avec laquelle vous êtes accourus à la réception du Cardinal Légat. En venant saluer le Légat avec tant d'empressement et de cordialité c'est votre amour pour le Pape que vous avez voulu montrer; je dirai à Sa Sainteté que cet amour est vraiment au-dessus de tout éloge et de toute description. Et cependent mon impression si douce d'hier soir est encore dépassée aujourd'hui.

Je ne saurais vous dire à quel point je suis touché et émerveillé de la grandiose et imposante manifestation à laquelle j'assiste ce soir. C'est encore une fois la note dominante du Congrès qui se révèle: amour à la très Sainte Eucharistie, fidélité au Saint Père. Si les magnifiques réunions de ces jours à jamais mémorables m'ont déjà rempli d'admiration pour l'Angleterre Catholique, comment exprimer les sentiments qui se pressent dans mon cœur en présence de l'accueil enthousiaste fait par cette noble assemblée d'hommes de tout âge et de toute condition aux deux motions, qui viennent d'être développées avec tant de vigueur et d'éloquence?

Votre attitude virile et résolue, le spectacle émouvant de votre multitude innombrable, surtout la manifestation si calme et tout ensemble si ardente de votre foi, évoquent devant moi les souvenirs et les traditions les plus anciennes de cette noble et grande nation britannique.

En vous voyant, je crois voir se dresser devant moi la masse imposante de vos ancêtres; je vois revivre sous mes yeux les vrais fils des Saints qui ont peuplé cette Ile des Saints; je reconnais en vous les héritiers de ce patrimoine de foi et de vertus

que vous ont légué vos Évêques, vos Rois, vos docteurs, vos martyrs et le peuple Anglais tout entier, depuis Saint Augustin, votre père dans la foi, jusqu'aux jours des dissensions et des déchirements à jamais regrettables. Je sens en vérité se presser dans mon cœur ces flots de pensées qui assiègeaient l'âme du grand Pape Saint Grégoire lorsque, épris d'amour pour les Anglo-Saxons, il leur envoyait des Apôtres.

Envoyé moi-même par Sa Sainteté Pie X., je puis vous dire que l'amour de Saint Grégoire pour vos ancêtres se perpétue dans le cœur du successeur actuel de Saint Pierre pour les descendants de ces premiers héros de la foi.

Vous avez entendu ou lu sa Lettre et vous y avez constaté de quelle sollicitude, de quelle tendresse paternelle il poursuit l'Angleterre. Comme vous l'écrivait Pie IX. en 1850, comme il le disait à la députation Anglaise en 1871, comme vous l'affirmait Léon XIII. dans Sa Lettre Apostolique *ad Anglos* en 1895, comme vous le proclame en termes si explicites Sa Sainteté Pie X. dans la Lettre si bienveillante qu'il daigna m'adresser le 28 août de cette année—l'Angleterre a toujours tenu et tient plus que jamais une grande place, une place de choix dans le cœur du Vicaire de Jésus-Christ.

Mais semblable à Celui dont il est ici-bas le représentant il a des tendresses toutes particulières pour les ouvriers qui gagnent leur pain à la sueur de leur front. Je suis heureux d'apprendre qu'ils se trouvent ce soir dans cette salle en assez grand nombre. C'est leur condition qu'a préférée le divin ouvrier de Nazareth. C'est aussi pour eux que le Pape conçoit des sollicitudes plus bienveillantes et plus paternelles.

Ouvriers d'Angleterre, classe laborieuse, hommes livrés sous une forme ou sous une autre à des travaux souvent pénibles, et dont je salue dans cette enceinte une élite si nombreuse et si méritante, sachez qui si le Pape aime tant ce grand pays, c'est surtout à votre sort qu'il s'intéresse, c'est pour vous qu'il éprouve une sorte de prédilection, c'est poussé par la préoccupation incessante d'améliorer ou d'adoucir votre condition qu'il multiplie en votre faveur les actes importants de Son Pontificat, en un mot ses yeux comme son cœur se reportent sans cesse vers vous, ouvriers et travailleurs, comme sur ses fils bien-aimés.

Laissez-moi ajouter que si l'auguste Chef de l'Église a voulu que le Congrès Eucharistique de Londres eût une importance si exceptionelle, s'il a tenu à en rehausser l'éclat et à l'entourer d'une bienveillance extraordinaire c'est qu'il a pour ce pays d'Angleterre une singulière estime et les plus vives sympathies. Il sait ses influences multiples dans le monde entier.

Mises au service de la civilisation chrétienne, secondées par un régime d'équité et de respect de tous les droits, puissent-elles exercer partout une action salutaire et préparer à la nation elle-même un meilleur avenir! Et que vous faut-il faire, Catholiques de la Grande Bretagne, pour aider à réaliser ces espérances? Qu'il me soit permis de vous donner deux ou trois conseils, ou plutôt encouragements, car il ne s'agit que de mieux faire ce que vous accomplissez déjà.

Dans vos glorieuses annales, il est dit, qu'en la Fête des Rameaux, bien avant l'institution des processions du *Corpus Domini*, vos aïeux, voulant imiter la jeunesse de Jérusalem, accouraient en foule au devant du Divin Maître sortant des églises dans les rues ou l'on portait triomphalement la Sainte Hostie. Aujourd'hui, ce Divin Maître vient au-devant de vous dans la personne du Pape, de son Légat qu'il vous envoie, de ces Princes de l'Église, de ces Archevêques et de ces Évêques qui donnent une si haute signification à ce Congrès, de ces prêtres et de ces fidèles accourus de l'Orient et de l'Occident. Quel spectacle touchant d'union de tous les cœurs! Quelle imposante manifestation d'unité de foi de tous les esprits! O que l'Église catholique est belle dans l'union de la charité et dans l'unité de la vérité! Et bien, allez à elle, aimez-la, soyez unis plus que jamais entre vous et avec vos Évêques et l'Évêque des Évêques, le Pape! Par eux, ne faites qu'un avec Jésus-Christ, afin, comme il le demandait à son Père, que nous ne soyons qu'un avec lui, comme il est un avec son Père. *Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus.*

Mais l'amour de l'Église et l'union ne suffisent pas. Il vous faut, en face des difficultés à vaincre, devant les épreuves de la foi et de la vertu, il vous faut énergie et vaillance. Où irez-vous les chercher?

Un jour deux disciples, saisis des angoisses de leur raison et des amertumes du découragement, se préoccupaient de l'avenir.

Un voyageur les recontra. Il leur parlait avec une science merveilleuse des Ecritures Saintes. Et leur cœur ému ne se rendait pas. Leur raison, ne consultant que la lumière subjective, avec une défiance qui excluait toute autre autorité, comme font à peu près aujourd'hui nos savants modernistes, ne se rendait pas non plus. Il se faisait tard et les ombres de la nuit s'ajoutaient aux ombres qui remplissaient leurs âmes. Mais, fidèles à la loi de l'hospitalité ils contraignirent le voyageur mystérieux à rester avec eux. Pendant le repas il prit du pain et le leur distribua. Ils le reconnurent: *Cognoverunt eum in fractione panis.* Voilà le secret de la force et de la victoire! Allez souvent au banquet sacré. Que cette hospitalité si largement donnée au Congrès Eucharistique, comme celle que vous avez donnée jadis aux prêtres émigrès de la revolution française, et que vous donnez aujourd'hui aux communautés religieuses de France—que cette hospitalité, dis-je, obtienne à nos frères séparés, travaillés par les angoisses de leurs hésitations, auxquel ne suffit pas leur science parfois remarquable des Saintes Ecritures, soient touchés de la grâce et reconnaissent où est Jésus-Christ, en reconnaissant le Sacrement où il se cache, et que la véritable Eglise leur a conservé.

Et pour vous, catholiques convaincus, au milieu des défaillances du cœur et des déceptions de la vie, retrouvez la force et la vaillance de vos âmes dans la Communion, telle que la pratiquaient vos anciens pères dans la foi, qui la réclamaient fréquente et même quotidienne!

Unis à l'Église votre Mère, rendus forts par le pain vivant descendu du Ciel, faites revivre la vieille Angleterre. Nul ne peut dire les trésors de vertu et l'influence incomparable qui s'ajouteront à vos qualités naturelles et lui donneront dans le monde, avec l'empire des mers, un empire plus merveilleux encore, celui des âmes et des cœurs!

Et pour vous raffermir dans ces sentiments, je vais tout-à-l'heure vous bénir au nom du Saint-Père.

[TRANSLATION]

I was yesterday charmed with the truly filial piety with which you attended the reception of the Cardinal Legate. In

coming to salute him with so much eagerness and cordiality you desired to show your love for the Pope. I shall tell His Holiness that this love is above all praise and beyond all description. And yet my gratifying impression of last evening is quite outdone to-day.

I cannot tell you how deeply I am touched and amazed at the great and impressive demonstration at which I am this evening assisting. Once again it is the dominant note of the Congress that reveals itself: love for the Holy Eucharist and fidelity to the Holy Father. If the magnificent meetings of these ever-memorable days have already filled me with admiration for Catholic England, how shall I express the feelings which overwhelm me in presence of the enthusiastic acclaim made by this noble assembly of men of all ages and all conditions of life to the two resolutions which have just been supported with such vigour and eloquence?

Your manly and resolute attitude, the moving spectacle of your countless numbers, and, above all, the calm and none the less ardent manifestation of your faith, revive before my eyes the memories and most ancient traditions of the noble and great British nation. As I look upon you, I seem to see rising before me the imposing band of your ancestors; I see living again before my eyes the true sons of the saints who once peopled this Island of Saints; I recognise in you the heirs of that legacy of faith and virtue bequeathed to you by your bishops, kings, doctors, martyrs, and the whole English people from the days of St Augustine, your father in the Faith, down to the days of the divisions and the disruptions which are ever to be deplored. I feel, in truth, my heart flooded with the waves of thought which flowed in upon the soul of the great Pope St Gregory, when, smitten with love for the Anglo-Saxons, he sent out apostles to them.

And I, too, sent as I am by His Holiness Pius X., I can tell you that the love of St Gregory for your ancestors is perpetuated in the love of the present successor of St Peter for the descendants of those first heroes of the Faith.

You have heard or read his letter, and you have therein understood with what solicitude and fatherly tenderness he seeks after England. As Pius IX. wrote to you in 1850, and

as he told the deputation from England in 1871, as Leo XIII. declared in his Apostolic Letter "Ad Anglos," in 1895, and as his Holiness Pius X. proclaims to you in such explicit terms in the gracious letter he deigned to address to me on August 28 of this year, England has always held and more than ever holds a great place, a chosen place in the heart of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. But like Him whose representative he is here below, he has an altogether special love for the workers who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and I am therefore happy to learn that they are here this evening in such great numbers. It is their state of life which the Divine Workman of Nazareth chose for Himself, and it is for them that the Pope cherishes the most kindly and fatherly solicitude. Working-men of England, the labouring class, and all men who are in one way or another given up to labour oftentimes heavy, of whom in this building to-night I greet so numerous and worthy a body, know that if the Pope so loves this great country, it is above all in your lot that he is interested, that it is for you he cherishes a sort of predilection; it is his unceasing anxiety to better or lighten your lot which urges him to multiply in your favour the important acts of his Pontificate; in a word, his eyes and heart continually turn towards you, working-men, as his beloved sons.

Let me add that if the august Head of the Church has wished that the Eucharistic Congress of London should have an exceptional importance, if he has desired to heighten its brilliance and to lavish upon it every mark of goodwill, it is because he has a singular esteem and the most lively sympathy for this country of England. He knows her manifold influence throughout the world. Devoted to the service of Christian civilisation, and seconded by a *régime* of equity and of respect for all rights, may that influence everywhere exercise a salutary action and prepare a still better future for the nation itself.

And what ought you to do, Catholics of Great Britain, to help in the realisation of these hopes? Allow me to give you two or three words of counsel, or rather of encouragement, for it is only a question of doing better what you have done already. In your glorious annals it is said that on the feast

of Palm Sunday, long before the institution of the processions of the *Corpus Domini*, your forefathers, wishing to imitate the youth of Jerusalem, went in a body before the Divine Master out of the churches into the streets through which the Sacred Host was carried in triumph. To-day this Divine Master comes before you in the person of the Pope, of the Legate whom he has sent, of these Princes of the Church, of these Archbishops and Bishops who give so deep a meaning to this Congress, of these priests and faithful who have come from the East and the West! What a touching spectacle of the union of all hearts! What an imposing manifestation of the unity of faith of all minds! O how beautiful is the Catholic Church in the union of charity and in the unity of the truth! Well, then, go to her, love her, be more united than ever amongst yourselves and with your Bishops, and the Bishop of Bishops, the Pope! Through them, make but one with Jesus Christ, in order that, as He prayed to His Father, we may be one with Him, as He is one with the Father. *Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus.*

But love of the Church and union are not sufficient. In face of the difficulties to be overcome, in face of the trials by which faith and virtue are overthrown, you must have energy and courage. Where are you to seek them? One day two disciples, in anguish of mind, and cast down by bitterness and discouragement, were thinking anxiously of the future. A traveller met them. He spoke to them with wonderful knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. But their troubled hearts did not respond. Nor did their minds, following only their own lights with a distrust which excluded all other authority, almost as our Modernist savants do to-day, submit to His word. It was growing late, and the shades of night were adding to the darkness that filled their souls. But faithful to the law of hospitality, they constrained the mysterious traveller to abide with them. During the meal he took bread and gave it to them. And they recognised Him: *Cognoverunt eum in fractione panis.* Here is the secret of faith and of victory. Go often to the sacred banquet. May this hospitality so generously given at this Eucharistic Congress, as you once gave it to the *émigrés* priests of the French Revolution, and which you give to-day to the religious

communities of France—may this hospitality, I say, obtain for our separated brethren, troubled by the anguish of doubt which their oftentimes remarkable knowledge of the Holy Scriptures cannot resolve, that they may be touched by grace and come to see where Jesus Christ is, in recognising the Sacrament in which He hides Himself, and which the True Church has preserved for them.

And you who are Catholics already, in the midst of your sinkings of heart and the disappointments of life find fresh strength and courage for your souls in Holy Communion, as did your forefathers in the faith who sought it frequently and even daily.

United to the Church your Mother, strengthened by the living Bread come down from heaven, make the England of old live again. No one can tell what treasures of virtue and what incomparable power for good will be added to your natural qualities, and will give her in the world, along with the empire of the seas, an empire more wondrous still, that of minds and hearts! And to strengthen you in these sentiments, I am now about to call down upon you the blessing of God in the name of our Holy Father.

Once more the great audience rose to their feet and burst into cheers, renewed again and again. Then, at a sign from the platform, a hush fell upon the assembly, and the CARDINAL LEGATE gave his blessing. As His Eminence passed through the hall to the doors there was a fresh demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty.

TEXT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER AND THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDING THE PROCESSION

On Thursday morning, 10th September, the Archbishop received a private communication to the effect that the Prime

Minister desired the abandonment of the public procession. The Archbishop telegraphed immediately that he could not undertake at that late moment to alter the published arrangements unless he was authorised to state that he did so at the request of the Prime Minister, to whom, without loss of time, he addressed the following letter:—

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
September 10, 1908.

DEAR MR ASQUITH,—I have to-day received a confidential communication from Lord Ripon to the effect that you deprecate the procession, which has for many weeks been announced to take place on Sunday next, in the streets immediately adjoining my Cathedral, and for which all necessary arrangements have been made, in full concurrence with the wishes of the police authorities. It is impossible for me, consistently with my own honour, to countermand this procession unless I am able to say that I do so in accordance with a formal request from you as Prime Minister of England. Before you definitely make such a request it is only fair to you that I place before you all the circumstances of the case, and that you should realise in the completest manner the responsibility which lies before you.

1. Processions of a similar character have taken place all over England for many years past without let or hindrance of any kind. They are an annual event in many parishes in London, and are cordially welcomed even by the non-Catholic population, and the police testify to their order and regularity. The Acts and Declarations to which the Protestant societies have now called attention have never been invoked within my memory. They are universally regarded as a dead letter, and they are equally applicable to many acts which I and my colleagues perform publicly, and intend to perform publicly over and over again throughout the year. Do you intend to invoke these laws, the action of which, I understand, can only be initiated by the Government, now, when the arrival of distinguished Catholics of the highest eminence in Church and State has awakened an enthusiasm among our people such as has never been seen before, claiming in a very special manner the respectful sympathy even of those who do not think with us in religious matters? And are you prepared to do this at the bidding of a few bigoted persons, who would fain treat us as a sect to be tolerated merely on certain conditions? This is a position which we cannot accept. We claim equality with all sections of our fellow-countrymen.

2. I did not consent to the public procession until I was satisfied that the police authorities would raise no objection. Weeks ago my

intention was known, and at the present moment the police declare their full readiness and capacity to deal with any contingency that may arise. They scout the idea of danger.

3. The procession is a necessity if many thousands of Catholics all over the country, who desire to do so, are to take part in our Congress. There is not a church or hall that would hold them. Why are they alone to be debarred from making a public demonstration which would be allowed to Anarchists and Socialists?

4. Purposely I have chosen for the route very quiet streets in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cathedral. We do not touch a single main thoroughfare, and not a soul need be inconvenienced by our movements unless he comes here for that express purpose. Not only the susceptibilities but the very convenience of our Protestant fellow-countrymen have been considered in every possible way.

5. I have assured my distinguished guests that the procession has been arranged with the concurrence of the police, and that we shall be treated with every courtesy. Are you prepared at this, the last moment —when special trains have been ordered from the country and thousands of poor people have paid their fares to come to London on Sunday, when the Press of the whole world is watching the Congress— to put to dishonour not only myself but the Catholic Bishops of the whole Empire, and to make us avow before our colleagues from the United States and from every quarter of the globe that the hospitality of the capital of the Empire is not what they supposed it to be, and that your Ministry is unable to face the threats of a few fanatical persons?

On behalf of our Catholic people and of those of the whole Empire, I claim the fullest liberty for the procession on Sunday; and, if there be dangers of which I am unaware, I claim such a measure of police protection as will ensure due consideration for our honoured guests and for the mysteries of our religion. All others can claim and would receive such protection. Are you, sir, as head of a Liberal Ministry, prepared to refuse it to Catholics on a unique occasion like the present? So far, only my private secretaries are acquainted with your intervention, and there is no need that it should go beyond them. If, however, I receive before midnight to-morrow, Friday, your formal request as Prime Minister for the abandonment of the procession, all the arrangements shall be countermanded, and I shall give to the matter the fullest publicity in order that my own action may be amply vindicated.—I am, dear Mr Asquith, your very faithful servant,

✠ Francis, Archbishop of Westminster.

While this letter was on its way the Archbishop was informed that the Prime Minister's communication was of a private nature, and must on no account be divulged. On

Friday morning the Archbishop received the following letter from the Home Secretary, Mr Gladstone:—

ARCHERFIELD, DIRLETON, N.B.,
September 10, 1908.

DEAR ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER,—From the information which I have received, it appears that the proposed ceremonial procession through the public streets in London on Sunday next has aroused much feeling. I cannot think that any reasonable person would, or could, object to such a procession organised with due regard to the law and the general convenience, and designed to set forth in public the solemnities of religious faith.

But, as I am informed, the procession is to be accompanied by, and identified with, a ceremonial which is alleged to be not consistent with the law. It is not my duty to enter here into the question of law, which rests with other authority. But I need hardly remind your Grace that if these allegations are well founded, the difficulty of maintaining order is increased.

It is not my wish or intention to interfere beyond my special responsibilities, but their limitation does not preclude me from expressing the strong hope that you will take every care to secure conformity with the law of the land. I remain, with much respect, your Grace's obedient servant, H. GLADSTONE.

The Archbishop at once telegraphed to Mr Asquith, asking that his letter should be communicated to Mr Gladstone, and that he himself should be put in personal communication with some responsible official at the Home Office. In answer, Mr Asquith telegraphed as follows:—

ARCHBISHOP, ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

Received your Grace's letter and telegram. I will forward letter to Home Secretary, and am wiring him to put you at once in personal communication with official. Your Grace will understand that I have no title to intervene, and that my message through Lord Ripon was a private communication. ASQUITH.

Throughout the day no one called on the Archbishop from the Home Office, but between 4 and 5 o'clock he received the following telegram from Mr Gladstone:—

ARCHBISHOP BOURNE, ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

Glad if your Grace will communicate with Mr Troup at Home Office. GLADSTONE.

After consultation with those entitled to give an opinion, the Archbishop, between 7 and 8 o'clock, addressed the following telegram to the Prime Minister:—

PRIME MINISTER, SLAINS CASTLE, PORT ERROL, ABERDEENSHIRE.

Having considered your communication, I have decided to abandon ceremonial of which you question legality, provided that you authorise me to state publicly that I do so at your request. You must recognise the extreme urgency and delicacy of the position in which you have placed me. ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

On Saturday morning Mr Troup called on the Archbishop, who explained that, as he was in direct communication with the Prime Minister, he could only say that he was, on all occasions, ready to follow the publicly expressed wishes of the properly constituted civil authorities, but that he could not, at such a juncture, be satisfied with any private intimation. About midday the Archbishop received the following telegram:—

ARCHBISHOP, ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, LONDON.

Your telegram received last night too late to answer. Since your Grace refers matter to our judgment, I have to say that His Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be better, in the interests of order and good feeling, that the proposed ceremonial, the legality of which is open to question, should not take place. They much regret the inconvenience and disappointment which its abandonment may cause. ASQUITH.

To this he sent a reply as follows:—

PRIME MINISTER, SLAINS CASTLE, PORT ERROL, N.B.

Have received your telegram. All elements of ecclesiastical ceremonial shall, in deference to your wish as Prime Minister, be eliminated from procession. Cardinals and Bishops will walk in full Court dress of their respective ranks. Expect Government to ensure all comfort and courtesy to our honoured guests. Must, of course, explain fully and publicly the reason for the change of arrangements. ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

Towards 7 o'clock on Saturday night Mr Troup called again on the Archbishop, and the latter explained exactly the arrangements which he intended to make for the procession

and the announcement that would be made in the Albert Hall. The Archbishop desires to acknowledge the courtesy and consideration shown by Mr Troup in this and the previous conversation.

On his return from the Albert Hall the Archbishop found the following telegram from the Prime Minister awaiting him:—

ARCHBISHOP, ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, LONDON.

I have received with much satisfaction your Grace's telegram informing me of the change in the arrangements, which entirely removes all reasonable cause of objection. Your Grace is, of course, at liberty to state publicly the reasons which have led you to sanction the change. Every care will be taken to ensure due respect and courtesy for your distinguished guests. ASQUITH.

The following was also received from the Home Secretary:—

ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

I wish to assure your Grace that strict instructions have been given to the police to take every precaution to protect the procession to-morrow from insult or annoyance. GLADSTONE.

This correspondence was made public on the following Monday after the abandonment of the Eucharistic Procession had been announced on Saturday night. The comments which it elicited in the more important public journals will be found quoted or summarised in Appendix A.

Sunday, 13th September

THE LEGATE'S MASS

On Sunday there was general Communion in all the churches of the Metropolis, and in many of them a bishop celebrated at the principal early Mass. The altar rails were crowded, and in several of the churches the celebrant had to be assisted by another priest in the distribution of Holy Communion.

By ten o'clock the Cathedral was filled with worshippers waiting for the great Pontifical ceremony. It was the Cardinal Legate himself who sang the Mass. While the preceding functions had been in a measure sectional, this united all. In due time—half-past ten—the procession entered: the Cathedral choir, the clerics, Cathedral chaplains, the Metropolitan chapter, mitred abbots in white copes and white mitres, bishops and archbishops in copes and mitres of cloth of gold, the assistants of the Mass; then the Cardinal Legate in sacred vestments and wearing the precious mitre, while, following His Eminence, came the members of the Pontifical Mission and the Cardinal's personal attendants. After the Cardinal celebrant appeared the other Cardinals in their scarlet robes, attended by their chaplains, and the Archbishop of Westminster in his cappa magna of violet. The protonotaries apostolic, domestic prelates, papal chamberlains, generals of religious orders, and representatives of absent bishops, brought up the rear.

It was a wonderful vista of colour, to which the Cathedral itself formed an artistic setting. The magnificent collection of flowers, the gift of the Catholics of France, was suitably bestowed with an eye to picturesque effect. And the associa-

tions and recollections! Not since Cardinal Pole sang Mass in old St Paul's, or in the great Abbey Church, but a few hundred yards away, had a Papal Legate pontificated in England. Nor in the days of Queen Mary could the grand ritual of the Church have been carried out with such surroundings, nor in the presence of four cardinals and of so large and so universally representative a body of bishops and priests. The Mass, too, was that known as "Missa Papae Marcelli," by Pierluigi da Palestrina, selected in honour of the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, and it was sung by the Cathedral choir with such perfection as would have merited the praise of the Venetian ambassador who, being on a visit to this country during the reign of Henry VIII., wrote to his Government that the English Church music was the singing of angels rather than of men.

Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, preached the sermon, which is here given in full. The beautiful flowers—65,000 bunches, some of them very costly—which, as already stated, were the offering of the Catholics of France for the procession of the Blessed Sacrament (see Appendix C), were used to decorate the triforium of the Cathedral.

SERMON BY CARDINAL GIBBONS

"I say unto you that many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven."—MATT. viii. 11.

I esteem it a great honour and privilege that members of the hierarchy of the United States should unite with their brethren of the British Isles and of the Continent of Europe in celebrating among you this Love-Feast of the Eucharist, gathered as we are around the altar, "like a fruitful vine on the walls of God's house, and like olive plants around His table."

I am indebted for the favour conferred on me to the kind partiality of your beloved Archbishop, whose pressing invitation I accepted as a command. And in appearing before you

I am endeavouring to pay a debt of gratitude to the Archdiocese of Westminster—for, when we celebrated, some years ago, the centenary of the establishment of the American Catholic hierarchy, Cardinal Manning was worthily represented in Baltimore by one of his venerable colleagues. We earnestly hope that the occasion, suggestive of your goodwill to your brethren beyond the seas, may contribute to strengthen the bond of fellowship between the clergy and people of England and of the United States.

But there are other and higher reasons than personal friendship to justify the participation by American prelates in the ceremonies of to-day. Though we are separated from you by an immense ocean, we are united with you, thank God, in the heritage of a common faith. We, across the Atlantic, claim, as well as you, to be the spiritual children of Gregory, Augustine and Patrick, of Alban and Venerable Bede, of Anselm and Thomas of Canterbury, of Peter and Pius; we have with you, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." Yes, our kinship is stronger and more enduring than that which is created by flesh and blood. When I entered your Cathedral this morning, I could say to you all in the name of my countrymen, and in the language of the Apostle of the Gentiles: "We are no more strangers and foreigners, but we are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone." This sentiment inspires me with confidence, and makes me feel at home; for I am addressing you as brothers in the faith, and I can speak to you with all the warmth and affection of the same apostle: "My mouth is open to you," fellow-Catholics of England, "my heart is enlarged."

Yes, my brethren, the same faith that Peter preached in Rome, and Paul in Athens, the faith that Augustine brought to England, and Patrick to Ireland, the faith that Remigius preached in France, and that your own Boniface taught in Germany, the same faith that Columbus carried to America, this is the faith that is announced to you and to us from January to December: "Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day, and the same for ever."

But we inherit not only the traditions of your Christian faith: we inherit also the traditions of your civil and political freedom. The Great Charter of Liberty, which Cardinal Langton of Canterbury and the English barons secured from King John, on the meadow of Runnymede, is the basis of our constitutional liberties. We share with you in the fruit of your victories.

We have not only a common heritage of civil and political freedom, but we also speak the same language—the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare, of Pope and Dryden, of Tennyson and Newman. The steady growth of the English-speaking Church during the last three centuries is truly gratifying, and may be considered phenomenal. At the Council of Trent, held in the sixteenth century, there were present only four bishops who spoke our tongue; one came from England and three from Ireland. Scotland was not represented. The American continent had but recently been discovered, and Australasia was a *terra incognita*. There are now upwards of two hundred bishops ruling dioceses where English is the prevailing language. An English-speaking hierarchy is established in England, Ireland, and Scotland, the United States and Canada, the East Indies and Australasia. And should another Œcumenical Council be held during the present century, there is no doubt that every division of our globe would be largely represented by English-speaking prelates professing the ancient faith, and paying spiritual allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff of Rome.

The Church in the United States has another bond of union with the Church in Great Britain, and that is your Catholic literature. Not to mention the classic writers of England, whose domain is as wide as the British Empire, the Catholic authors who flourished among you in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are household names among us. Our clergy and educated laity are almost as familiar as you are with the writings of Bishop Hay, Bishop Challoner and Dr Milner, of Alban Butler and Dr Lingard, of Father Faber and Father Coleridge, and of the three illustrious Cardinals who have shed an unfading lustre on the Church in England by their literary labours as well as by their apostolic lives—I refer to the immortal triumviri, Wiseman, Newman, and Manning.

We have not only the same language and literature, but we live under practically the same system of government. You are ruled by a constitutional monarchy; we are ruled by a constitutional republic. The head of our nation is the President; the head of your nation is the King, the son and successor of a Queen, whose long and prosperous reign will be ever memorable in the annals of England, and whose domestic virtues commanded the veneration and love of her subjects, and the admiration of the civilised world. Though the forms of government differ in name, they are the same in their practical results. We both enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty. Our respective governments hold over us the ægis of their protection without interfering with us in the exercise of our sacred functions.

This remark may be specially emphasised in regard to your colonies. I have conversed with Bishops from Canada, from Australia, New Zealand, and other possessions of the British Empire, and they were all loud in their praise of the freedom which they enjoy as prelates of the Catholic Church.

I need not dwell on the vast extent of the British territory, which embraces about ten millions of square miles, or about one-fifth of the surface of the globe. The old Roman Empire was colossal in proportions. It extended into Europe as far as the river Danube, into Africa as far as Mauritania, and into Asia as far as the Tigris and Euphrates. Yet the Roman Empire formed scarcely a sixth part of the dimensions of the British dominions. Daniel Webster, one of America's foremost statesmen, thus speaks of the British Empire: "She has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, encircles the earth with one unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

It has been justly observed that, two thousand years ago, the great Roman Empire, with its splendid system of public roads, afforded the apostles and their immediate successors exceptional facilities for traversing the provinces and announcing the Gospel to the Gentile world. And does not the same observation apply, with still greater force, to the mighty British Empire of to-day? She has a commercial network

extending over oceans and continents, and should not God's ministers avail themselves of this providential agency for the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ?

O my brethren of England! what a vast field is open to your zeal and activity! May your missionary sons be endowed with the apostolic spirit of Augustine, Wilfrid, and Patrick! May they succeed in preaching the Gospel wherever England establishes her laws! May they be as zealous in conquering souls as British statesmen are in acquiring territory! May they extend the kingdom of Christ wherever England enlarges her temporal dominion; may they erect a house of prayer wherever she builds a fort, and may they determine to plant the cross, the symbol of salvation, side by side with the banner of St George! And may America engage in holy emulation with England in spreading the Gospel of peace and the blessings of Christian civilisation, and may apostles spring forth in our country to carry the faith into every region wherever float the stars and stripes.

I am sure that you will all agree with me, that the sister isle has done her duty in the cause of Catholic missionary labour. Whatever have been the unhappy causes that have led to the expatriation of so many of Ireland's sons and daughters from their native soil, Almighty God has made their exile subservient to higher and holier purposes. I can safely say that there is scarcely a city or town in the United States or Australia, where the Catholic religion has not been proclaimed by priests and supported by laymen of Irish birth or parentage.

There is another country across the Channel, which has set an example of noble zeal to England and America. At the close of the eighteenth century, many of the noblest clergy of France, driven from their native land by the storm of the French Revolution, sought refuge in England, where they were graciously received, and hospitably entertained. And it is well known how they endeared themselves to the British people by their refined manners and gentle Christian deportment, as well as by their apostolic zeal and the edifying example of their private lives. For three centuries after the discovery of the American continent, heroic missionaries from Catholic France

were labouring in evangelising and civilising the aboriginal tribes of North America, traversing the country always at the risk, and often at the sacrifice, of their lives. And, as a result of their labours, there are few Indian tribes to-day in the United States or Canada that do not know and venerate the "black robes." If those heroic men accomplished so much when they had no boats but frail canoes; no roads but eternal snows, and virgin forests and desert wastes; no compass but the naked eye; no guide save faith, and hope, and God—how much more will your consecrated sons be able to effect by means of railways and steamships and other appliances of modern civilisation? Yes, we bless you, O men of genius; be blessed your inventions and discoveries. We hail you as agents of God; we will impress you into the service of religion, and we will say with the Royal Prophet: "Sun and moon, bless the Lord; fire and heat, bless the Lord; lightnings and clouds, bless the Lord; all ye works of the Lord, bless the Lord, praise and exalt Him above all for ever."

And as an additional incentive to stimulate your pious enthusiasm, and to arouse your zeal in diffusing around you the blessings of Christian faith, our Holy Father, Leo XIII., of happy memory, sets forth in glowing terms the golden opportunities that lie before you. He portrays in luminous language the noble character of your countrymen. As Gregory the Great was drawn towards the enslaved Angles in Rome by the comeliness of their countenances, so is Leo attracted towards the free and enlightened Britons by their elevated qualities of mind and heart. In his Apostolic Letter of 1895 he enlarges on the distinguishing traits of the English people. He admires your candour, your sense of justice and humanity. He praises your social virtues and your successful efforts in uplifting the poor and the working-classes; your munificence in founding institutions for decrepit old age and abandoned youth; in building hospitals for the alleviation of every form of suffering humanity; and in the establishment of houses of correction and reformation for the criminal and depraved. He dwells on your commercial enterprise and activity, extending over the civilised world the good order and stability of your government; the respect for religion and for the Christian

Sabbath, and the veneration in which the Sacred Scriptures are held throughout the land. If to the blessings just enumerated were superadded unity in Christian belief, this bond of sacred fellowship would, in the judgment of the Holy Father, largely contribute to the peace and happiness of domestic life, and to the strength and security of the British Empire at home and abroad. Yes, my brethren, Gregory still speaks through Leo. The same zeal that Gregory exhibited at the close of the sixth century for England's conversion, Leo displayed at the close of the nineteenth for the restoration and development of the Catholic religion in your beloved country. And the same homage and filial reverence that Augustine paid to Gregory, your prelates render to Pius, our reigning Pontiff. They recognise the same divinely-appointed principle of authority, and are guided and cheered by the same voice that spoke to your first great Apostle.

But there are still stronger and more enduring ties binding the Catholic Church of America to the Church of England.

Maryland, the mother Church of the United States, was founded by English Catholics. Leonard Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and the leader of the English Catholic colony, desirous of securing liberty of worship for his co-religionists, sailed with them from Cowes, Isle of Wight, in the *Ark* and the *Dove*—fitting messengers to carry the fortunes of the pioneer pilgrims. They reached their destination on the banks of the Potomac, in 1634. This colony of British Catholics was the first to establish on American soil the blessings of civil and religious liberty. While the Puritans of New England persecuted other Christians, and while the Episcopalians of Virginia persecuted Puritans, Catholic Maryland gave freedom and hospitality to Puritans and Episcopalians alike. In the words of Bancroft: "The foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. . . . But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws; but through the benign administration of the government of that province, no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ was permitted to be molested on account of religion. Under

the munificence and superintending mildness of Lord Baltimore, a dreary wilderness was soon quickened with swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics, who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbours of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered from Protestant intolerance. Such were the beautiful auspices under which Maryland started into being. Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration."

I will add one more link to the chain of hallowed associations between the Catholic Church in England and America. The first Bishop of the United States was consecrated in England by an English prelate. John Carroll, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Patriarch of the American Church, was consecrated in 1790 in the chapel at Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, the ancestral seat of Thomas Weld. When the proprietor of Lulworth heard of the appointment of Dr Carroll, he invited him to be his guest. May the Lord show mercy to thee, Thomas Weld, for the hospitality thou didst extend to the infant Church of America in the person of her first Bishop, my venerable predecessor! The consecrating prelate was Bishop Walmesley, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western district. Dr Walmesley was not only conspicuous for his piety and zeal as a churchman, but he was also an eminent scientist. In 1752 he was invited by the English Government to co-operate with other learned men in arranging the Gregorian Calendar and adapting it to Great Britain. One of the acolytes on the occasion of the consecration was Mr Weld's eldest son; he became the future Cardinal Weld, and was conspicuous as a member of the Sacred College. The Rev. Charles Plowden, of the Society of Jesus, and an intimate friend of Dr Carroll, preached the consecration sermon. He foreshadowed with prophetic vision the future growth and development of the American Church. As she was no longer fettered by repressive laws, but breathed the air of liberty, she would increase with giant strength.

"As we, in former ages," said the speaker, "received the faith of Rome from the great St Gregory, and our Apostle St Austin, so now, at an interval of twelve hundred years, our Venerable Prelate, the heir of the virtues and labour of our

Apostle, will this day, by commission from the successor of St Gregory, consecrate the first Father and Bishop of the new church, destined, as we confide, to inherit those benedictions which the first called have ungratefully rejected. Glorious is this day for the Church of God, which sees new nations crowding into her bosom; glorious for the Prelate-elect, who goes forth to conquer these nations for Jesus Christ; not by the efforts of human power, but in the might of those weapons that have ever triumphed in this divine warfare." He asserted that the daughter would one day outstrip the mother in the multitude of her spiritual children. The prophecy has indeed been fulfilled. The daughter excels the mother in the wealth of her institutions, and in the number of her bishops, clergy, and laity.

But, my brethren, while claiming this pre-eminence, we acknowledge, with filial reverence, that the mother has higher prerogatives to which the daughter must joyfully yield: "*Multae filiae congregaverunt divitias, tu supergressa es universas.*" Many daughters have gathered together riches: thou, O Mother, hast surpassed them all. Thou dost excel the daughter in the wealth and splendour of thy venerable and hallowed traditions, in the effulgent host of thy glorious martyrs and illustrious confessors of the faith.

On this auspicious day, which marks a new epoch in the history of the Catholic Church in England, it would be interesting and instructive, if I had the time, to form a comparison between the present condition of the English Church and her situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The great religious revolution of the sixteenth century had spread like a tornado over northern Europe. More than half of Germany adopted the teachings of its new apostle. Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and all Scandinavia followed in the same path. Calvinism in the sixteenth century, and Voltairism in the eighteenth, had wrought such havoc in France that twice the fate of that great Catholic nation trembled in the balance. Ireland alone, of all the nations of the north, remained loyal to the ancient creed. England and Scotland broke off their allegiance to the Holy See. At the close of the eighteenth century, the Church in England had not yet recovered from the shock of the great upheaval. Her children steered their course

in the barque of Peter under reefed sails, not knowing when the abating storm might be renewed with increased violence. The spiritual administration of the whole island was confided to four vicars-apostolic. They were aided by about one hundred and twenty priests, scattered up and down the country. A few modest chapels, which could not be dignified with the name of Christian temples, were established here and there, and chiefly in the great commercial centres; and the entire Catholic population was estimated by Dr Milner at 70,000.

Let us now calmly survey the scene after the din and smoke of battle have passed away; when penal laws are happily abolished, and when the scales of prejudice have fallen from the eyes of the English people, and when they stand forth in the full light of their sturdy manhood, and their generous, warm-hearted character. We see, to-day, a hierarchy composed of an Archbishop with fifteen suffragans; three thousand priests, ministering to a Catholic population of one million and a half. This consoling result is due, under God, to the zeal of the bishops and clergy, and to the generous co-operation of the laity. I may also add that, if the Catholic Church is viewed with so much respect and benevolence by the people of England, this circumstance may be ascribed in no small measure to the fact that the Catholic hierarchy, and especially the three Cardinals, Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan, who have ruled the diocese of Westminster, have not only comported themselves as devoted churchmen, but that they have taken a personal, loyal, and vital interest in every measure that contributed to the moral, social, and economic welfare of their beloved country.

Oh, what a change has come over the face of this city since the death of Bishop Challoner, one hundred and twenty-seven years ago! So stringent and oppressive were the religious restrictions in his day, that he was obliged to observe the utmost circumspection in breaking the Bread of Life and dispensing the Word of God to his scattered flock. His latter days were embittered by beholding his chapels ruthlessly destroyed by a mob in the turmoil of the "Gordon Riots." He could almost literally say with the Prophet Elias: "With zeal

have I been zealous for the Lord of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, they have destroyed Thy altars; they have slain Thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life, to take it away" (3 Kings xix.). If his venerable form were to appear before us to-day he would behold this august temple radiant with all the splendour of our ceremonial, amid the enthusiastic joy of the Catholic nobility, gentry, and people of Great Britain and Ireland, and with the benevolent interest of our separated brethren and the great organs of public opinion.

Over fifty years ago, after the re-establishment of the English Catholic hierarchy, at the synod of Oscott, the illustrious Dr Newman preached that sermon on the "Second Spring," in which, in his own matchless style and silvery voice, he spoke of the hopes and prospects of the Church in England, after the winter of her tribulations had passed away. Had God spared him to our day, with what eloquence could he have portrayed to you how the Spring had bloomed and ripened into Summer; and, as a proof of this development, he might have pointed to this mystical tree of life, under whose stately arches we are all assembled, spreading its branches far and wide, so that from henceforth thousands may be sheltered beneath its ample shade, and be nourished by its perennial fruit of grace and sanctification. All honour to the Catholic nobility, gentry, and commonalty of Great Britain and Ireland who, amid trials and persecutions, have preserved their faith unsullied; who regarded the name of Catholic as more precious than any earthly civic title, like the Hebrew lawgiver, who "chose rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to have the pleasure of sin for a time, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the Egyptians." When the bishops, clergy, and people are united as you are, there is no such word as fail; you are sure to succeed. You form a triple cord which cannot be easily broken. And why should you not co-operate with the bishops and clergy in advancing the cause of truth and righteousness? Do not you and they claim God as your common Father? Are you not brothers and sisters of the same Christ? Are you not sanctified by the same Holy Spirit? "There are diversities of graces, but the

same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord; who worketh all in all." Are not your interests alike? Are you not all in the same barque of Peter, subject to the same storms, and steering towards the same eternal shores, prospective citizens of the same celestial kingdom? If any nation has reason to join hands with its spiritual rulers, and to glory in its Catholic traditions, that nation is England. From the sixth to the sixteenth century, when "the whole land was of one tongue and of one speech," the history of Great Britain is emblazoned with the names of Christian princes, and prelates, and people, who have reflected unfading renown on their country by their sturdy manhood, their unswerving loyalty to country, and their deep-rooted faith. Though often portrayed by unfriendly hands, prejudice has not been able to obscure their glory or tarnish their fame. England's prestige would have suffered if these illustrious names had never been inscribed on her roll of honour.

Walk, my brethren, in the footsteps of your pious ancestors. Let it be your aim in life that the Church's heavenly mission of giving light to them that sit in darkness, and of comforting the broken-hearted, may increase day by day, until England's future achievements for God and country may equal, if not surpass, her former record, even as Jerusalem's new temple excelled the old. "Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about and see: all these are gathered together, they are come to thee: thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall rise up at thy side. Then shalt thou see and abound, and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee" May these words of Isaiah be a prophecy of the good things yet to be revealed to the Church in England, as well as a vision of her past glory. Take a loyal, personal interest in all that concerns the temporal and spiritual welfare of your cherished country. No one should be a drone in the social hive. Let no man be an indifferent spectator of the civil and political events occurring around him. When we are enrolled

in the army of the Lord our duty to our country is not diminished but increased. As you all enjoy the protection of a strong and enlightened government, so should each man have a share in sustaining the burden of the Commonwealth. Above all, have an abiding and a vital concern for all that affects the welfare of your holy religion. Let the words of the Psalmist be your inspiring watchword: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do not remember thee, if I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy."

And now, my dear Archbishop, I beg to assure your Grace that I am not using any conventional phrase when I offer you my hearty congratulations on the consummation of your cherished wishes after the many months of anxious thought to which you have been subjected. It must be a source of profound gratification to you to be surrounded on this solemn and joyous occasion by your brethren of the episcopate and of the clergy of the British Isles, of various portions of the Continent of Europe, and of North and South America, and Mexico, Australasia, the Philippines, and South Africa, and by so many of the Catholic nobility, gentry, and people of England, assembled together under the inspiration and invocation of the divine Shepherd who is the Soul and Centre of our worship, and who is to be "our reward exceeding great." And it is a special honour to us all to have in our midst the Legate of the Pope, his Eminence Vincent Vannutelli, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, who is the officiating Pontiff in this festive celebration.

May this spiritual banquet of the Eucharist of which we partake nourish in our hearts a greater love and devotion for Jesus Christ our Saviour, and loyalty towards His Vicar upon earth; may it draw us all, bishops, priests, and people, closer together in the bonds of Christian fellowship and brotherhood; and may this Love-Feast be an earnest and foretaste of the heavenly banquet at which we shall recline with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, to be for ever "inebriated with the plenty of God's house, and to drink of the torrent of delights."

LUNCHEON IN THE CATHEDRAL HALL

After the High Mass, the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER entertained a large assembly of prelates and distinguished guests, more than a hundred and seventy in number, at luncheon in the Cathedral Hall. The PAPAL LEGATE presided. The ARCHBISHOP proposed the toast of the Pope in the following words:—

My Lord Cardinal, your Eminences, my Lords, Reverend Fathers, and Gentlemen,—There is one present with us in spirit from the beginning to the end of our Eucharistic Congress whose name cannot be left unuttered before we leave this table, our Holy Father the Pope, and I ask you all to drink to his long life and happiness, and that God may bless and prosper him in every undertaking to which he lays his hands. Already those who at the outset of his reign sought to forecast a Pontificate unmarked by great events have come to recognise that in five brief years he has placed a stamp upon the Church's history which will not be easily effaced. And if we take the acts which one by one denote his strong resolve to "restore all things in Christ," beneath them all we see the vivifying force of his desire to make the Blessed Sacrament the source of Christian life in all his children, without distinction of race, or social position, or opportunities of education.

If the world is to be Christian again in deed as well as name, devotion to the Holy Eucharist as taught by Pius X. will be the main factor of this transformation. May he live to see some part at least of the fruits of this tree of regeneration which he has fostered with so much care.

You will not think it out of place, my Lord Cardinal, if I say now my heartfelt word of thanks to my brethren who have come hither, even from the ends of the earth, to do honour in this great city to the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar. You, my Lord Cardinal of Baltimore, claim my first and very special thanks for the fatigue of a long journey undertaken at my call, and for the eloquence of the words in which you made yourself the faithful spokesman of many thousands of devoted hearts. To all alike I offer the sincere gratitude of my own heart and

of all the Catholic people of England. Cardinals of Holy Roman Church from Ireland linked to us by so many ties of blood; from France and Belgium, ever sharing in our vicissitudes; from Italy, dear to the heart of every Englishman; from Spain, the most generous of all the givers to our great Metropolitan Church; and if Germany is not represented in the same degree, it is solely because constraining reasons of health have prevented his Eminence Cardinal Fischer from fulfilling his long-avowed intention. Prelates, too, of every degree, from every clime, you have given to our country the spectacle of the Church's absolute unity of faith. Too numerous to mention one by one, to all of you alike, I offer you my undying thanks.

Your names, your sees, your countries will be enshrined in our grateful memories.

My Lord Cardinal, there is no need for me to unite your name with that of him whose health we pledge, for by his own act, in naming you his Legate, our Sovereign Spiritual Lord has joined you on this occasion inseparably with himself.

It is not for me to testify to the manner in which you have accomplished your exalted task. Let it suffice for me to say that the name of the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina will live for ever in the annals of our English Church as the first Legate sent to us from Papal Rome since the days of our captivity were ended, that this gift of Pontifical benevolence is enhanced most nobly by him who is its bearer, and that we are deeply grateful to your Eminence for all that you have done to give this Congress its full complement of success.

Your Eminences, my lords and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of our Holy Father the Pope, Pius X.

In responding to this speech the CARDINAL LEGATE, speaking in French, said:

Éminences, Messeigneurs, Messieurs, — Je remercie bien sincèrement Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Westminster des vœux qu'il vient d'exprimer avec tant de délicatesse et d'éloquence pour Sa Sainteté Pie X.

Je remercie aussi Sa Grâce pour les paroles bienveillantes adressées, à celui qui, malgré son insuffisance, a l'insigne honneur d'être ici le Cardinal Légat de ce grand Pontife.

Je suis sûr d'être l'interprète des sentiments de Sa Sainteté en affirmant qu'elle aura pour très agréables les manifestations incomparables dont j'ai été le témoin si édifié et si consolé pendant ces jours bénis du Congrès Eucharistique célébré dans cette grande capitale avec tant d'éclat et de succès!

Dès à présent je puis dire, que rien ne lui causera une plus vive satisfaction, que cet empressement et ce concert unanime d'illustres Princes de l'Église, de Pasteurs si méritants, de tant de peuples accourus ici pour le Congrès, réunis tous dans les mêmes sentiments de foi entr'eux et avec le Chef de l'Église.

Il sera spécialement satisfait quand je lui dirai quel a été le principal artisan de l'organisation merveilleuse de ces solennelles Assises, au-dessus de toute comparaison; quand je lui dirai l'ordre parfait, le recueillement si édifiant des cérémonies religieuses, l'attitude du peuple catholique, qui a reçu avec un entrain si spontané et si cordial le Légat du Pape. Oui, c'est à l'Archevêque de Westminster qu'est principalement due la marche à tous égards parfaite du Congrès de Londres; à lui nos félicitations, à lui nos remerciements, ainsi qu'à tous ceux qui l'ont secondé, dans cette tâche délicate et complexe, avec tant de dévouement, de distinction et de patience.

Je le remercie d'avoir rendu si douce et si facile la mission que m'avait confiée le Souverain Pontife; je ne suis pas moins reconnaissant aux Éminentissimes Collègues et aux Vénérables Archevêques et Évêques, pour les marques qu'ils m'ont données de leurs sympathies si précieuses.

Je ne veux pas manquer de remercier aussi les vaillants orateurs qui pour la glorification de la très Sainte Eucharistie et pour l'affirmation de la fidélité au Saint Père ont porté au Congrès la vigueur et l'éloquence de leur parole. Parmi eux je tiens à signaler d'une manière spéciale un illustre Catholique ici présent, estimé et aimé en Angleterre et ailleurs, Sa Grâce Monseigneur le Duc de Norfolk.

Remercions tous ensemble Dieu l'auteur de tout bien, et auquel, avec le Pape, je renvoie toute la gloire d'une œuvre qui

est la sienne! Et après avoir acclamé Sa Sainteté, je crois me rendre l'interprète des sentiments intimes des Princes de l'Église, des Prélats et hauts personnages réunis autour de cette table en vous invitant à lever le verre en l'honneur et à la prospérité de l'Angleterre Catholique, de ses Évêques et en particulier de Sa Grâce Mgr. l'Archevêque de Westminster!

[TRANSLATION]

I thank you most sincerely, my lord Archbishop of Westminster, for the good wishes which you have just expressed with so much delicacy and eloquence for His Holiness Pius X. I also thank your Grace for the kindly words addressed to him who, notwithstanding his unworthiness, has the high honour on this occasion of being the Cardinal Legate of this great Pontiff. I am sure that I interpret the feelings of His Holiness when I say that he will be deeply gratified by the incomparable demonstrations which I have witnessed with so much edification and consolation during these blessed days of the Eucharistic Congress, celebrated in this great capital with such great splendour and success. And I can say now that nothing will give him livelier satisfaction than the unanimous earnestness and harmony of the illustrious Princes of the Church, of the worthy Pastors, and of the multitude of people come hither for the Congress, all united in the same sentiments of faith amongst themselves and with the Head of the Church. His Holiness will derive special satisfaction when I tell him who has been the chief director of the wonderful organisation of these solemn meetings, but above all when I tell him of the perfect order, the edifying piety manifested at the religious ceremonies, and the attitude of Catholics who have received with such spontaneous and hearty enthusiasm the Legate of the Pope. Yes, it is to the Archbishop of Westminster that the success of the Congress of London—perfect in every way—is due; to him our congratulations and thanks go forth, and also to all those who have assisted him in this delicate and complicated task with so much devotedness, tact, and patience.

I thank you for having made so pleasant and so light the mission with which the Sovereign Pontiff entrusted me; and I

am no less grateful to my Eminent Colleagues, and the Archbishops and Bishops for the marks which they have given me of their sympathy, which is very dear to me. Nor must I omit to thank the fearless speakers, who, in honour of the Holy Eucharist and for the declaration of their fidelity to the Holy Father, have brought to the Congress the vigour and eloquence of their speech. Amongst them I would make mention in a special way of an illustrious Catholic here present who is held in high esteem and love in England and elsewhere, his Grace the Duke of Norfolk.

Let us all thank God, the author of all good, to whom with the Pope I refer all the glory of a work so entirely His own! And now that you have saluted the Pope, I think I shall but be interpreting the heartfelt feelings of the Princes of the Church, of the Prelates and high personages seated round this table, if I ask you to raise your glasses in honour of and for the prosperity of Catholic England and its Bishops, and especially of his Grace the Archbishop of Westminster.

The senior Bishop of the Hierarchy, the Bishop of Newport, then gracefully proposed the Archbishop's health in laudatory terms, and his Grace made a short and feeling reply.

THE PROCESSION

Solemn Vespers were sung in the Cathedral at three o'clock, and the long array of Clergy, Bishops, and Cardinals, filing out of the sacristy, passed through a congregation which, even within the building, numbered several thousands. But outside a multitude had meanwhile been assembling which defied computation, and all along the route they had taken up their places, some as mere spectators, but the great majority as would-be participants in the great demonstration which was to follow. Of these a quite considerable number had come from a distance. Travelling during the night by special trains from all parts of the kingdom, and from the Continent, they had only

reached their destination on the Sunday morning. But even this was early enough to allow many of them to make their Communion in one or other of the London churches. So far as the procession was concerned, everything had been mapped out with careful attention to detail. Each mission or contingent had its allotted place marked by an "indicator" bearing the name of the town or parish in bold lettering. A "guard of honour," consisting of men and lads wearing yellow and white armlets, had volunteered their services to stand in close array all along the line, while it was intended that the representatives of the congregations to which each detachment respectively belonged should be massed behind them. To some extent this was carried out successfully, but the swelling crowds, the unequal pressure from the side streets, and the movement of unattached onlookers during the hours of waiting sometimes disconcerted these well-conceived plans. Thus it happened that at many points when the route was finally cleared, the "guards" became a rear-guard, being forced into the background behind several rows of late-comers, generally quite unconscious of the disturbance they were causing.

Taking it altogether, it was an orderly and reverential crowd. Catholics enormously preponderated in numbers, while those outside the Fold were for the most part peaceable, respectful, and interested onlookers. There were a few exceptions. Here and there a noisy band of assertive Protestants raised their voices in a rival hymn, and at two or three points there were attempts—in some cases almost successful—to break through the police cordon. But to those with a knowledge of London crowds and their ways, there was at no time anything approaching serious danger or disturbance, although some timid folk unused to street crushes subsequently wrote to the newspapers recounting wild tales of their sufferings. The time occupied in waiting for the procession was not unemployed. From hundreds of throats rose well-known hymns:—"God Bless Our Pope," "O Salutaris,"

"Faith of Our Fathers," and others. Foremost among the singers was the splendid contingent of men from Manchester and Salford, many hundreds strong. Their hearty accord and homogeneity afforded a useful lesson to the organisers of any future demonstration, if such should ever take place in London again.

As regards the hostile element, Rochester Row was perhaps the worst corner, and some ugly rushes were experienced before the procession passed. However, this was not entirely due to rowdyism, but really to the fact that the mass of people was so great that the slightest move from the back of the crowd gained force on those in front to such an extent that the momentum became irresistible. Still, even there no serious accidents occurred. At most the services of the ambulance corps were occasionally requisitioned for a woman who had fainted in the crush.

Contiguous to Rochester Row was another danger zone, namely, Coburg Row, but here 200 Brothers of the Little Oratory, in their robes, had taken up position, and when the pressure came, the manner in which they held the ground was a revelation. Linked arm-in-arm, they stood a solid phalanx across the wide roadway, and not all the strain from the back could make them budge an inch, the result being that the procession passed that point with the greatest comfort. All along the route there had been attempts at decoration. Over the Cathedral itself the Papal Flag and the Union Jack flew side by side, proclaiming to friend and foe alike our loyalty to Church and State. In Ashley Place, facing the Cathedral, there were trophies of flags and flowers. The convent in Carlisle Place had been transformed. Sacred texts on a crimson background framed in artificial flowers, lent to the whole the effect of brilliant colouring. Elsewhere, lines of bannerettes were attached to poles entwined with evergreens and streamed across the roadway. Not a few of the balconies overlooking the route of the procession were draped and garlanded, while

almost all the windows were packed with spectators—these latter sometimes including a group of nuns, conspicuous from afar in their white and black religious habit.

It was about four o'clock when the master of ceremonies emerged from the Cathedral to head the procession. In accordance with the Archbishop's undertaking to the Prime Minister, "all elements of ecclesiastical ceremonial" were to be eliminated. Consequently the Cardinals, Bishops, and other clergy who took part in the demonstration were attired only "in the full court dress of their respective rank." So strictly was this understanding respected, that even the members of religious orders, in deference to the doubt that might be raised concerning the legality of the monastic habit when worn out of doors, donned ordinary clerical attire, though they carried at the same time their habits over their arms, by way of silent protest. But even shorn as it was of the splendour which would have been conferred by rich vestments, costly banners, torches, incense, and silken canopies, the spectacle of that vast array of clergy, with Prelates, Bishops, and Princes of the Church, was a stupendously imposing one. To the average onlooker, a bishop in his rochet and violet mantelletta was as impressive a figure as a bishop in cope and mitre, and the crimson cappa of the metropolitan chapter was not less picturesque than a gold embroidered chasuble. It was above all in its numbers, its variety, and its enthusiastic surroundings that the demonstration was so magnificent. The eight hundred servers of the Guild of St Stephen in their cassocks and cottas, the ranks upon ranks of religious and secular priests, the Canons in their mozettas, the striking robes of the Greek Uniate clergy, the Abbots of the religious orders, the double line of Bishops and Archbishops attended by their chaplains—all these led up in the most striking way to the imposing person of the Legate in his splendid Cardinal's robes, followed by his train-bearer and attended by his suite and guard of honour. Eight peers of the

realm—the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Ashburnham, the Earl of Gainsborough, Viscount Gormanston, Viscount Southwell, Lord North, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Lord Louth—with other gentlemen of distinction—Lord Edmund Talbot, Lord Ninian Stuart, Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, the Hon. Walter Constable Maxwell, the Hon. Richard Preston, and two members of the French Senate—formed a distinguished escort to the noble and ascetic Prince of the Church, who overtopped them all in stature. At a little distance behind followed the other Cardinals, each a blaze of colour in his robes of royal "purple," which to our eyes is practically scarlet, and each attended by his chaplain and train-bearer. Then another master of ceremonies, walking alone, drew attention to the coming of the Archbishop of Westminster in his violet cappa magna; and finally the rear-guard was formed by a dense array of Monsignori of various grades, the lesser "porporati," who, with many distinguished members of the laity, brought the procession to a seemly close.

Of the enthusiasm which everywhere attended the passing of that magnificent array, it is hard to give an idea. If it had ceased to be in any strict sense a religious function, it had gained as a popular demonstration, representing loyalty to the Church, respect for the Sovereign Pontiff in the person of his Legate, and faith in the Mystery of the Blessed Eucharist. As there were no longer the outward manifestations of the presence of the Divine Victim to command religious awe, the people gave full vent to their enthusiasm. In the more densely packed areas cheer succeeded cheer, the clamour reaching a climax of frenzy when the Legate came into view, and if for a moment it died down after his passing, it quickly revived again in the presence of the other Cardinals and of the well-known figure of the Archbishop of Westminster. Perhaps no more striking comment upon the vehemence displayed by the crowd could be found than in the impressions

communicated next day by Cardinal Gibbons to a *Times* representative:—

"The enthusiasm of the people," said His Eminence, "was extraordinary. Such cheering! It was one continuous roar of applause from the moment we left the Cathedral to the moment we returned to it again.

"So deafening was the shout that Cardinal Logue and I, walking side by side, found it impossible to exchange a remark the whole way.

"And if our people were intensely enthusiastic, the non-Catholics were most respectful and reverential. I did not see or hear anything unpleasant, even in the slightest degree, throughout the procession.

"The other thing at which I wondered was the perfect manner in which the police controlled the crowds.[1]

"The roar of London's welcome to us will ring in my ears to the end."

So far as concerned the populace, the more strictly religious portion of the ceremony took place after the return of the procession to the Cathedral. The Archbishop had already announced that the great function in honour of the Holy Eucharist would now be confined within the walls of the building, but there was still some compensation in the fact that, as arranged with the Home Office the evening before, public Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament was to be given by the Cardinal Legate from the balcony over the great western doorways of the church. The wide space in front of the building was packed with thousands of the faithful. The Catholic Boys' Brigade mounted a guard of honour on the opposite side of Ashley Place, and between them and the Cathedral stood line upon line of altar-servers, members of

[1] The chief officials responsible for the police arrangements were Superintendent Creswell Wells, Chief Inspector Alfred Boxhall, and Inspector Frederick May.

confraternities, British and foreign clergy and laity. Every window and gallery was occupied; it was a sight not easily forgotten.

There was a stir in the balcony above, and the crowd beneath, notified of what was passing, sang with fervour and emotion the Benediction hymns. Then silence, broken in a few moments by a signal to the Brigade. At once the bugles break forth in the general salute, repeated by other buglers from the topmost heights of the Cathedral tower. Every head in the vast multitude bends low as the Cardinal Legate appears on the balcony bearing the Sacred Host, and there, "with tears streaming from his eyes," says one close observer, he blessed the faithful, first of all from over the main entrance, and then from the north and south loggias of the Cathedral building.

It is finished. The awesome stillness, the almost unnatural restraint is suddenly relaxed. With the last sound of the answering bugles comes the emotion of reaction. Never perhaps throughout the Congress did a deeper thrill stir the hearts of men than when those thousands upon thousands, filling every foot of space as far as the eye could reach, found relief for pent-up feeling, and, as in the days of Esdras, some in thanksgiving, some with tears, "shouting, lifted up their voice." The tumult of sound from a myriad of throats filled all the air, so that, in the words of the holy writer, "one could not distinguish the voice of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people, for one with another the people shouted with a loud shout, and the voice was heard afar off."

NOTE.—The streets through which the Procession passed were Ashley Place, Carlisle Place, Francis Street, Stillington Street, Rochester Row, Artillery Row, Howick Place, Ashley Gardens, Francis Street, and Ambrosden Avenue.

Monday, 14th September.

GARDEN PARTY AT ARUNDEL

The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk gave a garden party at Arundel Castle on the afternoon of Monday 14th. Invitations were issued to all the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other dignitaries who had attended the Congress, to members of the Executive Committee and of the various sub-committees; and there were a very large number of guests not included in the above classification. Two special trains took the guests from Victoria to Arundel, and there a barouche and four with postillions, provided for the Legate, together with a long array of other carriages, were waiting to convey the visitors to the Castle. In the beautiful grounds the school children and the smart little company of St Philip's Boys' Brigade were drawn up in readiness. When their Eminences, with the Archbishop of Westminster and the Bishop of Southwark, arrived, they were received with much cheering. An inspection by the Legate of the children and the Boys' Brigade followed, and then the visitors wandered over the grounds and round the battlements, as well as through the reception rooms of the Castle, admiring the antiquities, the pictures, and the numberless other works of art. And doubtless there were few of the visitors who were not attracted to the beautiful private chapel.

Two excellent military bands played in the grounds, and refreshments were served in the magnificent banqueting hall.

Among the guests present were the Papal Legate, who was the bearer of two gold medals for the Duke's little son and daughter; Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh; Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore; the Archbishops of Westminster, Paris, Utrecht, Montreal, Hobart, Ephesus, Ravenna, and Aquila; the Bishops of Namur, Northampton, Southwark, Middlesbrough, Salford, Newport, Cork, Kildare, Lismore, Valleyfield, Auckland, Ballarat, San Carlos de Ancud, Strasburg, Soissons, Autun, Bruges, Verdun, Langres, and Cebu, and Prince Max of Saxony. Among the laity were the Earl of Ashburnham and Lady C. Ashburnham, Prince Ferdinand de Croy, Lord Louth, Admiral and Mrs Whyte, Sir Charles and Lady Cuffe, Comte Henri d'Yanville, Vicomte de Parc, Baron Baude, Lady Margaret Domvile, Sir Pyers and Lady Mostyn, Sir John Ross of Bladensburg, Sir John and Lady Knill. There were also many other distinguished persons, both of the clergy and of the laity, too numerous to be named.

VISIT TO CANTERBURY

On the same day, under the auspices of the Catholic Association, a party of close on four hundred Congressists left Holborn by special train to spend some hours at Canterbury. They were met at Canterbury station by Fr. Sheppard, the parish priest, who guided them to the Cathedral. There the Vice-Dean, the Rev. Canon Stuart, bade them welcome, and then the party was divided into three groups, one being conducted by Canon Stuart, the other two—consisting almost entirely of strangers, chiefly French and Belgian—having as their *ciceroni* the Rev. J. B. Barnabas, pastor of the Huguenot church in Canterbury, and Mr Bell, head-master of the King's School. Printed explanations in French and English were placed on the more interesting of the tombs and other objects,

and at the spot where the martyred Archbishop was killed many of the visitors knelt for a while in prayer. Every courtesy was shown to the pilgrims—if we may call them so —and at the close a well-deserved vote of thanks was accorded to the Vice-Dean and those who had assisted him.

After lunch the party visited St Augustine's Abbey, Dr Murray, the warden, being their guide; and here again they met with great kindness. Then they made their way to St Martin's Church—where Queen Bertha and St Augustine worshipped thirteen hundred years ago—every facility being afforded to the visitors by the Rector, the Rev. E. L. Ridge. Returning to the town, Benediction was given in the Catholic Church by the Bishop of Metz, after which a special train conveyed the party back to London.

Tuesday 15th, and Wednesday 16th, September.

THE PAPAL LEGATE'S VISITS IN LONDON

TUESDAY was a busy day for the Cardinal Legate. In the morning, accompanied by the Archbishop, he visited the convent of the Daughters of St Vincent of Paul, Carlisle Place, and thence proceeding to Highgate he called first of all at the convent of La Sainte Union, of which he is Cardinal Protector, next at St Mary's Nursery College in the neighbourhood, and finally at The Retreat, the church and house of the Passionist Fathers. In the afternoon His Eminence drove to Roehampton and called at the convent of the Sacred Heart, also at Manresa, the noviciate of the Jesuit Fathers, and at the convent of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. Visits were further paid to the convent of the Sacred Heart, Hammersmith, and to the Training College—under the care of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart—at St Charles's Square, North Kensington.

On Wednesday a visit was paid to the convent, Coloma House, Croydon, and then His Eminence went to Bethnal Green and called upon the French Fathers of the Assumption. Finally he ended his round of calls by a visit to Earl Street, Westminster, where the Little Sisters of the Assumption had all foregathered to greet His Eminence.

Thursday, 17th September.

DEPARTURE OF THE LEGATE

A GREAT crowd assembled on Thursday morning at Charing Cross to bid the Legate farewell, and as the motor car conveying His Eminence and the Archbishop of Westminster approached the station, prolonged cheering greeted them on all sides some time even before the precincts of the station were reached. Within the enclosure a great number of persons had collected, who also gave a cordial welcome to His Eminence. Among them were: Bishop Lenihan of Auckland, New Zealand, and his secretary, Father Patterson; Bishop MacSherry, of Port Elizabeth; the Bishops of St Dié and Bethsaida; Père Bailly; Mgr. Manuel Bidwell, Dr Jackman, Father Mahon, Canon Turner of Dundee; Count de Torre Diaz, Sir John Ross of Bladensburg; Count O'Clery, K.S.G.; Mr J. G. Kenyon, K.S.G., Count Aymard d'Ursel, and many others.

His Eminence, standing at the door of the saloon carriage, shortly before the departure of the train, delivered a short address. Speaking in French, he said: "I thank you all for your great kindness. I am delighted with my visit to London. I came here not in my own name but in the name of His Holiness the Pope, and for the sake and the honour of the blessed Eucharist. I have been most pleased with what I have seen while in England, particularly with the attitude of the Press, and of the crowds in your streets. I now know

the meaning of liberty in England, and on my return to Rome I shall not fail to make to the Holy Father a report of all I have seen and heard while among you. I shall inform His Holiness that, despite the attitude of a few irresponsible and bigoted people, the feeling of English people towards the Congress and towards me has been excellent, and that the heart of England beats only for liberty." A little later he added that the services of the Congress had been a revelation to him and would mark an epoch of his life.

His Eminence was accompanied to Dover by the Archbishop of Westminster, and he was met at the port by the Bishop of Southwark and others, who escorted him to the Ostend boat. Both in going and returning the Belgian Government showed much courtesy in making all possible arrangements for the convenience of the illustrious envoy of the Holy Father.

LETTER OF POPE PIUS X. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

In the latter part of the month of October, the following letter of thanks was addressed to the Archbishop of Westminster by His Holiness Pope Pius X. It was forwarded to His Grace with a covering letter of warm congratulation from the Cardinal Secretary of State, who describes the Pope's epistle as "un Suo venerato autografo."

Venerabili Fratri Francisco Archiepiscopo
Westmonasteriensium, Westmonasterium

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem.—Solatium Nos, illudque tam grande quam fuerat ante expetitum, ex habito istic conventu Eucharistico cepimus, quem non Anglis modo, sed universo pene adspectanti orbi extitisse pietatis vestrae tum testem tum laudem accepimus. Allata enim publice nuncia, gratiusque multo et luculentius Venerabilis Fratris Nostri Vincentii S.R.E. Cardinalis Vannutelli, Legati Nostri, enarratio, sic descriptum exhibuere congressionis exitum ut sive celebri illustrium virorum frequentia, sive profunda disceptandi decernendique gravitate, sive praebitis fidei cultusque Eucharistiae testimoniis, sive denique comitantium splendore coerimoniarum, debeat is coetus, uti Anglis aetate et ordine prior, ita Ecclesiae universae amplitudine princeps existimari. Congressum cessisse tam prospere, a Deo primum repetendum. At non opera a Nobis praetereunda illa est quam ipse Venerabilis Frater, sollerter, prudenter studioseque

contulisti, hoc demum digno recreatus praemio, Catholicos vidisse tuos nobilitate fidei mirabiles. Eum vero commemorare insimul placet, cuius, quemadmodum ab omni catholicae Angliae gloria non seiunctum est nomen, ita huic adiunctum conventui manet: Ducem, id est, de Norfolk, qui coetu apparando et perficiendo atque etiam excipiendis honestissime primoribus laudem promeruit. Utique singulorum heic afferre velimus nomina, quum ex ordine nobilium, tum e civibus ceteris, qui variis modis; celebrando prospere congressui adiumentum praestitere, delatisque liberaliter hospitiis Angliam monstrarunt peregrinis splendide urbanam. Id vero quoniam expleri per Nos nequeat, tibi libenter demandamus ut gratias iis laudesque nomine Nostro persolvas. Ad haec, iucundi beneque affecti animi Nostri testimonium iis etiam e seculari regularique Clero dare par est, qui diligentiam studiumque congressionis bono impenderunt, optime propterea de Religione, de Nobis, de Eucharistico cultu promeriti. Omnes denique filios ex Anglia Nostros cum amore et grati animi sensu complectimur, eos publice dilaudantes quod, professione fidei, exemplo ceteris existant. Deum postremo vehementer adprecati ut Eucharistici conventus fructus uberes reddat velitque pro utilitate patriae perennes, auspicem caelestium gratiarum Nostraeque dilectionis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem Tibi, Duci de Norfolk, cunctisque Regni catholicis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xv. Octobris anno MCMVIII, Pontificatus Nostri sexto.

PIUS PP. X.

The following is the English translation of the above:—

"To Our venerable Brother Francis, Archbishop of Westminster.—The Eucharistic Congress held in your city, wherein, as We have learned, not England only, but nearly the whole world, has witnessed and done honour to your piety, has brought to Us the consolation for which We looked, in measure equal even to Our desire. Indeed, the published accounts, and still more clearly the welcome report of Our venerable Brother Vincent Cardinal Vannutelli, Our Legate, have so

described the Congress that, while the first of its kind in England in the order of time, it must be accounted as without rival throughout the Universal Church for its concourse of illustrious men, the weight of its deliberations, its display of faith and devotion to the Holy Eucharist, and the splendour of its religious ceremonies.

"That such success has attended it is due, in the first place, to Almighty God. But We must not overlook the energy, prudence, and care brought to it, Venerable Brother, by you, which have received a worthy reward in the noble and wonderful faith shown by your Catholic people. Nor must We fail to remember him whose name is associated with this, as with every glory of Catholic England—the Duke of Norfolk, who, in the preparation and carrying out of the Congress, and in the hospitality extended to its most distinguished members, has earned Our praise.

"We wish that We could mention here by name all those of every rank who in various ways have contributed to the success of the Congress, and by the reception given to their guests, have proved the splendid hospitality of England. But as We cannot do this, We gladly ask you to convey to them thanks and praise in Our name. Further, as is right, We have to record Our joyful and affectionate appreciation of the work done with loving diligence by members of the secular and regular clergy, who have thereby made religion, Ourselves, and devotion to the Holy Eucharist their debtors. Lastly, We lovingly, and with gratitude, include all Our English children in the praise We give thus publicly to the manifestation of faith, whereby they have become an example to all.

"Earnestly praying to God that He may make the fruit of the Eucharistic Congress abundant, and preserve it to the lasting good of your country, as a pledge of heavenly graces, and of Our own affection, We lovingly in the Lord impart to you, to the Duke of Norfolk, and to all Catholics of the realm the Apostolic Benediction.—Given at Rome on the 15th day of October 1908, in the sixth year of Our Pontificate.

"PIUS PP. X."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SOME NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

I

THE PRESS AND THE PROHIBITION

THE attitude of the London Press with regard to the belated prohibition of the Procession was as remarkable as it is gratifying. Papers differing as widely in politics as the *Standard* and the *Daily News* united to denounce the existence of Catholic disabilities and to call for their removal, and to censure the want of consideration which withheld until the last moment an announcement which resulted in the disappointment of many thousands of folk from all parts of the country and from beyond it. It cannot be too widely known that the arrangements for the Procession in every detail had received the sanction of the police authorities; the route, as originally proposed, had even been altered in accordance with their suggestion. And it may further be said that, had the Prime Minister intervened at an earlier date, his wishes would certainly have been complied with. What was resented — and, as the Press agrees, justly resented—was the intervention at the last moment, and the attempt to place upon the Archbishop of Westminster the responsibility for the prohibition.

It is not surprising that the more aggressive and less responsible Protestant societies should claim the result of their pressure as a victory, and that one of them—ever on

the watch for incidents which may be turned to financial account — should have started a fund for "Victory Thank-offerings." Whether the result is altogether an occasion for Protestant satisfaction may be doubted: the demonstration which was intended to do honour to the common Lord of all was changed into one of enthusiasm for His Vicar, whose representative received a tribute of love and loyalty from the Catholics of this land which could hardly have been exceeded in any other.

It is perhaps not to be regretted that we should have a distinct indication of what the much-vaunted religious freedom of Protestants really means. It is to be feared that Mr Kensit had reason for his statement at the Caxton Hall meeting on the evening of September 13, and it is well that it should be repeated here:

> "It ought at once to be known," he said, "that if it had been attempted to carry the consecrated wafer through the streets of the West End that afternoon—a statement greeted with tremendous cries of 'Never!'—it would have resulted in a riot of the most awful character. He was sufficiently in touch with the Protestants of London to know that it would have been brought to the ground if it had been brought out."

At least as significant is the repudiation by the secretary of the Protestant Alliance of the statement of the organising secretary of the same body, who, as organiser, doubtless, as Mr Fowler says, spoke of "things within his personal knowledge." The following paragraph is from the *Daily News* of September 16:—

> "Mr Henry Fowler, Secretary of the Protestant Alliance, states that he entirely dissents from the views of Mr D. I. Hyslop, the organising secretary, who declared that dozens of arrangements had been made, on the occasion of the Roman Catholic procession at Westminster last Sunday, to bring the Host to the ground. These arrangements, if made, were without the knowledge of the Alliance, and in making this statement, Mr Fowler says, Mr Hyslop was speaking of things presumably within his personal knowledge."

That the Protestant agitation had its ludicrous side the following from the *English Churchmen* of September 17

sufficiently shows: one wonders where the "ten thousand valiant Orangemen" were coming from.

"Colonel Fitzpatrick showed outside his house at Harlesden, on Monday, a large placard announcing that 'Ten thousand valiant Orangemen had vowed that if the Papal "Host" came out it would never return to the Mass-house. Victory to the Orange flag! All thanks be to our God.'"

It is pleasant after such irresponsible raving to turn to the opinion of the country as represented in its recognised organs of opinion: our selection is confined to the London Press, but the leading organs in the provinces echo the same note.

The Times, September 14.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PROCESSION

The procession passed off yesterday afternoon without any disturbance or serious unpleasantness, much to the satisfaction of law-abiding citizens of every creed. We congratulate its promoters upon this result, due largely to their good sense in changing their programme at the last hour. We cannot extend our congratulations to the Government. They have blundered conspicuously; and, if order has been preserved, this is not ascribable to them. Not often, if ever, has there been a correspondence such as that published to-day to which an English Prime Minister has been a party, and in which he has been seen to such disadvantage. Archbishop Bourne received on Thursday a private communication through Lord Ripon from the Prime Minister, deprecating the proposed procession. The Archbishop very properly, as it seems to us, refused to act on a mere private intimation in regard to a momentous public matter. Mr Asquith, altogether unaccountably, replied that his communication was confidential and must not be published. The Archbishop, with complete propriety and force, pointed out the gravity of the step which he was invited to take. He insisted, too, that if a change were carried out at that late hour, the request to make it must be published. Later he telegraphed to the Prime Minister:—"I have decided to abandon ceremonial of which you question legality, provided that you authorise me to state publicly that I do so at your request." Only on Saturday morning came the opinion of the Government, "that it would be better in the interests of order and good feeling that the proposed ceremonial, the legality of which is open to question, should not take place." Again acting, as it seems to us, with tact and good sense, the Archbishop announced that he and those responsible for the procession intended to conform to the Govern-

ment's decision, and that "all elements of ecclesiastical ceremonial shall be eliminated from procession. Cardinals and Bishops will walk in full Court dress of their respective ranks"; a promise which was yesterday faithfully carried out.

In judging of this correspondence and the tardy decision of the Government, something may turn on the information, if any, which they had as to the danger of disturbance. It had been understood that the Home Secretary and the Commissioner of the Police were not apprehensive of any serious trouble, and had given their assent. What new information had come into the possession of the Government? If there was none, the intervention at the twelfth hour was a crude mistake; and, if there were grounds for apprehension, why were they not known and acted upon long before? The arrangements have been long known, and many distinguished strangers have come to take part in the ceremonial. Those who arranged it have been in communication with the Home Secretary for some time, and were led to believe that no objection would be raised by the Government. Obviously they ought to have interfered earlier, or not at all. To be silent, and, indeed, so far as the Home Office is concerned, to appear to approve, while the preparations were for weeks being openly made, and to intervene when they were completed and about to be carried out, gives Archbishop Bourne and his friends just cause of complaint. His letter, which we publish, is, indeed, as to most points, unanswerable. There was only one possible error in regard to the matter, and the Government have committed it. If they were convinced of the illegality of the programme and the danger attending it, it was manifestly their duty to say so, and to take upon themselves the responsibility of stopping it. They do not choose that course; they throw upon others the responsibility of doing so, and shirk what, if there was danger, was their plain duty. Why, too, attempt to stipulate for secrecy? Why were the Government desirous that their action in the matter should not be known? The imminence of the Newcastle election explains much, but not the tactlessness and tardiness of the intervention. We still adhere to the opinion expressed on Friday, that the original decision of the Roman Catholic authorities to disregard the statutory law of the realm was injudicious and a mistake, a mistake not the less serious by reason of the invitation to many foreigners to take part unwittingly in an illegal act. But this error is overshadowed by the blunder on the part of the Government, who have put in the right those who were technically in the wrong. It is of some public consequence that the Home Secretary, whose own letter to the Archbishop is weak in the extreme, has either been unceremoniously thrown over by the Prime Minister, or has unaccountably changed his mind. But it is of much more moment that, in regard to a matter as to which there was an almost universal desire to show courtesy and toleration, bad feeling, or the possibility of it, should be left.

The recurrence of these difficulties cannot be safely permitted. The statutory disability which stands in the way of such processions was passed in days very different from ours, and with dangers, present or apprehended, which are now gone. The time seems to have come for a calm consideration of the question in the light of the facts of to-day. In the opinion of very many who have no sympathy with the claims of the Church of Rome, it would be not only right, but safe, to put on terms of equality in these matters all religious bodies which chose to conform to police regulations. Of course, in our great cities, with diverse explosive elements, large powers must be lodged with some authority to stop such demonstrations or ceremonies, when public order appears to be imperilled. But it would be more satisfactory if the power were exercised without reference to any particular denomination or creed. The experience of yesterday gives one confidence that in no other city of the world than this could we trust with more safety to the growth of tolerance and charity. As good a measure of civilisation as any which can be named is the degree to which assembled multitudes control themselves, even when they dissent from that which is before them. London need not shrink from that test. It is a comfort and security that, the bigger our crowds become, the more orderly and law-abiding, on the whole, they are. It is the experience of our police that masses of fifty to a hundred thousand are as manageable as would be as many hundreds in some capitals. Give the police their due, and it is great, for tact, sharpened by much experience, and still it is to the credit of the ordinary London crowd that it rarely loses its head, never becomes stupidly angry, and rarely lends itself to designing mischief-makers. It is in the light of these facts, and the experience of yesterday, not in that of the arguments of Lord Eldon and Lord Redesdale and other sticklers and zealots for disabilities, in 1829, that the matter should now be reconsidered. As soon as Parliament meets, the Government will be expected to give full explanations as to their strange conduct in regard to the procession. It is to be hoped also that they will state their views frankly and without reference to any impending election as to the policy of repealing or modifying a section of the Act of 1829 which has often been treated as a dead letter, and the value of which, for any good purpose, is, to say the least, very doubtful.

Daily Telegraph, September 14, 1908.

It is impossible to write in terms other than those of the strongest condemnation of the conduct of the Government with respect to yesterday's Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which was to have brought to a conclusion the proceedings of the Eucharistic Congress. They have once more displayed their characteristic weakness and irresolution, their susceptibility to pressure, and their readiness to make concessions to the clamour of a few extremists. The result is

that they will bring down upon themselves a storm of obloquy and indignation, and excite animosities which need never have been stirred out of quiescence. London learnt with the greatest surprise yesterday morning that the Government had intervened at the eleventh hour, and placed irresistible compulsion upon the Archbishop of Westminster to change entirely the character of the procession. A procession, it is true, did take place, and without the semblance of public disorder, but it was not the solemn, stately, and magnificent Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, to which the Roman Catholics of this country had looked forward with fervour and enthusiasm as the culminating triumph of a memorable Congress. The ecclesiastical authorities are to be congratulated upon the calmness and dignity with which they bore a disappointment that must have been exceedingly bitter, and upon the success with which they communicated their own well-disciplined self-restraint to the followers who look to them for guidance. Had there been any rioting or breach of the peace in Westminster yesterday, the responsibility would have rested wholly upon the shoulders of His Majesty's Government, whose conduct throughout this lamentable business has been inexcusably weak and inconceivably foolish. The proper course for them to have taken was to make up their minds whether they meant to allow the procession to be carried out, and having once made up their minds, to abide by the decision, whatever might be said on one side or the other. The improper and unpardonable course was first to give assent and then withdraw it a few hours before the procession was due to take place, after arrangements had been concluded which involved the inconvenience and the disappointment of thousands of persons dwelling in all parts of the land. The Government must have known—or they ought to have known—that the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament is the supreme function of the Eucharistic Congress, the great act of public homage and loyalty which stirs most deeply the heart of every Roman Catholic. Therefore, when the consent of the authorities was first asked, the whole circumstances ought to have been taken into consideration.

It is clear from the official correspondence which we publish this morning that Archbishop Bourne and his coadjutors were given to understand by the Commissioner of Police that, so far as he was concerned, there was not the slightest objection to the procession taking place. No fear on the head of public danger was entertained at Scotland Yard. The police had not the faintest doubt of their power to preserve perfect order; nor did they expect any contingency to arise in the shape of organised opposition. Are we to suppose that the Commissioner gave this authorisation without consulting the Home Office, for he must have known that certain leading features of the procession were, on the face of it, technically illegal? But even if he did, the Home Secretary's responsibility is not lessened, for he let matters drift on, and gave no sign of objection. The assumption, therefore, is that

Mr Herbert Gladstone weighed the matter in his own mind, and decided that, whether technically illegal or not, there was sufficient religious tolerance in the atmosphere of London in 1908 to warrant his treating one clause of the Catholic Relief Act of 1828 as obsolete, or, at any rate, as obsolescent. London, he might reasonably have argued, is neither Belfast nor Madrid, and Protestants are sane enough and strong enough and calm enough to be able to endure without a tremor the quiet passing of a solemn procession of Roman Catholics through a few back streets in the immediate neighbourhood of their Cathedral. That was the generous view to take; and who will seriously deny that it was the enlightened view? If the Mohammedans and Hindoos of the same city have been forced to tolerate each other's processions, was it too much to expect Christians to do the like—especially on the very day of the whole year when the Christian Church is invited to pray for unity and consider the blessings of reunion? Of course, if the Home Secretary had been of opinion that the religious atmosphere of London was so highly charged with passion and prejudice that it would not be safe, in the interests of public order, for the procession to take place, then his course was equally clear. He had only to draw the attention of the organisers of the Eucharistic Congress to the plain prohibition of the Act of 1828 and decide that the letter of the law must not be infringed. Had that been done at first the Roman Catholic authorities would doubtless have been deeply disappointed, but the decision would not have generated bad blood, a result which now seems inevitable. The great mass of moderate public opinion would, we believe, have accepted either ruling with general complacence. But, instead of this, the Government have done the worst possible thing in the worst possible way. The Home Secretary allowed all the arrangements for the procession to be brought to completion. And then he and his chief got frightened, and yielded to the clamour of a small section of extreme Protestant opinion. These protests have come from organisations which draw no support whatever from the great mass of educated Englishmen, who are just as true as their fathers were before them to the abiding principles of Protestantism, though they now express themselves in ways more consonant with the enlightened spirit of the age. We cannot conceive anything more paltry and feeble than the Home Secretary's letter, dated September 10. Anyone reading it would conclude that Mr Gladstone only began to realise on Thursday the true character of the procession, and that it was the excitation of public feeling which had brought his dormant scruples into life. Yet, even so, he contented himself with the "strong hope" that the Archbishop would take every care to secure conformity with the law of the land. From that letter no one would imagine that the Commissioner of Police had already sanctioned the procession, or that there was any avenue of communication between the Home Office and Scotland Yard.

Nor was the Prime Minister's intervention better conceived than

that of the Home Secretary. He began by sending a private letter "deprecating the procession." In other words, he endeavoured to induce the ecclesiastical authorities to act as though it were they, and not the Government, who had changed their minds, and to alter the fundamental significance of the procession as though it were they, and not the Government, who were quailing before the manifestoes of the Protestant Alliance. In that case the Government would have been able to save their face, and the angry disappointment of Roman Catholics might have been diverted from themselves to the timid surrender of their own hierarchy. Naturally, the Archbishop and his advisers resolutely refused to walk blindly into so obvious a trap, and insisted that the Government should shoulder the responsibility which Mr Asquith was anxious to evade. Archbishop Bourne replied, that if the ceremonial had to be abandoned, the Prime Minister must publicly declare that it was abandoned at his request, and Mr Asquith was then compelled to commit himself to the statement that "His Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be better in the interests of order and good feeling that the proposed ceremonial, the legality of which is open to question, should not take place." Such an expression of opinion on the part of the Prime Minister was tantamount to a command; and the tone of the speech at the Albert Hall in which the Archbishop announced his decision did him infinite credit. The procession, shorn of its most striking features, was held yesterday afternoon in the presence of vast and perfectly orderly crowds, probably greater than have ever been concentrated into a small space of London. To devout Catholics it was robbed of most of its religious significance by the absence of the Blessed Sacrament, and the incident is certain to leave behind it a strong sense of irritation and resentment. It is easier to bear injustice than stupidity, and everyone must feel that this affair has been stupidly and needlessly mishandled. It deals a heavy blow at the sacred cause of complete religious toleration. Every complimentary phrase recently uttered by the Pope, by the Papal Legate, and by the high ecclesiastical dignitaries from abroad now visiting England, about the large-mindedness of Englishmen, and the glorious liberty of thought and action which prevail here, is turned to irony by this blunder of the Government. The pleasant words will be retracted, and the foreign visitors to the Congress will quit these shores smarting under a sense of insult. And for the sake of what? Assuredly not for the sake of Protestantism. We refuse to believe that that noble cause, which is dear to the heart of the great majority of English men and women, has been served by a lamentable fiasco, which they will look back upon with annoyance, not unmixed with shame. Only those who rejoice in the prolongation of religious strife can possibly find pleasure in the action of the Government, and that is why it will be unhesitatingly condemned by all who care for the peace of the realm and the peace of the Church.

The *Standard*, of September 14, after justifying the action of the Prime Minister, adds:—

The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 is quite clear on that point: such exercise in public of the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church is against the law. Everybody whose judgment is unbiased by bigotry will admit that this restriction is no longer either necessary or expedient. The old controversies of which it is a survival are almost past; nobody has any fear now of the reassertion of Papal influence in the civil government of this country, and certainly no danger to the State is to be anticipated from any action on the part of the Roman Catholic community in England, for its members are amongst the most patriotic and law-abiding of British citizens. It is for Roman Catholics to ask for the amendment of the statute; it is practically certain that any properly conducted movement in that direction would be successful. In the meantime the law as it stands must be obeyed, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church will not repeat what must be regarded as the mistake by which yesterday's ceremony was arranged under its original conditions. The real toleration which in this country is shown to all religious beliefs is thoroughly appreciated by Roman Catholics; they know that it goes too deep to be affected by the outcries of fanatics on either side.

Similarly, the *Daily Chronicle* of September 14, while strangely maintaining that Mr Asquith showed "tact and firmness in a delicate emergency," pronounces as follows:—

We regret, then, that any action whatever was taken by the Government. A great many persons will applaud the Prime Minister's action. "These Roman Catholics," they will say, "are becoming too arrogant. It was high time they were reminded that England is a Protestant country." In all seriousness we ask, Was the reminder necessary? Is our Protestantism so feeble that it needs to be artificially encouraged by a Government interdict on a religious procession? It is because England loves liberty, because Protestantism has for its foundation stones liberty of conscience and the right of independent judgment, that we should concede to our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens the same rights and privileges, no less and no more, as every other section of the community. It is not Roman Catholicism, but Liberalism, that has the right to complain of this interdict. Rome does not believe in liberty or in toleration. We do. Let us have the courage of our principles.

Still more surprising was the attitude of the *Daily News*, another Government organ. It justified Mr Asquith on the

ground that by the terms of the law the procession was illegal, but nevertheless wrote on the general question in such terms as these:—

For ourselves, we regret those circumstances very much indeed, and we deplore the state of law and opinion which makes our country, the very birthplace and home of religious liberty, appear less tolerant than other European nations. Last year in Germany, for example, the Eucharistic Congress assembled at Metz, and the Eucharistic Procession was held by special permission of the Government. The Act which forbade the procession was suspended for the occasion, though it was only thirty-seven years old, whereas our Act is close upon eighty. If only our Parliament had been now in Session, we cannot doubt that a similar suspension would have been arranged, or that by a single clause Bill the section, together with other religious disabilities of the same kind that still remain nominally in force, might have been abolished. We say "nominally in force," because, as a matter of fact, these old laws against Roman Catholics are broken every day. We believe the statute that forbids a Roman Catholic to own a horse valued at over £5 is still in force; yet a Romanist might now own the Derby winner. By law a Roman Catholic church may not have a steeple or bells; yet we believe Westminster Cathedral has bells, and it certainly has a steeple. By the very section of the Emancipation Act we quoted, no Roman Catholic ecclesiastic is allowed to wear the habit of his order in the street under penalty of £50; yet the priests walk about among us in their clerical dress, and no one takes the slightest notice. This very procession of the Eucharist is held frequently in the East End and other Roman Catholic quarters, and nothing terrible has happened. The fact is that all these laws restricting religious liberty, no matter of what form of religion, are obselete in spirit, if not in letter. They may have been justified at one time by political conditions; we need not enter into that question; but now they are relics of an age that is past, and if they are not to be repealed, it would be wise to let them be quietly forgotten, as, in fact, they are forgotten every day. There is no longer the slightest reason why we should not allow Roman Catholics to hold processions, just as we allow the Salvation Army and should allow Buddhists if they wished it and did not interfere too much with the ordinary course of our city's life.

These are the reasons why we regret the action of those who, with what we consider misguided zeal, revived a law that was dying with disuse and insisted that the Government should act upon the letter of it. Protestantism in England is not so feeble as to need such weapons. Protestants of all denominations, and especially Nonconformists, have suffered too much from religious intolerance in the past to show themselves intolerant now towards any form of sincere and spiritual religion. When the laws were unjust to them, they have themselves

never hesitated to defy the letter of the law and to bear the penalty. By long struggles we of this island have won religious liberty for ourselves, and it is time now boldly to declare that our religious liberty allows of no exceptions. If there is to be a contest against Roman Catholicism—and that system embodies now, as it always has done, the negation of what we believe to be true citizenship—it is not in the region of half-forgotten laws that the battle must be fought. To insist upon such technical advantages would be to show ourselves legal pedants instead of reasonable and fair-minded men who are aware of the time of day. We, as a reasonable and Protestant people, cannot allow Roman Catholics to show more tolerance than ourselves. We should also be unwilling to give Roman Catholic countries the smallest excuse for the retaliation of petty persecution. Such prejudice against Roman Catholics as exists among us is a legacy from old fears of Papal influence in politics and old memories of persecution. We know that there is not now the least danger of Papal aggression upon our political liberties—not because the Papacy has changed, but because we have advanced beyond the region where these fears had reality. It was a great saying of one of our early Protestants, "At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour." In that spirit of noble tolerance and free recognition of the beauty of sincerity, we believe most Englishmen now regard every form of Christianity that is upheld among us. To us it appears to be now time that the same noble tolerance should be displayed in all our laws, while every relic of religious disability or restriction is freely and generously removed. As to the feared assaults of priestcraft and spiritual tyranny, on those points our country can afford to be all the more quietly secure for her tolerance.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of September 14, from the Unionist side, was equally emphatic. From an article entitled "The Letter and the Spirit" we may select the following among many other uncompromising utterances.

The procession had been publicly announced; thousands of their co-religionists had assembled, headed by over a hundred Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops from all over the world; the arrival of, and the enthusiastic welcome accorded to, the Papal Legate seemed to justify the handsome tribute paid by Pius X. himself to our country as the very heart and home of large liberty and toleration. More than that: the police had been consulted, and had no doubt as to the maintenance of public order, and their opinion had been tacitly supported by the attitude of the Home Secretary. And then, at the very last moment, the Prime Minister comes down upon the Archbishop with a private communication deprecating the procession, and trying to

thrust the responsibility for a change of programme upon Dr Bourne himself. . . . In view of this belated and inconsiderate interference, we are convinced that even those who most strongly deprecated the procession feel that, if Mr Asquith has done the right thing, he has done it in the worst possible way. . . .

What, then, is the obvious inference? We find it drawn with absolutely unanimity by the *Times* and the *Daily News*, and it is this :— That the time has come when this last vestige of legal disability under which the Roman Catholics labour should be promptly abolished. "The statutory disability," says the *Times*, "which stands in the way of such processions was passed in days very different from ours, and with dangers, present or apprehended, which are now gone. . . . In the opinion of very many who have no sympathy with the claims of the Church of Rome, it would be not only right, but safe, to put on terms of equality in these matters all religious bodies which chose to conform to police regulations." Similarly, the *Daily News* (whose Protestantism is surely not open to suspicion) deprecates "the misguided zeal" which "revived a law that was dying with disuse, and insisted that the Government should act upon the letter of it." These, we take it, are wise words : they breathe a spirit of confidence in the inherent power of English Protestantism to protect itself without resort to the rusty weapons of the mediæval armoury. That English Protestantism is strong enough to do that we are firmly convinced : no impartial observer of our national life can doubt it. But, if it were not so, and if this country were in the least likely to make a speedy return to the Roman obedience, we do not hesitate to say that such return would not be retarded, but rather accelerated, by a policy which, at this time of day, tends to put England in the wrong in the eyes of all fair-minded men without distinction of race or religion.

One of the strongest declarations on the same side is to be found in the pages of *Truth* for September 16. The following are the salient points in an article of considerable length :—

I do not understand the action of the Prime Minister and his colleagues in this business. From the public point of view it is immaterial whether the proposed procession was one of Catholics, or Salvationists, or Unemployed, or Suffragettes. All that the Government is concerned with is the preservation of order, which is primarily the business of the police, and the only ground upon which the promoters of a public procession could legitimately be asked to abandon their intention would be that the police anticipated from it disturbance which they would be unable to repress. I do not believe there was a shadow of reason for expecting anything of the kind. Merely to say that the Eucharistic procession might excite the feelings of rabid Protestants to such a degree that they could not restrain themselves

from violence is an argument unworthy of attention. I might as well say that the Suffragettes ought not to be allowed to march to Hyde Park because I have a conscientious objection to women's suffrage, and the sight of a banner inscribed "Votes for Women" might provoke me to a breach of the peace. A publican might as well object to a procession in support of the Licensing Bill because the thought of the widows and orphans of brewery shareholders might impel him to throw rotten eggs at the demonstrators. The answer to such nonsense is that people who live in a free country must learn to control their feelings when their neighbours do things distasteful to them which they have a recognised right to do, and that if they cannot exercise such control for themselves, the police will do it for them. A few years ago Salvation Army processions used to provoke rowdy crowds to assault the processionists and break their instruments. The law interfered, not to stop the processions, but to protect them. Ragging the Salvationists has consequently become an extinct pastime; yet a Salvation Army band remains as great a trial to the nerves of many people as a Catholic procession bearing the consecrated Host can possibly be to the religious susceptibilities of the most fanatical Protestant.

I do not say that the cause is lost. I lay no claim to the gift of prophecy, and where religious opinions are concerned it requires a bold man to say what the future may or may not bring forth. But it is easy to see that for some time past the religious, or irreligious, tendencies of the age have been more to the advantage of Catholicism than Protestantism. For the time, at any rate, Protestantism seems to be on the down-grade. The Roman Church in England has grown of late in numbers, wealth, and influence to a degree which could not have been anticipated fifty years ago. The Eucharistic Congress at Westminster avowedly celebrates this remarkable movement, and uneasy consciousness of the truth is to be seen in the attitude of Protestants towards the celebration. The Church of England itself has experienced during the same period a great Catholic revival, and has undoubtedly gained from it new vitality, energy, and usefulness. At the same time the numbers and the zeal of those Englishmen who cherish the name of Protestantism as a sacred symbol bound up with our national existence and welfare have appreciably declined. The reason of all this I take to be that Catholicism rests on an appeal to the authority of the Church and Protestantism on an appeal to the authority of the Bible, and that the progress of secular thought and knowledge has tended to impair the authority of the Bible with those who are not prepared to accept the authority of the Church as final. . . . Had Mr Asquith desired to do Protestantism a disservice, he has been eminently successful. The action of the Government has given the English Romanists an opportunity of exhibiting themselves in an attitude which must command general respect and sympathy—bowing with dignity to the authority of the State and submitting

gracefully to a great injustice in deference to the assurance of the Prime Minister that they are thereby serving the public interest. The Protestants have gained their point, but the honours of war and the moral victory are with the Catholics.

Again, in *The World* of September 16, we read:—

The Eucharistic Congress is over, but its echoes will long rumble in the worlds of politics and theology. Neither the Government nor the country has come out of it with credit. The wrong thing has been done in the wrong way; the Prime Minister has shown neither dignity nor decision, and the nation is presented in the humiliating light of combining discourtesy with intolerance. That Mr Asquith will pay dearly for his blunder, unless he retrieves it by the only act of reparation it is in his power to accomplish, we are convinced. But the conviction is a poor consolation. It will not suffice to wipe out the blot that has been cast upon the national reputation for good sense, perspective, and liberalism. . . .

Mr Asquith's course combined the maximum of inconvenience and disappointment with the minimum of impressiveness. While disclaiming any title to intervene in his official capacity—an odd disclaimer from the head of a Government that had reached the conclusion that the legality of the procession was open to question and that its consequences might be harmful to public order—the Prime Minister privately suggested that the ceremonial should be abandoned. The suggestion, no doubt, was well meant, but it was not one that a Prime Minister, who is himself officially responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and cannot delegate that responsibility to private individuals, should have made; nor was it one that a Prime Minister sure of himself and in touch with the facts of the situation could have made. Archbishop Bourne, with absolute justice and dignity, refused to entertain it, very properly insisting that if the procession was to be modified at the Premier's request, that request should be publicly preferred. Mr Asquith had, then, no option but to couch his recommendation in an official form.

Throughout the negotiations the proprieties were all on the side of the Catholic dignitaries, and the illiberalism and tactlessness on the side of Mr Asquith. There is this excuse for him: that he was at the time in Scotland, and that his informants in London evidently misled him as to the state of local feeling. The Eucharistic Congress and the proposed procession of the Host have been made the target for a good deal of bigoted and even rancorous abuse. But nothing can be more certain than that the preponderant sympathies of the masses have been with the Congress and against its assailants; that the average man has been disgusted by the intolerance of the extremists; and that the procession of the Host could have taken place with no more risk of public tumult than the police are called upon to guard against a dozen times a year.

Of special interest as representing Anglican clerical opinion are the utterances of *The Guardian* (September 16). The curious bias manifested in the reference to "the very high-handed tone of Archbishop Bourne's letter" only lends weight to the rest of the article, which we quote entire:—

THE PROHIBITED PROCESSION

The remarkable gathering of English and foreign Roman Catholics which took place in London last week is not at an end; and we can well believe that the nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress has made a deep impression upon those who took part in it. Certainly it cannot have failed to impress the detached onlooker who saw anything of the services and meetings with a profound conviction of the earnestness, sincerity, and piety of those who look to the Pope as their spiritual head on earth. The foreign members, especially those who live in countries which have not yet learned that toleration in matters of religion is one of the finer arts of statesmenship, as well as one of the surest touchstones of national character, must necessarily go back with a wider sense of how to practise, as well as enjoy, that toleration. This being so, we regret the more keenly the unhappy muddle that was made at the end in respect to the proposed Procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Let us say at once that we believe it to have been a mistake ever to have intended such a procession, and a mistake from the point of view of the Roman Catholics themselves. There is, indeed, reason to believe that, at all events among the lay leaders of that community, opinion was by no means unanimous on the subject. The difficulties were obvious, the dangers not obscure. A religious ceremony which involves the traversing of a mile of streets, the assistance of a body of police many hundreds strong, and the vigilance, as well as the devotion, of twelve thousand "Guards of Honour" is not to be undertaken lightly. And when all this is to take place in a capital which, although the greatest and most tolerant in the world, is still the capital of a people who, by Rome's own fault, have done with Rome for ever, the inexpediency of what was proposed cannot be doubted, quite apart from any question of an obsolescent law. We believe that the majority of English people would have taken this view of the matter even if the procession had been perfectly legal. Nor, in view of the division of opinion among the more reflective Roman Catholics themselves, could those who held this opinion be reproached with any lack of charity. In a procession of this kind through a mixed crowd of enormous proportions there must always be danger of irreverence, and it would have been as grievous to Anglicans as to Romanists had there been any display of hostile feeling.

Having said so much, however, we are bound to add that the behaviour of the Government was deplorable, and that Roman Catholics have a just grievance against them. If the procession was permissible at the beginning, when it was sanctioned by the Home Secretary and arranged for by the police, it was permissible at the end. If, on the other hand, its legality was doubtful, it ought to have been made clear at the start that it could not be allowed. We can quite understand that the Government—if they thought of the matter collectively at all, which they probably did not—felt loath to treat a religious ceremony with less consideration than can be claimed by a Socialist demonstration. But nobody takes much notice of outdoor political gatherings. They have their uses and their abuses; they are a recognised method of blowing off party steam. A street procession of which the most sacred symbol of religion forms the centre is in a very different position. Opinions differ widely as to the precise significance of that symbol—around it, indeed, religious controversy has for centuries centred. This may be deplorable, but it is the fact. Recognising all this, it would have been wise to prohibit the procession when it was first mooted, and we cannot doubt that reasonable representations made to the Roman hierarchy in this country would have induced them to abandon a proposal so little in accord with English feeling and, as we have seen, by no means unreservedly approved of even by their own people. That prudent course was not taken; arrangements were allowed to be completed; and when prohibition came at the eleventh hour it was naturally resented indignantly. This resentment goes a long way to justify—what only extreme provocation could justify—the very high-handed tone of Archbishop Bourne's letter to Mr Asquith. That tone was, of course, adopted deliberately, and the Government have only their own blundering to thank for laying themselves open to it. They may be quite sure that any attempt of theirs to "square" the Roman Catholics on the Education question will be rendered appreciably more difficult by this unhappy incident.

It has, not unnaturally, been generally assumed that the rampant and offensive demonstrations of "Protestant" agitation have been the moving cause of what has happened—that Mr Asquith, in short, has bowed to the rather truculent representations of militant partisans, of considerable voting-power, who perceive the "Scarlet Lady" under every toadstool. Due allowance must, no doubt, be made for the influence of such representations upon ministers who can always be squeezed effectively by those who know best how to apply the pressure. But Mr Asquith is not only a lawyer, but a very shrewd man, and he is not likely to have lost sight of the fact that his Administration has something to gain by keeping on friendly terms with Archbishop's House. It would be unfair and unjust, therefore, to leave out of account the probable effect upon his mind of considerations of abstract justice and legality. So cold and unemotional an intellect can hardly

have been insensible to a curious and delicate contrast inevitably suggested by the taking for granted on the part of the Roman Catholics that they were at liberty to ignore the law. That law may be unjust and obsolescent (we believe it to be both these things), but it is the law, and a not very old law either—it was passed in the lifetime of many persons still living, and, let us not forget, forms part of that very measure of emancipation which alone rendered it possible to hold a Eucharistic Congress in this country.

Disabilities are usually painful to those who suffer from them. But are the Roman Catholics alone in suffering disabilities on account of their religion? There is a very illustrious instance to the contrary. When the Sovereign of these realms succeeds to the Throne one of his first duties is to repeat publicly and in State the most cold blooded and unmistakable denunciation of the very doctrine which the Procession of the Holy Eucharist was intended to emphasise. Crude as is the language of the Royal Declaration against Transubstantiation, the Sovereign, the fountain of law, has no option but to use it; and, much as we dislike the method of the Prime Minister's intervention, can we say that he was so very unreasonable, after all, in thinking that, if the Monarch is obliged to observe one statute, a certain section of his subjects should be prepared to obey another in its incidents not less irksome to them? These are not idle speculations, but have a very definite bearing upon a subject of great public interest and importance. The intervention we believe to have been right; but for the clumsy and irritating way in which it took place we have nothing but regret. We may, however, hope that the incident will strengthen the case for the removal of disabilities which are no longer defensible, especially under the sway of a monarch who, like King Edward VII., is the Sovereign of a far larger number of Roman Catholic subjects than some rulers of States in full communion with the See of Rome.

The leading High Church organ, *The Church Times* (September 18), was still more emphatic. Its article, which we also print entire, was entitled "Toleration," and runs as follows:—

The sympathy which we tendered to the organisers of the Eucharistic Congress is required in full measure. We are convinced that, in the circumstances, the decision to abandon the procession of the Blessed Sacrament was wise. We have not hesitated to express our doubt, from the religious point of view, whether such a procession is desirable in any circumstances, but we are concerned now with the political aspect of the incident. It would have been almost impossible to carry out the programme without the hearty support of the police, for scenes of violence which cannot be contemplated would certainly have ensued; and after the Prime Minister's expression of opinion such support could not be accounted certain. Indeed, there is some force in Mr Herbert

Gladstone's remark, that it was difficult to afford the procession adequate protection when attention had been called to its illegality. This done, there was nothing for it but to retire. As we said last week, disobedience to a law in restraint of religion must be tempered with prudence. Prudence prevailed, and the retreat was effected in the best possible taste.

It remains to appraise the situation thus created. There has been a genuine tempest; of that there can be no question. The Protestantism of England has expressed itself in unmistakable terms, and it is fundamentally the same as ever. It is that which made a hero of Titus Oates, and drove a King into exile; it is that which the elder Pitt could skilfully use for the promotion of an alliance with the evangelical Frederick the Great; it is that which the crazy Lord George Gordon could stir up to fill London with riot and bloodshed on occasion of the first relaxation of the penal laws; it is that which poured itself out in fury and lamentation when Peel and Wellington forced through the Emancipation Act of 1829. It is milder in expression than formerly, because all the national habits are softer, but it is the same. It is not religious, though it may be found in men of genuine religion. It is a violent prejudice, a compound of hatred and dread. It has been interesting to watch the utterances of this temper during the last few days. There was at first no sign of anything amiss. The Congress was greeted with respect, the foreign ecclesiastics who thronged to our shores were welcomed even with effusion. The magnificent tolerance of the English people was loudly applauded, and not only by themselves; the Pope himself joined the chorus of praise, not without a reflex glance at the backsliding of France. Suddenly a new note was heard. Someone had observed the announcements made about the procession intended for Sunday, announcements which had been before the public for many weeks. There was a muttering of correspondence in the daily Press, and then the storm burst. In a sense it was magnificent; its spontaneity, its extension, were imposing. In a sense it was the meanest exhibition conceivable.

The main charge brought against the procession was that of illegality. At the very outset there was something dishonest in this, for the cry was taken up by none more loudly than by Dissenters, who pride themselves on their "nonconformity." But "nonconformity," in its origin, was precisely illegality. It was open, deliberate defiance of the Act of Uniformity. We do not hide our opinions about laws in restraint of religion; just in so far as Dissenters are "nonconformist," they have our hearty sympathy. But what shall we say of men who, priding themselves on their own nonconformity and their fathers' resistance to laws in restraint of religion, raise the hue and cry against others who act in the very same way? Nor is it only here that the falseness of the cry is revealed. Inextricably mingled with the charge of illegality was the complaint that the procession was "idolatrous."

It is needless to enlarge on the absurdity of talking about "idolatry" in connexion with the Eucharist. Perhaps no category of theological hatred has ever been more recklessly misapplied, and men of honoured names have unhappily taken part in the abuse. But that is not the present point. The point is that there is nothing illegal in idolatry. If some Hindu students were to organise a "puja" in Cromwell Road, carrying about an image of Kali or Krishna, they would violate no law. Would they be denounced on any other head? We doubt it. The procession would be described as a picturesque spectacle, and we should be told to show our Indian fellow-citizens the sympathy which is a link of Empire. But the intended procession of the Blessed Sacrament was denounced as illegal and idolatrous. It was illegal: about that there is no question; but the hollowness of the pretended zeal for the law was shown by the irrelevant accusation superadded. The procession was attacked, not because it was illegal, but because it was a procession of the Sacred Host, and the cry of illegality was merely a convenient weapon of attack. We do not argue from the vapourings of mere nobodies. Sir R. Perks is a Member of Parliament, a noted financier, a prominent Methodist; and what did he say? He declared that nothing short of an army could protect the procession from the wrath of Protestant England. His own denomination would suffice. "The Methodist people," he said, "do not forget Wesley's injunction to be the friends of all and the enemies of none, but they do not intend to have the Host carried through the streets of their cities."

That is the whole cry. The speaker forgot, in his indignation, that papists have equal rights in the streets with Methodists. But no, he did not forget; for that is not the case. Methodists are allowed by law to practise their religion in the streets; papists are not. And Sir R. Perks is evidently content. We are not surprised. Toleration is a high virtue, to which few men attain. There is, indeed, a spurious kind of toleration which is easy. It consists in allowing a minority just so much liberty as seems convenient to the majority. Of this kind of toleration Sir R. Perks has a glowing consciousness. In the speech from which we have quoted, he proudly called attention to the fact that "Catholics enjoyed in England rights of worship and free speech, which were not conceded to Protestants in any Catholic State in the world." Of the higher toleration which recognises a natural and equal right in all men to exercise their religion, he has no conception. The papist has no such right in England. He has a "right" to worship within doors, because that has been "conceded" to him, but he has no right to worship in the streets which belong to—Methodists.

That is the lesson which we learn from the uproar of the last fortnight, and from the cowardly surrender of the Government. The precession was illegal, expressly forbidden by the Act of George IV. But the intention of the Government was to treat the law as a dead letter; the Home Secretary instructed the Commissioner of Police in

that sense, and constables were told off expressly to aid in this infraction of the law. It was a persecuting law, out of keeping with the liberalism of modern thought. Good; but Mr Asquith and his colleagues had failed to reckon with the possibilities of Protestantism. There was no real zeal for the actual law. It is fair to assume that some people felt they were being "bluffed," and did not like it; but their resentment was not active enough to start a protest, though they may have swelled the chorus of disapproval when it was raised. The outcry began from the merest hatred of a particular form of worship; and that hatred, invoking the law, carried the day. English Protestantism has not even begun to be tolerant. It has little power to interfere, because the laws in restraint of religion have been reduced to a mere shadow of their former selves; but when there is any weapon available, it will fight against toleration. If Englishmen are to live up to their profession, they must strike every weapon out of its hand. They must remove from the Statute Book every appearance of "concession," and base the equal rights of positive law on the only sure foundation of natural and indestructible right. It will not do for the liberties of Englishmen to be at the mercy of Sir Robert Perks.

We may conclude our selection with an extract from *The Spectator* of September 19—

We have already expressed our opinion as to the challenging character of the procession as originally designed, and it is an open secret that leading Roman Catholics regarded it as an injudicious move. But it is none the less most unfortunate that by their eleventh-hour intervention the Government should have let it be thought either that they were entirely ignorant of what was public property weeks before, or that they were waiting for a lead from sectarian prejudice. They had a strong case, but they declined to state it—note that the Premier went no further than saying that the legality of the ceremonial was questioned—and the honours of the controversy rest with the Archbishop of Westminster, while the Home Secretary's letter is a lamentable exhibition of the abnegation of responsibility. The weakness of the Government's action is sufficiently shown by the dissatisfaction of some of their strongest supporters in the Press, as well as by the futility of the pleas put forward in their behalf—*e.g.*, that the Premier and the Home Secretary were away in Scotland, or the argument that "laws that exist cannot be violated by a Government so long as they command the active sympathy of even a small number of people," an argument on which the Government's Irish policy forms a curious commentary. For the moment the Government have manœuvred themselves into a false position by their dilatoriness and indecision. But the incident can hardly fail to lend impetus to the movement in favour of revising the Declaration and Oath of Accession,

and excising those invidious provisions from the Catholic Emancipation Act which deny the Church of Rome privileges accorded to every other religious body.

II

SOME PRESS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CEREMONIES[1]

THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS ON WEDNESDAY EVENING

(From *The Universe*, September 11)

THE SCENE IN THE CATHEDRAL

Fully an hour before the doors of Westminster Cathedral were opened on Wednesday evening, considerable crowds had assembled at the entrances; they knew that a further hour's wait would be their lot inside, but each had registered a personal resolve to be there in good time, so that hundreds came early, but not in this case with the luck "to avoid the crowd." Indeed, when the doors were opened, and the necessary but tedious process of checking the admissions by ticket began, the crowds in their excitement surged wildly round the entrances, and the absence of queues in some cases resulted in a certain amount of struggling and perhaps some lost feathers. But all were at length got inside the Cathedral, where a large staff of voluntary stewards were on duty, and the spectacle rewarded the hour or so of patience.

The vast building, impressive in its huge, unfinished grandeur, was crammed with people in every part. They packed themselves in serried rows against the barriers, overflowed into the side chapels, and were humbly content with corners in which they enjoyed the proud consciousness of being present, but certainly could see nothing of the spectacle itself. Excellent arrangements had been made for the Press, several rows in the tribune over the narthex being reserved for their use, whence an uninterrupted view of the function could be obtained.

Shortly after eight o'clock a stately procession, in which were the Archbishop of Westminster, with his canons, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, representatives of religious orders, and choir, came from the sacristy and went slowly down the nave to the great west door of the Cathedral. Eight members of the Guild of St Stephen bore a handsome

[1] These accounts are printed as they stand in the Catholic newspapers specified. Their entire accuracy is not of course guaranteed, but they will serve to supplement the descriptions given in the text of this volume.

canopy of white and gold, under which, when they returned, the Cardinal Legate would walk. Meanwhile the other members of the Sacred College who are present at the Congress had entered and taken their places on special thrones erected for them on the epistle side of the altar, under a scarlet canopy.

There is a tense silence, the silence of expectancy wrought to a high pitch. Suddenly every pulse in the Cathedral is quickened, and every heart stirred, by a blare of bugles from outside, sounding the royal salute. The last note hardly dies away when a roar of cheering tells of the approach of the Papal Legate, who is evidently the subject of a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm from the crowds around the Cathedral. His Eminence is received in solemn state at the door of the church by the Metropolitan, who presents the Crucifix, which the Legate reverently kisses on bended knee. The Cardinal has put off his mozzetta and assumed the cappa; he receives the aspersory from the Archbishop, signs himself and sprinkles the bystanders with Holy Water. Then the procession turns, and slowly proceeds to the altar.

It is a magnificent sight and one long to be remembered. The dark masses of ill-lighted brickwork serve to throw into brighter relief and enhance the beauty of the sanctuary, already a blaze of light and colour. The cardinals are in their places, their scarlet robes forming a foil to the white and yellow of the gleaming marbles, while the whole sanctuary is flooded in light from a number of electroliers suspended on either side. As the procession reaches the altar-steps it divides, the bishops, abbots, and other prelates seating themselves in the choir to the right and left of the baldachino. As the Legate, walking under the canopy, proceeds up the nave he blesses the kneeling multitude, behind whom, at the sides of the church, hundreds who have no space to kneel strain to catch a glimpse of the Pope's representative. Cardinal Vannutelli carries his seventy-two years with an appearance of extraordinary youth and vigour; it is difficult to realise that the tall, commanding figure under the canopy is that of a man beyond the prime of life.

Arrived at the altar, the Legate is conducted to a fald-stool in the centre, and the Archbishop of Westminster, standing at the epistle side, sings the versicle "Protector Noster" and the collect. The choir renders the beautiful antiphon for the Feast of the Most Precious Blood; the Cardinal Legate kisses the altar and sings the collect at the conclusion of the antiphon, afterwards blessing the people.

OUTSIDE THE CATHEDRAL

All roads led to Victoria on Wednesday, and in every kind of vehicle was to be seen the now familiar Eucharistic medal, worn proudly on the breasts of those who were journeying either as ticket-holders, or lookers-on to assist at the opening of the Congress. As early as half-past six there was a queue of men and women, several deep, waiting for

the doors to open, and every succeeding minute saw a constant stream of vehicles and foot-passengers adding to their numbers. From the humble "growler" to the ducal electric car, each deposited its load at the great front door of the Cathedral, to wait their turn when the doors opened, there being an entire absence of any suspicion of favouritism in the matter of entry.

The crowd who came to watch may easily be claimed as a record one for any religious celebration, and the time of waiting for the Papal Legate passed rapidly in watching the arrival of the many clergy from almost all parts of the world. Then one of the front doors opened, and the patient, waiting priests and people filed in.

As eight o'clock struck, the crowd assumed gigantic proportions, and the members of the Westminster Company of the Catholic Boys' Brigade made trojan efforts to keep the road in front of the doors, in which they were as successful as Mrs Partington with her mop. Never was there a more good-humoured crowd, or one which took the scene in which they were assisting more seriously.

At 8.15 the command came to the guard to stand at attention, and some rather foolish rushes were made, happily without accident. A few moments later, loud cheers from Ambrosden Avenue announced the Cardinal's coming, and then ensued a scene the like of which the writer, who could hardly be termed a novice in street crowds, has seldom seen equalled. "Hats of!" came a cry, and in a trice there was being waved in the air every description of hat ever seen in England, the Continent, or America. And the shouting! Well, I have heard men shout "some," but the women went, if anything, one better last Wednesday when the carriage containing the Pope's Legate stopped at the door. The Cardinal was evidently greatly pleased with his enthusiastic ovation, and smilingly blessed as many as had the good fortune to get near.

Then came the entry into the Cathedral, where the canopy had been waiting, and then—a shut door, and poor "Outsider" came away with feelings of envy of those fortunate ones on the other side who were seeing a sight the like of which England had not witnessed for more than three hundred years.

It was a great reception to a great prelate on a great occasion, and will live long in the memory of all who witnessed it.

THE SECTIONAL MEETINGS

(From *The Catholic Times*, September 11)

THE FIRST ENGLISH SECTION

Ten o'clock witnesses the filling of the spacious Horticultural Hall, a magnificently lighted oblong building with vaulted glass roof. The platform, which occupies the greater part of the width of the hall, is

backed by a rich drapery of red silk and velvet, a canopy in the centre of which are the Papal Arms. The front of the platform is gracefully decorated with alternating white and yellow flowers, with an abundance of green supplied by ferns and plants. Large panels round the higher walls display the arms of the visiting cardinals and bishops, that of the Cardinal Legate being on the right and that of His Grace of Westminster on the left of the Papal Arms. A magnificent triptych to the left of the audience, of Our Blessed Lady, with the Holy Child, attended by angels with musical instruments, gives an appearance of permanency to the decorations. Beautifully painted hangings fill the panels between the pillars emblematic of the Holy Eucharist. Sheaves of wheat bordered with garlands of grapes, supporting medallions with the types of the Blessed Sacrament, are on all the panels, with appropriate Scripture texts.

The room is rapidly filling up! Ladies, perhaps, predominate, and prominent among them those who have been busy organising the decoration committee work. But men are plentiful, and bishops and abbots are greeting their friends, who all seem agreed that the function of last evening was the best possible. Exclamations in French testify that our neighbours from across the Channel are anxious to improve their knowledge of our language and to promote the religious *entente cordiale*. One good father from Orleans cannot speak or understand a word of English but, "What would you? Must I not come to see my religious brethren of England at their sectional meetings?" The appointed hour is already passed, but only by a few minutes, when the Cardinal Legate arrives looking none the worse for his great efforts of last night. His Grace the Archbishop is in attendance, and a few minutes are occupied in making presentations. A bell is sounded and the Cardinal Legate recites the prayer, "Veni Sancte Spiritus" as the opening of the sectional meeting. Speaking in French he asks the Archbishop to undertake the direction of the first sectional meeting. The Archbishop rises to make some important announcements. Innumerable telegrams have arrived from cardinals, archbishops, bishops, pilgrims at Lourdes, and societies in connection with the Blessed Sacrament from all parts of the world. The announcement of a telegram from the Comte de Mun, the great leader of the French Catholics, was received with particular signs of appreciation.

THE FRENCH SECTION

Caxton Hall—better known to many by its old name of Westminster Town Hall—is one of the largest in London, but the opening meeting of the French-speaking section of that Congress on Thursday morning filled it to the doors. Every seat was occupied, and crowds stood on the sides and back of the hall. The floor was full, the gallery was full—an audience mostly of men, though there were some ladies—and a few nuns were in the gallery.

The hall was bright with red hangings—emblazoned arms of the Pope and the cardinals now in London—flags of many nations, white and yellow flowers, but the brightest point of colour was the centre of the platform, where sat the two red-robed cardinals, Cardinal Ferrari, the Archbishop of Milan, presiding, while seated beside him was the white-haired Cardinal Sancha y Hervas, Primate and representative of Spain, now so closely linked in friendship with England. Our Spanish visitor represents a line of prelates that goes back for more than a thousand years, back to days before the Moors first saw Spain, and he is a confessor of the faith, who spent eight months in a prison in the tropics, more than a quarter of a century ago, when a Colonial Spanish Government was violating the rights of the Church. The Cardinal of Toledo looked on smiling, whispering at times to his brother Cardinal of Milan, but he took no active part in the proceedings. At the end the Cardinal of Milan delighted the audience with a short speech in Latin, that it was a delight to hear.

The two Cardinals were the centre of a group of prelates from both sides of the Atlantic. Old Europe was represented by the Bishops of Angers, Arras, Autun, Soissons, Langres, St Brieuc, Pozzuoli, and Lugo, and America by the Bishop of San Carlos in Chili, and the Archbishop of Montreal, Mgr. Bruchesi, distinguished as a Churchman, an orator, and a man of science; there were three abbots and many distinguished laymen.

The audience was as cosmopolitan as the platform; there were English-speaking people come to fraternise with their brethren from over the sea, many Frenchmen and representatives of every nation in Europe. My right-hand neighbour was a priest who had come from Warsaw, my left a Dutch Catholic journalist.

THURSDAY IN THE ALBERT HALL

From *The Tablet*, September 19

The solemn opening of the Congress by the reception of the Legate on Wednesday evening in the Cathedral and the High Mass on Thursday morning were succeeded on Thursday evening by the first general public meeting of the Congress in the Albert Hall. That triple event unfolded the whole plan and purpose of the great convention. The Pope and the hierarchies of the world had proclaimed in unexampled magnificence and splendour their message to the nations in the great Cathedral, the nations from the seven seas gave acclaim to it with one mighty voice in the Albert Hall. This first gathering in the Albert Hall was as unique as it was historic. The Catholic people of the British Isles were of course in preponderating numbers, but men of every race and colour, and speaking every tongue, made up a throng in the brotherhood of a single faith under the guidance and authority of a common Father, such as these islands have never witnessed before, and in all human probability,

at least in our generation, will never see again. The circling tiers of balconies and boxes, the great arena, every coign of vantage from the ground to the roof, all were occupied as soon as the doors were opened, while without in teeming thousands those who could not gain entrance were present in sympathy and union with their more favoured brethren. For an hour further they waited. The great organ draped with the Union Jack and the Papal Flag, in their juxtaposition symbolical of harmony between civil and spiritual powers, pealed out majestically from time to time, with mighty volume and enthusiasm ten thousand voices were raised in stirring hymns. The platform became rapidly crowded with priests and dignitaries, Monsignori, Dominicans, Franciscans, Servites, Augustinians, Premonstratensians, Jesuits, Oratorians, Oblates, secular priests, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Austrian, Greek, Slav, African, Oriental, South American, North American, Canadian, Australasian, vividly and truly representative of the Universal Church, not only in its supra-national extent, but in the diversity and complexity of its organisation and discipline, and the unity of its faith and government.

But the crowning demonstration of this was yet to come. Nearing eight o'clock the people grew expectant, and then the rolling cheers of the surging crowd without went through the blood with electric force, and a momentary pause was the signal for a storm of enthusiastic shouts which burst from ten thousand in the hall as the first of the long stream of prelates, bishops, and archbishops poured across the hall; but when the cardinals in their turn appeared, the volume of the cheering grew and still grew. But still another moment, and the Papal Legate appeared at the entrance. The scene beggared description. Surprised, he stood still a moment before advancing across the arena, the tumult of applause rising and rising as if the ten thousand had become ten times ten thousand. The Pope has come in the person of his Legate, and his bond of unity and love in that wonderful epoch-making assembly is complete. For this was that mighty shout which rolled on and on as if it would never cease. Uplifted arms and waving handkerchiefs intensified the expression of an enthusiasm that made the spectacle one of unutterable significance. It was a scene that will never be forgotten.

Arrived on the platform the Legate standing there, a stately and benign figure, surrounded by the cardinals and bishops, at length calls on the Archbishop of Westminster to direct the proceedings. The hymn "Holy Spirit, Lord of Life" is sung, the Archbishop introduces the Bishop of Namur, the President of the Permanent International Committee of the Eucharistic Congress, to deliver an inaugural address, and this is followed by the Resolutions of the Congress, the first moved by the Coadjutor Bishop of Cambrai. Mgr. Delamaire is an orator, impassioned, dramatic, eloquent, who reaches and infects his audience with responsive enthusiasm. The representative of the eldest daughter

of the Church is followed by the Archbishop of Melbourne, who described himself as the representative of the youngest, the infant Church of Australia. Then followed the Archbishop of Montreal, who evoked great and frequent applause as he made good the promise his speech in the afternoon at a sectional meeting gave rise to. A typical French Canadian, he proclaimed his loyalty as he dramatically turned to the flag under the protection of which religion in Canada was free, and his description of the presence of the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prince of Wales at the public Mass on the Plains of Abraham in the event proves a biting comment on the action of the English Premier. The resolution was passed with enthusiasm. Then the "O Salutaris" was sung by the whole upstanding multitude and "Hail, Queen of Heaven." Then the Duke of Norfolk rose to move the second resolution. This was the signal for a tremendous cheer, which was long continued. It was, perhaps, the best of the many good speeches the Duke of Norfolk has made. He rose to a great occasion. Many eloquent passages were punctuated by loud cheers. The note he sounded was one of fervid loyalty to the Holy Father, and they were loyal Englishmen because they were loyal Catholics. His contemptuous reference to the puritanical bigots, who have brought Mr Asquith to heel, as interesting specimens of a historic past, was greeted with responsive laughter. Again loud applause marked the close of the Duke's speech. An eloquent speech of Mr Valentin Brifaut, whom the Archbishop described as the leader of the young Catholic party in Belgium, was followed by the resolution of loyalty to the Holy See, which was presented to the Legate, who rose to receive it as it was presented with acclaim. Again and again the ringing cheers of the opening scene were repeated. Eloquent, stately, impassioned, with graceful gesture and evident emotion, the Cardinal Legate made his reply which completed the work of the evening. Father Cox led the whole assembly in the hymn "God bless our Pope," of which he is the composer, and the scene of the beginning once more repeated itself as mighty cheers followed the retiring Legate and Cardinals, cheers which were caught up outside in increasing waves, which will be echoed in every Catholic heart in the world.

THE GREAT PROCESSION

From *The Tablet*, September 19

Immediately after the High Mass on Sunday the people began to converge on Victoria for the great procession. In addition to the enormous crowd already taking part in the Congress, special trains had brought in from all parts of the country, from the Eastern counties, the South, the Midlands, the far North, York, Newcastle, and Scotland, from Manchester, Liverpool, and Preston, from South Wales and Ireland, from France and Belgium, thousands of others to give by their

sacrifice and presence practical proof of their devotion to the object of the Congress. They had all become acquainted with the fatuous action of the Government, and were filled with disgust and disappointment, and were not slow to express their resentment, while acquiescing loyally and promptly in the action of the Archbishop and his advisers. The procession was to be shorn of that for which they had journeyed far, working men to whom the loss of time and money was a serious sacrifice. The essential spirit of persecution inherent in puritanism had shown itself yet again in the Nonconformist Prime Minister, and they keenly resented his intervention. Nevertheless, they gathered about the Cathedral precincts in increasing thousands, all wearing the Papal colours and badges of the Congress, and all fired with increased determination to manifest their devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and their loyalty to the Holy See. Never was such a gathering of Catholics seen in England at any time. Contingents arrived from the various parishes of London headed by their priests, men from Preston, from Leicester, from South Wales and other places took up places of vantage, and soon the streets in the vicinity of the Cathedral were packed with a dense throng to be numbered in tens of thousands. Police in sufficient force were in reserve to cope with any disorder that might arise, but the elements of threatened disturbance were conspicuous by their absence. Non-Catholics who were there were in no way hostile in their attitude, but rather sympathetic and well disposed, and it must be remembered that for the most part the Catholics had joined in the general Communion in the morning. Good order, good nature, and a spirit of devotion dominated the multitude, which relieved the waiting hours by occasional hymns, the favourites being "Faith of our Fathers," "God Bless our Pope," and "Sweet Sacrament." All along the route windows are occupied by expectant spectators, and near the Cathedral the roofs of the houses are crowded. Nearing four o'clock the procession begins. About 800 servers of the Guild of St Stephen in cassock and cotta emerge from the Cathedral, and are greeted with continued cheers, which grow in volume, loud, heart-stirring cheers, as canons in purple, the Metropolitan Chapter in their special robes of bright scarlet, the Byzantine fathers with their long beards, black habits, and grave and stately bearing, abbots, bishops, archbishops with their chaplains in varied purples, a long array of venerable men, the chief pastors of millions of souls, appear; and enthusiasm knows no bounds as the deafening roar of cheering greets them. But now comes the Cardinal Legate, the representative of the Pope, tall above the tallest, stately, gracious, in the bright scarlet of the Cardinal, a long train borne behind him, eight peers of the realm, headed by the premier Duke, forming a guard of honour, and the moment of his appearance is the signal for tumultuous cheering. It is instantly taken up beyond and beyond, and that mighty multitude in that triumphant shout proclaimed the principle of unswerving loyalty to the Pope, and asserted their civil

liberty. That mighty sound of many voices will have long echoes for many years to come. The guard of honour consisted of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Ashburnham, the Earl of Gainsborough, Viscount Gormanston, Viscount Southwell, Lord North, Lord Clifford, Lord Louth, Lord Edmund Talbot, Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, the Hon. Walter Constable Maxwell, and the Hon. Richard Preston. Following the Legate passed the members of the pontifical mission and papal chamberlains, attendant upon the Cardinal, conspicuous among whom was Count O'Clery. The appearance of the other cardinals is the signal for another demonstration. Each in his cardinal's robes, with train-bearer and chaplain, making a blaze of scarlet as he passes, is cheered to the echo. A master of ceremonies is followed by the Archbishop in cappa magna, who heads a seemingly endless line of monsignori, generals of religious orders, provincials, superiors, and priests secular and regular. The open space before the Cathedral was kept by the Boys' Brigade. Through the neighbouring streets, Ashley Gardens, Rochester Row, Artillery Row, Francis Street, back to the Cathedral the procession moves, accompanied by tumultuous cheering, until the Cathedral is reached again. Here are seen closing up the rear of the procession men from Preston and Leicester in regalia, students of Louvain, the Brothers of the Little Oratory in their habits, Brothers of the Servite Guild, members of the Guild of the Blessed Sacrament from Marylebone, Hammersmith, and other districts, and, an interesting feature, a company of Portuguese sailors from the liners at Tilbury.

Now comes the culmination, the consummation of the day. The procession of the Blessed Sacrament as intended for the streets is made through the Cathedral, which is filled with an expectant throng, and then the Cardinal, now in sacred vestments, ascends to the open balcony. Meanwhile the crowd has been pressing on and on: and out into Victoria Street, Ashley Gardens, Carlisle Place, and every approach to the Cathedral is a dense mass of people, turned towards the tower. A critical time of waiting, full of alarming possibilities. Hymns now replace cheering, the "O Salutaris" and "Tantum ergo," then a solemn stillness holds the crowd in expectant reverence, a fanfare of trumpets sounds in the square below, answered from the balcony, and again from the roof above, and the Cardinal Legate appears bearing the monstrance. Pale, with visible emotion, his eyes suffused with tears, he raises the Host slowly in blessing several times, in front, then over the sea of faces to the left, and again to the right towards Victoria Street. The trumpets sound another signal, and Benediction is repeated from each side of the balcony and the act is finished. Then a strange thing happened. The silent, awe-struck reverence changed with one accord and with electric suddenness into a mighty, startling shout of adoration, different in tone and character to the other cheers. There was emotion in its sound and prayer. It was a spontaneous greeting to Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. It was a splendid if unconventional act of faith.

APPENDIX B

COMMITTEES

** Those marked with an asterisk were Members of the Executive Committee.*

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

The President

*THE MOST REV. FRANCIS BOURNE, Archbishop of Westminster

The Vice-Presidents

*His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G.
The Most Hon. The Marquis of Ripon, K.G.
The Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, Bishop of Newport
The Right Rev. Edward Ilsley, Bishop of Birmingham
The Right Rev. Richard Lacy, Bishop of Middlesbrough
The Right Rev. Thomas W. Wilkinson, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle
The Right Rev. William Gordon, Bishop of Leeds
The Right Rev. Charles Graham, Bishop of Plymouth
The Right Rev. Thomas Whiteside, Bishop of Liverpool
The Right Rev. Francis Mostyn, Bishop of Menevia
The Right Rev. Robert Brindle, D.S.O., Bishop of Nottingham
The Right Rev. John Baptist Cahill, Bishop of Portsmouth
The Right Rev. George Ambrose Burton, Bishop of Clifton
The Right Rev. Louis Charles Casartelli, Bishop of Salford
The Right Rev. Peter E. Amigo, Bishop of Southwark
The Right Rev. Patrick Fenton, Bishop of Amycla (*Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Westminster*)
The Right Rev. William T. Cotter, Bishop of Clazomenæ (*Auxiliary of the Bishop of Portsmouth*)
The Right Rev. Richard Collins, Bishop of Selinus (*Auxiliary of the Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle*)

The Right Rev. Joseph Robert Cowgill, Bishop of Olenus (*Coadjutor of the Bishop of Leeds*)
The Right Rev. William A. Johnson, Bishop of Arindela (*Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Westminster*)
The Right Rev. Frederick W. Keating, Bishop of Northampton
The Right Rev. Hugh Singleton, Bishop-Elect of Shrewsbury

Members of the General Committee

The Canons of the Metropolitan Chapter
The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Abingdon
Rev. T. Adkins
Rev. J. P. Bannin, P.S.M.
Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart.
*Very Rev. Mgr. Bidwell, D.D.
M. L'Abbé Billecocq
Dom Norbert Birt, O.S.B.
W. Blenzburg, Esq.
Count Bodenham-Lubienski
H. Bradish, Esq.
*James Britten, K.S.G.
W. Fitzherbert Brockholes, Esq.
Rev. C. E. Brown
Rt. Rev. Mgr. W. F. Brown
George Buchanan, Esq.
Rev. E. Burton, D.D.
The Rt. Hon. The Lord Clifford
V. Rev. Canon Collingwood
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Major R. Chichester-Constable
Rev. Walter Cooksey
V. Rev. Canon Croskell
Colonel D'Alton
Rev. H. E. Daly
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Rt. Rev. Provost Dawson, V.G.
D. M. Delany, Esq.
The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Denbigh
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V. Rev. T. Donnelly, S.J.
Lister Drummond, K.S.G.
Rev. D. Dunford
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Joseph Dutton, Esq.
Rev. J. Earnshaw
A. Guy Ellis, Esq.
P. Ennis, Esq.
Rev. Lionel Evans
The Abbot of Farnborough
M. J. Fitzgerald, Esq.
Rev. F. Flanagan, D.D.
Rev. Philip Fletcher
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L. H. Gethin, Esq.
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Rev. C. Giles
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The Lord Ralph Kerr
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The Rt. Hon. The Lord Lovat
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W. McCarthy, Esq.
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Dr James Taylor-Smith
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Rev. H. Thurston, S.J.
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Wilfrid Ward, Esq.
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C. V. Whitgreave, Esq.
Rev. Bede Wrigley, O.F.M.
Rev. F. M. Wyndham, O.S.C.

HON. SECRETARIES

*V. Rev. Monsignor Butt
*Rev. M. E. Carton de Wiart
*Rev. Eric Green
*Rev. A. Jackman, D.D.
*J. W. Gilbert, Esq.

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Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart.
W. Fitzherbert Brockholes, Esq.
The Lord Clifford

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The Earl of Denbigh
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The Lord Herries
J. F. Hope, Esq., M.P.
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The Lord Howard of Glossop
The Earl of Kenmare
Admiral The Lord Walter Kerr, G.C.B.
The Lord Ralph Kerr
Alderman Sir John Knill, Bart.
Frank Langdale, Esq.
Frank A. R. Langton, Esq.
The Viscount Llandaff
The Lord Lovat
The Marquis of Ripon, K.G.
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V. M. Dunford, K.S.G. (*Hon. Secretary*)

3. *Public Meetings Sub-Committee* (arranged by the Westminster Catholic Federation)

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Rev. G. B. Tatum
Rev. H. Thurston, S.J.

James Britten, K.S.G., Rev. W. H. Cologan (*Hon. Secretaries*)

5. *Ecclesiastical Ceremonial Sub-Committee*

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M. L'Abbé Billecocq
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7. *Processions Sub-Committee*

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The Viscountess Southwell
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The Lady Margaret Domvile
The Lady Clifford of Chudleigh
The Lady Lovat
The Lady Bellew
Countess de Torre Diaz
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Honble. Mrs Fraser
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Rev. William Lee

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Rev. George Phillips
Colonel Leadbitter-Smith
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Menevia

Sir Pyers Mostyn, Bart.
The Viscount Southwell

PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS *

Wednesday, 9th September

8 P.M.—Reception of the Papal Legate and Solemn Opening of the Congress in Westminster Cathedral, with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

Thursday, 10th September

9 A.M.—Pontifical High Mass in Westminster Cathedral, by the Archbishop of Paris.

10.30 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.—Sectional Meetings for Discussion of Papers: Section A (English), Royal Horticultural Hall; Section B (English), Hall at 59 Buckingham Gate; Section C (French), Caxton Hall.

2.30 P.M. to 4.30 P.M.—Sectional Meetings for Discussion of Papers as in morning.

5 P.M.—Vespers and Benediction in Westminster Cathedral.

8 P.M.—Great Meeting in the Albert Hall.

Friday, 11th September †

9 A.M.—Pontifical High Mass in Westminster Cathedral, by the Archbishop of Utrecht.

10.30 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.—Sectional Meetings for Discussion of Papers as on Thursday.

2.30 P.M. to 4.30 P.M.—Sectional Meetings for Discussion of Papers as on Thursday.

5 P.M.—Vespers and Benediction in Westminster Cathedral.

8.30 P.M. to 10.30 P.M.—Reception in the Albert Hall, by the Cardinal Legate.

* The Programme was carried out with the exception of the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament on the Sunday. The only other untoward incident was the illness of Cardinal Mathieu, who fell sick the day after his arrival, and who, except for his presence in the Cathedral at the Legate's reception on the Wednesday evening, took no further part in the proceedings.

† The Holy Father granted a dispensation from abstinence to all who took part in the Eucharistic Congress on this day.

SATURDAY, 12TH SEPTEMBER

9 A.M.—The Divine Liturgy according to the Byzantine Rite in Westminster Cathedral.

10.30 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.—Sectional Meetings for Discussion of Papers as on Thursday.

3.30 P.M.—Children's Service in Westminster Cathedral, with Address by Cardinal Logue, and Benediction.

8 P.M.—Meeting of men in the Albert Hall.

SUNDAY, 13TH SEPTEMBER

General Holy Communion in all Churches.

10.30 A.M.—Pontifical High Mass in Westminster Cathedral, by the Cardinal Legate, in presence of Cardinals Gibbons, Logue, Sancha y Hervas, Ferrari, Mathieu, and Mercier; Sermon by Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

3 P.M.—Pontifical Vespers, Great Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, Te Deum, Benediction, Solemn Closing of the Congress.

CATHEDRAL MUSIC

WEDNESDAY, 9TH SEPTEMBER

(*Early English Polyphonic Composers*)

MASS	"Secundi Toni" (5 vocum)	Wm. Byrd [1543-1623]
Motet	"O sacrum convivium"	Thos. Tallis [1515?-1585]

VESPERS AND BENEDICTION

(*Modern English Composers, excepting the Psalms, which are sung each day in Falsobordone*)

HYMN		Gregorian
Magnificat		Wm. Sewell
Salve Regina		S. P. Waddington
O Salutaris		Sir Edward Elgar
HYMN	"Veni Creator"	R. R. Terry
Tantum ergo		Dr F. E. Gladstone

Thursday, 10th September

(*French Composers*)

Mass	"Missa in Honorem B.M.V. de Lourdes"	Edgar Tinel
Motet	"Ave Verum"	Chas. Gounod

Vespers and Benediction

(*Spanish and Flemish Composers*)

Hymn	
Magnificat	Orlando di Lasso
Salve Regina	Alvarez (for 8 voices)
O Salutaris	Old Melody
Motet "Lauda Sion"	Remigio Ozcoz y Calahorra
Tantum ergo	Vittoria

Friday, 11th September

(*German Composers*)

Mass	"Missa Festiva" (6 voices)	Ludwig Ebner
Motet	"Ave Verum"	Mozart

Vespers and Benediction

Hymn	Gregorian
Magnificat	
Salve Regina	Max Filke
O Salutaris	J. Sebastian Bach
Motet "Ave Maria"	Johannes Brahms
Tantum ergo	J. Sebastian Bach

Saturday, 12th September

Byzantine Liturgy

Sunday, 13th September

(*Music by Palestrina and Italian Composers*)

Mass	"Papæ Marcelli" (6 voices)	Palestrina
Motet	"Tu es Petrus" (6 voices)	Palestrina

Vespers and Benediction

Hymn	Gregorian
Magnificat	Foschini (for men's voices)
Salve Regina	Soriano
Tantum ergo	Palestrina
Solemn Te Deum	Anerio

APPENDIX C

ADHESIONS AND GOOD WISHES

Among the Records of the proceedings of last September, preserved in the Westminster Archives at Archbishop's House, is a file of letters (some 150 in number) received from Archbishops and Bishops of various countries, expressing their regret at being unable themselves to come to London for the occasion, but requesting that they and their dioceses be recognised as officially taking part in the Eucharistic Congress and associating themselves with its deliberations. Using a concise and appropriate French or Italian phrase, very many of them assure our Archbishop of their "adhesion" to the Congress, declaring it to be full and sincere.

In going through this interesting correspondence, its Catholicity stands forth prominently. It is by no means only the neighbouring Catholics of France, Belgium, Italy, etc., who were with us in spirit during that famous week. Far-off dioceses and vicariates apostolic in Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Australasia, appear even more anxious than European churches to emphasise their oneness with ourselves in the worship of the Holy Eucharist. Very noticeable in this respect are the letters of the Patriarchs and other high dignitaries of Eastern rites. Yet more striking is the absolute accord of thought among such typical representatives as are Bishops of nationalities the most antagonistic and traditions the most independent. From end to end of this voluminous and, as a rule, outspoken correspondence, not a single discordant note is struck. All have the same faith in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, and take this unity of belief as a self-evident fact. All desire that the honour given

to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament should be as great and as public as possible; and all therefore hope and pray that the Congress may be a true success. Not a few of these far-off Bishops courteously remind us that ours is the "Island of Saints," and like to look upon the holding of the Eucharistic Congress in London as a hopeful sign of a coming conversion of England. All appear struck with the freedom the Church enjoys in this country, and impressed by the progress of Catholicism, to which the London Congress testifies.

To cite one or two of our Archbishop's most reverend correspondents:—

"I feel assured (writes Cardinal Vives) that our Lord will bless and reward the love and devotion of the Faithful of Great Britain towards the Holy Eucharist by showering down His graces and blessings upon the whole English people. I associate myself in spirit with the devoted members of the Congress in all the acts of adoration, of love, and of devotion put forth by them in honour of the ineffable mystery of the Holy Eucharist. I join myself with them in spirit in all they say and in all they do."

One of the Eastern Patriarchs writes:—

"May the Divine Victim bless your generous efforts and make the Congress rich in supernatural fruits. The East is with you. The Maronite Church above all is not content simply to pray for the success of the Congress and to wish it well. It insists in having its share in the labour, and therefore deputes one of its dignitaries to represent it in London."

In fine, Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, tells the Archbishop that, were it not that the burden of seventy-eight years makes a journey of twelve thousand miles rather severe for him, he would most assuredly himself come to London; that, however, "eight Archbishops and Bishops will represent the Australian Church at your important Congress, and that at all times you can rely upon any little aid I can give you in overcoming the difficulties that beset you in carrying on the mission of our Divine Master."

Besides the "adhesions" from Archbishops and Bishops, a mass of letters and telegrams have been received from canonical chapters, universities, colleges, guilds, confraternities, and parishes from all parts of the world, some hundreds of messages coming from Spain alone.

THANKS AND APPRECIATIONS

The Papal Legate's Thanks

The following communication from the Papal Legate appeared in the Catholic papers of 10th and 11th September:—

"Cardinal Vannutelli has been deeply touched by the warmth of his reception in London and by the respect and courtesy shown him by the crowds, the press, and indeed every one with whom his Eminence has come in contact. His Eminence regards the Congress as being one of the finest demonstrations yet witnessed of the close union existing between Roman Catholics all the world over. The Congress has brought together Churchmen from all parts of the world, both of the Latin and the Oriental rite; but in the opinion of the Cardinal the most interesting feature of the Eucharistic Congress from the English point of view is that, though, of course, it may be looked upon as an international meeting, and therefore largely a foreign gathering, yet it really is to an extent which may not yet have been fully realised, a manifestation of Imperial and British Roman Catholicism."

The Archbishop's Thanks to Workers

In the Catholic papers of 18th and 19th September:—

"His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster desires to express his heartfelt and most grateful thanks to all those who with so much devotion and self-sacrifice have contributed to ensure the magnificent success of the Eucharistic Congress. In the first place to all the members, and especially to the secretaries of the various sub-committees, and next in a still higher degree to the members of the Executive Committee, and especially to the hon. secretaries who have toiled without rest or intermission, and whose labours deserve all praise, he offers a gratitude which no words can express; and he begs of our Divine Master, for whom all have worked, to bless and reward all alike, as He alone can do, for all that they have done to promote the glory of the Most Blessed Sacrament."

The Tablet, 12th September:—

"Now that the Papal Delegate has left our shores and the work of the Eucharistic Congress is over, it is our pleasant task to have to convey the thanks of the Catholic public to all those whose work and devotion has contributed so largely to its success. First of all, thanks are due to Dr Jackman and Mr John Gilbert. It may be that there is no such thing as 'the necessary man,' but, at least, it is hard to imagine

what the Congress would have been without the help of these two. Then thanks are due to the secretaries of the Truth Society, Mr Britten and Father Cologan, who brought to the work of the sectional meetings an experience gained through a long line of successes in organising great popular meetings. The Catholic Association, under Father Bannin and Mr Valentine Dunford, did splendid work in arranging for the arrival and departure and comfort of a multitude of guests. The Catholic Union, under the direction of Mr W. S. Lilly, did all that could be done as a great Hospitality Committee. The Catholic Federation drilled an army of stewards, the Boys' Brigade proved their usefulness, and that they were worthy of responsibility, the Ransomers followed the lead of Father Fletcher, especially in the children's procession, but behind all these were the controlling hands of such indefatigable workers and secretaries as Mgr. Butt, Father Cooksey, Father Carton de Wiart, Father Eric Green, Father Evans, and Mr Hackett, the chief sacristan of the Cathedral. Special mention also must be made of Mgr. Howlett, the Administrator of the Cathedral, and of Mgr. Wallis, the Master of Ceremonies, each of whom had his own heavy burden of responsibility and bore it bravely. Of Mr Terry and his choir it is enough to say that their work came up even to the high expectations which had been formed for it. Among the many ladies who helped in the preparations for the Congress, Miss Streeter was conspicuous for her successful work in connection with the Decoration Committee. Finally, it must not be forgotten that it was the generosity of Mr Stuart Coats which made it possible to carry out the Byzantine Liturgy in the completeness of its splendour. Special mention should also be made of the services of the Rev. A. Fortescue, D.D., in connection with the preparation of the Byzantine Liturgy, and of the booklet explaining the ceremony. Without Dr Fortescue's knowledge and infinite care the Liturgy could not have been presented in so accurate or dignified a manner."

GIFT OF FLOWERS FROM CATHOLIC FRANCE

A very pleasing token of the interest taken by the Church abroad in the Eucharistic Congress held in London is to be found in the generous gift of flowers sent for the occasion by the Catholics of France to their brethren in England. In France religious processions have been forbidden, and it is no longer permissible to carry the Blessed Sacrament through the streets, nor, in consequence, to strew flowers before it. The pious thought occurred to the French Catholics that the flowers which

could not be strewn in a Eucharistic procession in France might carpet the streets in the Eucharistic procession in London. Over 150,000 bunches of beautiful blossoms, very carefully packed, were sent to Westminster for the purpose specified, by a specially chartered boat; and when the procession was shorn of its central and most distinctive feature by the action of the Prime Minister, some 65,000 bunches or more were used in the decoration of the Cathedral.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, writing in the name of the English Catholics, expressed to Mr Henri Blount the thanks of Catholic England for this magnificent gift in the following letter:—

"Norfolk House, St James's Square,
13*th September*.

"My Dear Blount,—You will, of course, receive a communication of a more official character on this subject, but I take this opportunity of writing to you and expressing the deep emotion experienced by English Catholics at the delicate thought which inspired the French Catholics to send the flowers for the procession. The idea itself was as friendly as it was delicate, but the scale upon which the idea was carried out filled us with the most grateful appreciation. As you will understand, and for reasons which it is useless to enter into, these flowers were not strewn before the Blessed Sacrament, as was hoped might be done, but they were used to decorate those parts of the Cathedral which most needed it, with great effect, and were greatly admired, particularly some of the lilies, which were of rare beauty. I write these few lines in haste, so as to avoid any delay, but I can assure you that these few words can only give you a feeble idea of the feelings inspired in us by the noble and generous action of the French Catholics.—Norfolk."

The Archbishop of Westminster also addressed the following letter of thanks to Mr Blount a few days later:—

"Archbishop's House, Westminster, S.W.,
19*th September*, 1908.

"Dear Mr Blount,—It is only now that I find a moment of leisure in which to thank those who conceived and carried into effect the gracious thought of uniting the flowers of France with all the acts of Worship and Adoration which have gone up before the Most Blessed Sacrament during the wonderful days that came to a close on Sunday.

"This thought has called forth the gratitude of all Catholic hearts

in England, and is a fresh link in the long chain of events, both sad and joyful, which, under the guidance of God's Providence, have in every generation united the Catholics of the nations together.

"I beg you to offer my grateful thanks to MM. Henri Jouin and Delahaye, and to all who have taken part in this tribute of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. I pray our Divine Master to reward them, and to draw the two peoples ever more closely together for the promotion of His Divine Glory and the advancement of His Kingdom on this earth.

"Believe me, my dear Mr Blount,

"Your devoted servant in Christ,

"✠ FRANCIS, *Archbishop of Westminster.*"

APPENDIX D

LIST OF DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICS WHO ATTENDED THE CONGRESS *

CARDINALS

Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli, Bishop of Palestrina.
Cardinal James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.
Cardinal Michael Logue, Archbishop of Armagh.
Cardinal Cyriaco Maria Sancha y Hervas, Archbishop of Toledo and Patriarch of the W. Indies.
Cardinal Andrea Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan.
Cardinal François Mathieu, in the Roman Curia, formerly Archbishop of Toulouse.†
Cardinal Désiré Mercier, Archbishop of Mechlin.

ARCHBISHOPS

The Most Rev. Michael Kelly, Archbishop of Achrida, Coadjutor of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney.
The Most Rev. Peregrine M. Stagni, O.S.M., Archbishop of Aquila.
The Most Rev. Donatus Sbarretti, Archbishop of Ephesus, Delegate Apostolic to Canada.
The Most Rev. John A. Maguire, Archbishop of Glasgow.
The Most Rev. Patrick Delany, Archbishop of Hobart.
The Most Rev. Thomas Joseph Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne.
The Most Rev. Mary Joseph Francis Delamaire, Archbishop of Metymna and Coadjutor of Cambrai.

* The list is necessarily incomplete.

† Cardinal Mathieu, after a long and painful illness, borne with exemplary patience, died in London on 26th October, deeply mourned by a large circle of public and private friends. *R.I.P.*

The Most Rev. Paul Napoleon Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal.
The Most Rev. Léon Adolphe Amette, Archbishop of Paris.
The Most Rev. Pasquale Morganti, Archbishop of Ravenna.
The Most Rev. Edward Gilpin Bagshawe, Archbishop of Seleucia.
The Most Rev. the Hon. Edmund Stonor, Archbishop of Trebizond.
The Most Rev. John Healy, Archbishop of Tuam.
The Most Rev. Henry van de Wetering, Archbishop of Utrecht.
The Most Rev. Matthew Dvornik, Archbishop of Zara.

BISHOPS

The Right Rev. Thomas Louis Heylen, C.R.P., Bishop of Namur, President of the Permanent Committee of Eucharistic Congresses.
The Right Rev. Æneas Chisholm, Bishop of Aberdeen.
The Right Rev. John Lyster, Bishop of Achonry.
The Right Rev. A. le Roy, Bishop of Alinda.
The Right Rev. Patrick Fenton, Bishop of Amycla, and Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Westminster.
The Right Rev. Joseph Rumeau, Bishop of Angers.
The Right Rev. William A. Johnson, Bishop of Arindela, and Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Westminster.
The Right Rev. Alfred Williez, Bishop of Arras.
The Right Rev. George M. Lenihan, Bishop of Auckland.
The Right Rev. Henry Raymond Villard, Bishop of Autun.
The Right Rev. John Higgins, Bishop of Ballarat.
The Right Rev. A. X. Albano, Bishop of Bethsaida.
The Right Rev. Edward Ilsley, Bishop of Birmingham.
The Right Rev. Gustavus Waffelaert, Bishop of Bruges.
The Right Rev. Nicholas Donnelly, Bishop of Canea, and Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Dublin.
The Right Rev. T. A. Hendrick, Bishop of Cebu.
The Right Rev. William T. Cotter, Bishop of Clazomenæ, and Auxiliary of the Bishop of Portsmouth.
The Right Rev. Robert Browne, Bishop of Cloyne.
The Right Rev. George Ambrose Burton, Bishop of Clifton.
The Right Rev. Xavier Matheus de Oliveira, Bishop of Cochin.
The Right Rev. Thomas Alphonsus O'Callaghan, Bishop of Cork.
The Right Rev. J. Foley, Bishop of Detroit (U.S.A.).
The Right Rev. E. O'Neill, Bishop of Dromore.
The Right Rev. Michael Verdon, Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand.
The Right Rev. John Clancy, Bishop of Elphin.
The Right Rev. the Hon. Algernon C. Stanley, Bishop of Emmaus.
The Right Rev. Francis Zorn de Bulach, Bishop of Erythræ, and Auxiliary Bishop of Strasburg.
The Right Rev. William J. Miller, O.M.I., Vicar-Apostolic of the Transvaal Colony, Titular Bishop of Eumenia.

The Right Rev. William Turner, Bishop of Galloway.
The Right Rev. P. P. Drinot y Pierola, Bishop of Huànuco.
The Right Rev. Emile Grouard, Titular Bishop of Ibora, Vicar-Apostolic of Athabasca.
The Right Rev. Hugh MacSherry, Bishop of Justinianopolis, and Vicar-Apostolic of the E. district of Cape Colony.
The Right Rev. John Mangan, Bishop of Kerry.
The Right Rev. Andrew Boylan, C.SS.R., Bishop of Kilmore.
The Right Rev. Patrick Foley, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
The Right Rev. M. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe.
The Right Rev. S. Herscher, Bishop of Langres.
The Right Rev. J. N. Terrero y Escalada, Bishop of La Plata.
The Right Rev. A. Cardot, Bishop of Limira.
The Right Rev. Thomas Bonacum, Bishop of Lincoln (U.S.A.).
The Right Rev. J. Doyle, Bishop of Lismore (N.S.W.).
The Right Rev. Thomas Whiteside, Bishop of Liverpool.
The Right Rev. B. Murua y Lopez, Bishop of Lugo.
The Right Rev. N. Audino, Bishop of Mazzara.
The Right Rev. Francis J. Mostyn, Bishop of Menevia.
The Right Rev. Willibrord Benzler, O.S.B., Bishop of Metz.
The Right Rev. Richard Lacy, Bishop of Middlesbrough.
The Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport.
The Right Rev. H. Doulcet, C.P., Bishop of Nicopolis (Bulgaria).
The Right Rev. Frederick Keating, Bishop of Northampton.
The Right Rev. Robert Brindle, D.S.O., Bishop of Nottingham.
The Right Rev. Joseph B. Cowgill, Bishop of Olenus, and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Leeds.
The Right Rev. Louis da Silva Britto, Bishop of Olinda, Brazil.
The Right Rev. Abraham Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory.
The Right Rev. Compton Theodore Galton, S.J., Titular Bishop of Petenissus, and Vicar-Apostolic of Demerara (B.W.I.).
The Right Rev. G. J. van Caloen, O.S.B., Bishop of Phocea.
The Right Rev. Charles Graham, Bishop of Plymouth.
The Right Rev. John Baptist Cahill, Bishop of Portsmouth.
The Right Rev. M. Zezza di Zapponeta, Bishop of Pozzuoli.
The Right Rev. Denis Kelly, Bishop of Ross.
The Right Rev. Jules Laurent Morelle, Bishop of St Brieuc.
The Right Rev. A. G. Foucault, Bishop of St Dié.
The Right Rev. Louis C. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford.
The Right Rev. R. A. Jara, Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud, Chile.
The Right Rev. Ignatius Montes de Oca y Obregon, Bishop of San Luis Potosi (States of Mexico).
The Right Rev. B. J. Keiley, Bishop of Savannah (U.S.A.)
The Right Rev. Richard Collins, Bishop of Selinus, and Auxiliary to the Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.
The Right Rev. Hugh Singleton, Bishop-elect of Shrewsbury.

The Right Rev. Gustavus Blanche, Titular Bishop of Sicca Veneria, Vicar-Apostolic of the Gulf of St Lawrence.
The Right Rev. Pierre Louis Péchenard, Bishop of Soissons.
The Right Rev. Peter Amigo, Bishop of Southwark.
The Right Rev. M. Gaughren, O.M.I., Bishop of Tentira, Vicar-Apostolic of the Orange River Colony.
The Right Rev. J. M. Emard, Bishop of Valleyfield (Canada).
The Right Rev. Louis Emile Dubois, Bishop of Verdun.
The Right Rev. Alphonsus Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

ABBOTS

The Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, O.S.B., President of the English Congregation.
The Right Rev. A. C. Butler, O.S.B., Downside.
The Right Rev. H. E. Ford, O.S.B., Ealing.
The Right Rev. J. O. Smith, O.S.B., Ampleforth.
The Right Rev. A. S. Taylor, O.S.B., Woolhampton (Douai).
The Right Rev. F. T. Bergh, O.S.B., Ramsgate.
The Right Rev. F. M. Cabrol, O.S.B., Farnborough.
The Right Rev. J. Bouchard, O.S.B., Llechryd (Caermaria).
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Mont César, Louvain, O.S.B.
The Right Rev. A. Vonier, O.S.B., Buckfast.
The Right Rev. A. Hoeckelmann, O.S.B., Erdington.
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Tongerloo, C.R.P.
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Parc, C.R.P.
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Aberbode, C.R.P.
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Grimbergen, C.R.P.
The Right Rev. the Abbot of Leffe, C.R.P.
The Right Rev. M. Geudens, C.R.P., Miles Platting, Manchester.
The Right Rev. A. H. White, C.R.L., Stroud Green.
The Provost of Great St Bernard's.

APPENDIX E

THE JUBILEE GIFTS TO THE POPE

In connection with the Eucharistic Congress, an exhibition of the Jubilee Gifts to the Holy Father was held in the schoolroom under the Church of SS. Peter and Edward in Palace Street, Westminster. Here a very large collection of altar linen, vestments, and other articles for Eucharistic services were arranged on tables throughout the room. So numerous were the exhibits of this kind that the attempt to count and classify them had to be abandoned. Much of the work was very beautiful, and far beyond the quality found in the ordinary parish churches of Italy.

The members of the Catholic Women's League gave a hundred missals. Cottas, palls, corporals, pyx-bags, albs, altar cards were there without number. There was also a quantity of valuable lace. But most interesting of all was the display of three hundred and fifty chalices, the gift of the Catholic women of Great Britain and Ireland. The chalices—of silver and silver gilt—were arranged in four sections, representing the gift of the Catholic women of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Of these, England and Wales contributed 220 chalices, Scotland 56, Ireland 85. The amount contributed for the gift from England and Wales was £1153.

On Friday, 11th September, the Papal Legate, accompanied by His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster and the Duke of Norfolk, paid a visit to the Exhibition, where he was received by Lady Herbert of Lea, the President General of the Associa-

tion of Perpetual Adoration and Work for Poor Churches—under whose auspices the collection has been made—by the Duchess of Norfolk, the Dowager Duchess of Newcastle, and many other prominent ladies. The Rev. P. W. O'Connor, the Director of the Association for the Diocese of Westminster, read the following address in French to His Eminence:—

"Permit me, in the name of the Association, to express the feelings of gratitude and delight your visit affords us. We cherish your august personality for more reasons than one. Yesterday we honoured in you the vicar of Jesus Christ, chosen specially by Him as his official representative during these memorable days, which will mark an epoch in the history of our land.

"In spite of the many duties you have to perform, and of the numerous calls made upon you by the important mission with which you are invested, Your Eminence has been graciously pleased to confer upon our work the honour of your great wisdom and of the experience which you are ever ready generously to place at the service of the Holy Church.

"Deign, therefore, to accept this expression of our intense gratitude for your visit to this work, which is of so slight importance in the eyes of the world, but which is dear to the heart of our Lord.

"Your visit will give a fresh impetus to our work, and will urge us on to further progress. It is our privilege to place before your Eminence these gifts from the Catholics of England. They are but a feeble symbol of their love and of their filial piety towards the successor of Peter."

The Legate, replying in French, said he felt in many ways bound to pay a visit to that Exhibition,—firstly, because it was his special duty, as Cardinal Protector of the Association; secondly, because His Holiness the Pope never let slip an opportunity of encouraging Catholic ladies to work for that Association, whose object was to furnish all that was needful for the service of the altar in poor churches; thirdly, because this Association and the gifts offered by its members were in close relation to the

Eucharistic Congress, which had assembled to render homage to the God of the Tabernacle.

His Eminence then went round the room and inspected the exhibits, after which he again addressed a few words to those present, promising that he would tell the Pope of the zeal and devotion with which the Catholic women of England were working for the cause of the Church.

APPENDIX F

LA COMMUNION FRÉQUENTE, PRÉPARÉE PAR LA COUTUME D'ASSISTER TOUS LES JOURS A LA SAINTE MESSE

Par le Rev. Père A. de Wouters, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Recteur du Collège S. Stanilas à Mons (Belgique).

"Laudetur Jesus Christus in Sanctissimo Altaris Sacramento."

Je me plaîs à protester d'abord que j'adhère de toute mon âme à tout ce qui a été dit de plus fervent et de plus enthousiaste en faveur de la sainte coutume de la communion quotidienne, cet idéal de la vie du chrétien.

Je bénis Dieu de l'inspiration vraiment surnaturelle qui a décidé le souverain pontife à donner le décret *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*, qui ne date que de deux années et a déjà produit dans la société chrétienne des fruits de sanctification si merveilleux.

Dans le rapport que j'ai l'honneur de présenter à cette auguste assemblée je m'attache uniquement aux moyens de promouvoir la communion quotidienne parmi les fidèles.

Nombreux sont les moyens présentés dans un grand nombre d'écrits très pieux et de très éloquents discours; la plupart ne s'adressent, cependant, qu'à des catégories spéciales de personnes.

Il en est un sur lequel je voudrais attirer l'attention d'une manière plus générale, car il me paraît être le plus efficace et le plus puissant, il peut aussi être le mieux compris par la masse de fidèles. Il est tiré de la nature même de l'œuvre

d'amour et de sanctification opérée par notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ dans l'institution de l'Eucharistie, et conforme à la doctrine énoncée par S. Thomas d'Aquin en deux mots: "Eucharistia non solum est sacramentum, sed etiam sacrificium" (III. q. 32, a. 4). L'Eucharistie n'est pas seulement un sacrement, mais un sacrifice.

Il ne faut pas se le dissimuler: l'introduction dans la société chrétienne d'une habitude un peu générale de la communion fréquente, suppose une modification assez profonde des habitudes familiales; le moyen employé pour obtenir une telle réforme doit avoir une puissance et une efficacité de tous les temps et de tous les pays.

A cet effet, il doit répondre à trois conditions: il doit avoir toute la stabilité d'une doctrine, toute la force d'une coutume; et une simplicité telle, qu'il soit compris par tous les fidèles; il doit avoir une efficacité indépendante des temps et des lieux, et la tirer de la nature même de l'œuvre accomplie par notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ lorsque, à la veille de sa mort, il donna à l'humanité la sainte Eucharistie, sacrement et sacrifice.

En théorie, nul chrétien ne met en doute l'union essentielle du sacrifice et du sacrement, de la sainte messe et de la communion: mais, dans la pratique, combien s'en trouve-t-il qui, chaque fois qu'ils communient ou qu'ils assistent à la sainte messe, aient la profonde et chaude impression de l'Eucharistie, à la fois sacrifice offert à la Divinité, et sacrement donné à l'humanité.

Voici, donc, les deux propositions que je voudrais soumettre à vos pieuses réflexions, et que je vous demande la permission d'exposer aussi brièvement que le sujet le comporte:

Premièrement.—Les apôtres de la communion fréquente, doivent s'attacher à faire sentir l'union essentielle qui existe entre le saint sacrifice de la messe et le sacrement de l'Eucharistie; afin que les fidèles n'assistent jamais à la messe sans faire la communion spirituelle; le moyen ainsi proposé pour obtenir la communion fréquente, sera basé sur une DOCTRINE.

Secondement.—Afin de promouvoir dans les familles chrétiennes la pratique de la communion quotidienne, il importe de promouvoir la sainte coutume d'assister à la messe tous

les jours de l'année: afin, que le moyen de propagande soit basé sur une COUTUME.

Première partie.

Je dis donc premièrement: la pensée d'assister à la sainte messe ne devrait jamais être séparée de la pensée de la communion sacramentelle ou du moins spirituelle.

Rien ne révèle avec plus de lumière l'intime connexion du sacrement et du sacrifice dans l'Eucharistie, que leur institution simultanée par une action unique de notre rédempteur divin.

Le canon de la messe résume avec une sublime simplicité les récits des livres saints:

"Cette oblation o Dieu daignez la rendre pour nous tous bénie, appliquée, ratifiée, raisonnable, acceptable, afin qu'elle devienne pour nous le corps et le sang de votre bien-aimé Fils, notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.

"Lequel, à la veille de sa mort, prit le pain entre ses saintes et vénérables mains, puis, les yeux élevés au ciel vers vous, Dieu son père tout puissant, vous rendant grâce, le bénit le rompit et le distribua à ses disciples en disant: Recevez ceci et mangez-en tous, car ceci est mon corps.

"De la même manière, après le souper, prenant cet admirable calice dans ses saintes et vénérables mains, et de nouveau vous rendant grâce, il le bénit et le donna à ses apôtres en disant: Recevez ceci, buvez-en tous, car voici le calice de mon sang de l'alliance nouvelle et éternelle: mystère de foi, qui pour vous et pour un grand nombre sera répandu pour la rémission des péchés."

"Chaque fois que vous accomplirez ceci, vous le ferez en mémoire de moi."

Voici bien, à la veille du sacrifice sanglant du Golgotha le même sacrifice sous sa forme non sanglante et sacramentelle!

Voici la première messe célébrée et les premières communions distribuées, avant que le sang du Christ n'ait rougi la croix et le calvaire!

Saintes prémices du sacrifice qui, depuis ce jour et jusqu'à la fin des siècles réalise la promesse du prophète Malachie: "ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo

oblatio munda" (Mal. i. 11) du lever du soleil à sa chûte, la grandeur de mon nom se manifeste parmi le peuple, en tout lieu on sacrifie et une victime pure est offerte à mon nom.

En une seule action, le verbe incarné, usant de sa toute puissance divine et cédant à l'amour infini de son cœur, fonde dans l'humanité le sacrifice de la loi nouvelle et éternelle, donne à ceux qui croient en lui, le sacrement de son corps et de son sang; selon les paroles divines, le sacrement eucharistique est donné, en même temps que le sacrifice eucharistique est offert!

Le Christ, prêtre éternel, offre pour la première fois à son père la victime pure; pour la première fois, sont offerts à Dieu un culte et un sacrifice dignes de son infinie majesté et rendant, au nom de l'humanité, l'hommage dû à Dieu seul. C'est l'institution du sacrifice de la nouvelle alliance: indiqué d'une manière plus explicite dans la formule de consécration du calice.

Et cependant, le premier mot de l'Homme-Dieu, usant de son sacerdoce divin communique le don: Prenez, mangez . . . tous buvez! c'est l'institution du sacrement unie à l'institution du sacrifice, en une seule action; la pensée du rédempteur paraît même être moins préoccupée du sacrifice offert à son Père que du sacrement donné aux hommes.

Le Christ *consacre* pour distribuer: et il *distribue* en consacrant.

Combien différente eût été le Cène du Jeudi Saint sans le pain rompu par les doigts sacrés et présenté aux disciples?

Elle eût été, sans doute, un sublime et divin sacrifice, culte du Latrie par excellence, offert au Très-Haut; mais, après l'immolation de la victime, les apôtres n'eussent point été aspergés du sang sacré; la promesse et la prophétie renfermées dans les rites de la première alliance de Dieu avec son peuplec n'eussent point été réalisées.[1] Le sacrifice non sanglant, n'eût pas indiqué que sur le calvaire, le sang du rédempteur sera versé non seulement pour rendre à Dieu le culte de réparation,

[1] "Ille vero (Moyses) sumptum sanguinem (dimidiam partem sanguinis victimarum) respersit in populum, et ait: Hic est sanguis fœderis quod pepigit Dominus vobiscum super cunctis sermonibus his." —(Exod. xxiv. 8, et Hebr. ix. 20).

mais pour communiquer aux générations humaines les mérites de la victime, en vue de la rémission des péchés et de la sanctification des âmes.

Le mystère d'Emmaüs eût-il obtenu ce miracle de la grâce si les deux disciples découragés et défiants n'avaient été que les témoins du sacrifice, sans y participer personnellement et sans recueillir les grâces du sacrement? Le pain béni et transsubstantié offrit au Père le sacrifice d'agréable odeur, le pain rompu et distribué donna aux disciples la lumière et le courage! "cognoverunt eum in fractione panis" (Luc. xxiv. 35).

Qu'eussent été, devant la sainte mère du Christ, les sacrifices offerts par les apôtres sous la forme non sanglante de la transsubstantiation, si, par le sacrement du pain rompu et distribué, le Fils n'eut été rendu à sa mère? Divine consolation de son exil et de son veuvage! soutient et aliment de son amour et de sa vie?

Aussi, les coutumes de l'Église, sa doctrine, sa liturgie supposent cette intime union du sacrifice et du sacrement.

Le lien qui unissait les premiers disciples du Christ, après la Pentecôte était triple "Erant autem perseverantes in *doctrina* apostolorum, et communicatione *fractionis* panis et *orationibus*." (Act ii. 42). Ils se maintenaient par la *doctrine* des apôtres, par la participation à la *fraction* du pain, par les prières dites en commun.

A Jérusalem, à Antioche, dans les catacombes romaines, les fidèles trouvaient dans les rites du culte et leurs saintes agapes, avec l'évocation du sacrifice sanglant du Golgotha, le renouvellement de la Cène, la veille de la Passion.

Dans les premières églises souterraines, la victime sainte était immolée, pour être donnée; et ceux qui, de la main des pontifes avaient reçu pour eux-mêmes le pain descendu du ciel, emportaient ensuite dans les linges, blancs comme des linceuls, le pain de vie éternelle, afin de le distribuer aux infirmes, aux vieillards et à ceux qui, dans les prisons, attendaient l'heure du martyre.

Le pain vivant et divin "panis vivus qui de coelo descendi" (Io. vi. 41) était à l'égard de Dieu le père l'offrande pure, l'agneau qui efface les péchés du monde; il était pour les

chrétiens, le pain donnant aux âmes une vie des seuls anges comprise; défendant leurs cœurs contre le poison délétère des mœurs païennes, mettant sur leurs fronts purs et intrépides le signe de la paix que Dieu donne.

De ces agapes, sacrifice et sacrement, ceux qui étaient marqués pour le martyre, se retiraient, dit S. Jean Chrysostôme, "quasi leones ignem spirantes" tels que lions redoubtables, la flamme au cœur, flamme faite de courage et d'amour.

Comme témoins de la doctrine de l'Église, bornons nous à rappeler d'abord S. Thomas d'Aquin; 3e partie, question 82e, art. 4. "Sacerdos consecrans tenetur sumere sacramentum, ut legitur in concilio toletano (xii. can. 5); modis omnibus tenendum est ut sacerdos, quotiescumque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi particpem se præbeat."

Le saint docteur donne le motif: parce que l'Eucharistie n'est pas uniquement un sacrement mais aussi un sacrifice; or, quiconque offre un sacrifice, doit en recevoir participation, car le sacrifice qui s'offre extérieurement est le signe du sacrifice intérieur, par lequel il s'offre lui-même à Dieu selon la remarque, de S. Augustin (De la cité de Dieu, x., 5).

Le concile de Trente suppose non seulement la communion du prêtre mais la communion au moins spirituelle des fidèles "Optaret quidem sacrosancta synodus, ut singulis missis, fideles adstantes *non solum* spirituali affectu, sed sacramentali etiam Eucharistiæ perceptione communicarent, quo ad eos sanctissimi hujus sacrificii fructus uberior proveniret" (Session xxii., chap. vi.). Le très saint concile désirerait, qu'à chacune des messes, les simples fidèles reçoivent la communion, non seulement par désir spirituel, mais par la réception sacramentelle de l'Eucharistie: afin de recueillir avec plus d'abondance les fruits du très saint sacrifice.

Il me paraît très intéressant de faire observer que ce texte appartient non pas à la Session xiii. de *Eucharistia*, mais à la Session xxii. *De sacrificio missæ;* à juste titre on le cite pour enseigner la doctrine du concile au sujet de la communion quotidienne: mais, pour lui donner toute sa signification et toute son éloquence, il faut le prendre dans son contexte, c'est-à-dire avec l'enseignement très explicite de l'union intime du

sacrifice et du sacrement. Et lorsque, dans ce même chapitre VI. le saint synode déclare que les messes durant lesquelles le seul prêtre communie sont, non seulement licites mais recommandables, et que ces messes ne sont pas une œuvre personnelle du prêtre mais un sacrifice commun de l'église; il donne ces deux motifs: 1° parce que les fidèles communient spirituellement, 2° parce que le prêtre est un ministre de l'église, sacrifiant non pour lui seul, mais pour les assistants et pour l'église.

La communion du prêtre se donnant à lui même l'Eucharistie est une partie indispensable du sacrifice de la messe, la communion des fidèles en est le complément, afin que la sainte messe renouvelle intégralement l'action du Christ lors de la dernière Cène et soit l'exacte reproduction du sanglant sacrifice du Golgotha, car le rédempteur non seulement s'immola en holocauste, mais offrant son sang pour la rédemption du genre humain, il le répandit, en quelque sorte, sur toutes les âmes humaines, jusqu'à la fin des générations.

Un mot suffit quant à la liturgie; l'oraison qui termine la messe et que le prêtre récite à voix haute et en union avec les assistants, suppose que ceux-ci ont participé à la sainte communion.

La théorie que je viens d'exposer ne donne lieu à aucune hésitation; cependant en pratique, ceux qui assistent à la messe songent en général avec trop peu de dévotion à s'unir à la communion du prêtre.

L'assistance à la messe avec communion spirituelle serait, me paraît-il, l'acheminement le plus assuré à l'habitude de la communion sacramentelle. La même vérité apparaîtra d'une façon plus pratique dans les considérations qu'il me reste à vous présenter.

Seconde partie.

J'aborde l'examen de ma seconde proposition: Pour assurer le progrès des fidèles dans la pratique de la communion fréquente et quotidienne il faut promouvoir dans les familles chrétiennes la sainte habitude d'assister à la messe tous les jours de l'année.

Toute société humaine marchant vers un but, n'y parvient

que par étapes. C'est la loi nécessaire, elle resulte de notre nature.

Et les âmes, soit vers le mal, soit vers le bien, procèdent par décadences successives ou par échelons.

L'habitude d'assister souvent à la sainte messe, sera l'étape des familles chrétiennes à l'habitude de recevoir souvent la sainte communion.

Comment l'obéissance au précepte de la messe dominicale est-elle maintenue avec plus ou moins de régularité dans les familles chrétiennes? Selon que les mœurs particulières de la famille sont plus ou moins coordonnées vers l'observation du précepte.

Quand règne vraiment l'esprit chrétien, tout dans la famille s'organise afin que parents, enfants, serviteurs et même ouvriers soient dirigés le dimanche vers l'église; et tout projet mettant en péril la facile observance du précepte est écarté.

Lorsque l'esprit chrétien n'a pas une action réelle sur l'ensemble de la famille, la messe du dimanche dépend pour chacun de son initiative, de sa décision et parfois de l'énergie de sa volonté.

Il en sera de même pour la messe plus fréquente et pour la messe quotidienne.

Le nombre des familles chrétiennes dont les usages favorisent la quotidienne assistance à la messe de tous ses membres est relativement encore assez restreint, les apôtres de la communion fréquente doivent s'attacher à le faire augmenter.

Car, pour vaincre les obstacles d'ordre matériel, qui s'opposent à la communion fréquente, il faut d'abord vaincre ceux qui s'opposent à ce que chaque jour, la famille entende la sainte messe.

L'obstacle matériel est aggravé par la résistance d'inertie qu'opposent à des habitudes plus parfaites, celles qui semblent avoir acquis droit de cité.

Les jeunes gens, les jeunes personnes ayant contracté dans les maisons d'éducation l'habitude de la messe quotidienne et de la communion fréquente, s'entendent dire, pendant les vacances et à l'issue de leur éducation: oui, en pension c'était fort bien, mais comprenez que nous ne pouvons modifier les habitudes de la maison, faire lever les sujets plus tôt, etc.

Il est toujours fort difficile de mener dans la famille un genre de vie différente de l'ensemble de ses membres, et la tolérance sera en général, moindre à l'égard des exceptions motivées par la piété !

Les efforts des apôtres de la messe quotidienne devront se porter sur les chefs de famille, pères et mères, et plus particulièrement encore sur les familles récemment créées.

Combien de fois n'arrive-t-il pas que des jeunes ménages soient composés de deux personnes qui avaient l'habitude de la messe et de la communion fréquente, à peine le mariage est-il conclu que les jeunes époux perdent l'un et l'autre leurs pieuses habitudes: il faut alors des années, ou une circonstance exceptionnelle pour qu'ils les reprennent.

Les soins à donner aux jeunes enfants empêchent la jeune mère, les intérêts et le travail préoccupent le jeune chef de famille: et la communion fréquente qui, souvent, a subi une parenthèse plus ou moins longue pendant le voyage de noce, est fort exposée à tomber en désuétude.

Directeurs de conscience, prédicateurs de retraites, attachons nous à maintenir dans les jeunes familles, à introduire dans les plus anciennes, la sainte habitude de la messe de semaine; nous aurons fait faire une étape importante vers la communion fréquente.

Les considérations que nous venons de faire sont d'ordre plutôt matériel, elles ont leur importance sans doute, mais dans la vie chrétienne, le principe vital est surnaturel, et je serais incomplet jusqu'à l'inexactitude, si je ne proposais à l'appui de ma thèse un argument d'ordre plus profond et qui a pour base la haute logique qui procède généralement a l'action des grâces dans nos âmes.

Les progrès dans la piété résultent, d'une double action: une action divine donnant la grâce et une action de la volonté humaine fidèle à celle-ci; à ce double point de vue, l'habitude de la communion fréquente aura habituellement son germe dans l'habitude de la messe quotidienne.

Sans doute, la grâce divine peut produire dans les âmes des effets aussi subits et prompts que merveilleux; mais la conduite ordinaire de la bonté divine est de ménager en notre

âme des progrès successifs: les premières grâces sont offertes gratuitement et elles sont tout au moins, plus abondantes que nous ne les méritons: les grâces ultérieures sont accordées en récompense de nos premiers efforts. Dieu procède ainsi afin de faire moins d'ingrats et sa bonté va souvent jusqu'à ne point nous offrir des bienfaits dont nous sommes disposés à abuser.

La grâce de communier souvent a son germe dans une grâce antérieure, d'une semblable nature et qui en sera comme la cause formelle, et je vois une succession de logique sainte en ces trois degrés:—assister à la messe—s'unir au prêtre par la communion spirituelle—s'unir parfaitement au saint sacrifice par la réception de l'Eucharistie; le troisième degré renouvelle le mystère de la dernière Cène; s'en faire une loi de tous les jours, est l'idéal de la piété chrétienne.

De la part de Dieu, les grâces accordées en récompenses des fidélités précédentes se succèderont dans l'ordre de ces trois degrés: et, mieux sera compris le saint sacrifice de la messe, plus impérieux surgiront les saints désirs d'une participation plus entière au système divin.

Toutefois, pour que l'assistance au saint sacrifice produise ces heureux résultats, fasse en quelque sorte l'éducation de l'âme pieuse; il est indispensable que cette assistance soit formellement telle. Toutes les méthodes ne sont pas également efficaces: celui qui aurait l'intention principale d'obtenir telles et telles grâces déterminées, telles faveurs temporelles et spirituelles, de gagner beaucoup d'indulgences, de réciter telles formules d'ailleurs très pieuses mais n'ayant qu'une relation très éloignée avec le saint sacrifice ne disposerait pas aussi bien son âme aux grâces spéciales dont nous parlons.

Je conseillerais à ces personnes de réserver leurs pratiques spéciales pour le moment de l'action de grâces, pour les visites au saint sacrement et les saluts; mais, lorsqu'elles assistent à la messe, de se servir soit du paroissien romain, soit des méthodes qui ont pour base les diverses parties de la messe et se rapprochent le plus qu'il est possible de l'action et des prières du prêtre.

A cette condition le sacrifice et le sacrement conserveront pour elles leur essentielle unité.

Conclusions.

Chrétiens, voulez-vous honorer Dieu par le culte le plus parfait, le plus digne de sa divine majesté? Assistez à la sainte messe et unissez vous au prêtre éternel, notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, unissez vous à son holocauste: et songez aux deux premières fins du sacrifice, le culte de latrie et le culte d'action de grâces.

Voulez-vous prier pour l'Église, pour les pauvres pécheurs, pour la sanctification des âmes, pour vous-mêmes? Unissez vous à la prière de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et de son Église, dans les oraisons de la messe, au canon, au pater: et songez aux deux autres fins du sacrifice de la messe: la propitiation pour les péchés, l'impétration des grâces surnaturelles.

Voulez-vous sanctifier vos âmes, les unir à Jésus-Christ, les soutenir de ce pain céleste, de ce pain vivant qui est donné aux enfants de Dieu? Ne séparez jamais le sacrement du sacrifice, et ne négligez jamais de communier avec le prêtre; toujours au moins par vos pieux désirs, souvent, chaque jour, s'il est possible, en vous approchant assez du prêtre pour qu'il vous dise: "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam!"

Et vous, apôtres de la communion quotidienne, songez que pour établir cette coutume sainte d'une manière permanente et générale, il faut obtenir dans les familles chrétiennes des habitudes nouvelles, mettant tous les membres de la famille à même d'assister chaque jour à la sainte messe.

Pour obtenir un progrès si précieux et une situation aussi désirable, soyons pour les fidèles les plus fervents, les apôtres de la communion quotidienne; pour les moins ardents, soyons les propagateurs de la messe quotidienne; pour tous, soyons les évangélisateurs de la messe plus profondément comprise et aimée; à tous, faisons comprendre, aimer et admirer l'œuvre de notre Rédempteur Divin le soir du Jeudi-Saint, lorsque par une action unique il institua et donna au monde sauvé le sacrifice de la loi nouvelle, le sacrement de la sainte Eucharistie, et l'indéfectible sacerdoce selon l'ordre de Melchisédech.

Le congrès eucharistique au cœur même de cette Angle-

terre, si chère au cœur de Dieu, se lève sur elle comme le soleil radieux qui nous éclairait ce matin.

N'est-ce-pas la célébration de la sainte messe qui fut pour cette contrée, l'île des saints, l'enjeu de la lutte héroïque entre les catholiques fidèles et la religion nouvelle?

C'est pour avoir célébré la sainte messe que les martyrs furent condamnés à la torture et à la mort—c'est en assistant à la sainte messe que l'élite des catholiques reste fidèle à la foi.

Ils avaient compris l'importance de la messe, ceux qui voulant détruire le papisme firent de la sainte Eucharistie le *signum cui contradicetur*.

Et voici, pour l'Église d'Angleterre, l'heure de la récompense, dans la société chrétienne, un mouvement de surprise d'abord, puis un cri de bonheur, une acclamation de louange à Dieu à il y a quelques mois.

"Laudetur Jesus Christus in sanctissimo altaris sacramento," loué soit Jésus-Christ triomphant, établissant son règne dans l'auguste sacrement des autels.

Loué soit Jésus-Christ vivant au milieu de nous dans les saints tabernacles!

Loué soit Jésus-Christ s'immolant, comme sur le Calvaire pour rendre à son Père le seul culte digne de lui, pour assurer à nos âmes le pardon—les grâces de sanctification.

Loué soit Jésus-Christ, pain de vie, gage de l'immortalité de cette vie spirituelle que sa rédemption a communiquée à nos âmes.

"Laudetur in æternum sanctissimum sacramentum."

APPENDIX G

THE LEGALITY OF THE PROPOSED EUCHARISTIC PROCESSION

It seems worth while to call attention to the fact that, although the "No-Popery" assailants of the projected Procession of the Blessed Sacrament universally assumed that to hold such a procession would be against the law, the alleged illegality is by no means clear, as indeed the language used by the Prime Minister himself plainly implies. In his telegram to the Archbishop of Westminster, Mr Asquith was content to speak of the "proposed ceremonial, the legality of which is open to question." As no judicial decision has ever been given upon the point, no one could prudently say more. The question concerns the interpretation of Clause 26 of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which runs as follows:—

> "Be it further enacted, that if any Roman Catholic eccle-
> "siastic, or any member of any of the Orders, Communities
> "or Societies, hereinafter mentioned, shall, after the com-
> "mencement of this Act, exercise any of the rites or
> "ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the
> "habits of his Order, save within the usual places of
> "worship of the Roman Catholic religion, or in private
> "houses, such ecclesiastic or other person shall, being
> "thereof convicted by due course of law, forfeit for every
> "such offence the sum of £50."

No doubt this at first sight seems to forbid to Catholics the holding out of doors of any function distinctive of Catholic

worship, but the interpretation of such a Statute must always in some measure depend upon practice. What is it which precisely constitutes "a rite or ceremony of the Roman Catholic religion"? This has never been defined, and, on the other hand, it seems arguable that the mere walking in procession, even when the Blessed Sacrament is carried, does not *necessarily* constitute a rite or ceremony within the meaning of the Act. Processions of children dressed in white and of priests in cassocks and cottas have long been tolerated in the heart of London, even when religious banners were displayed and a statue of the Blessed Virgin was borne through the streets. A priest in surplice and stole has blessed with holy water the colours of the Irish Guards upon the Horse Guards' Parade in the presence of His Majesty the King. There are Franciscan friars who have lived for years in England, and who have constantly worn their habit out of doors in our great towns unmolested. It is to be assumed that these acts were not illegal, but if they were not illegal, their legality can only be defended upon the assumption that the terms of the Statute are to be interpreted here in their most restricted sense.

Again, the clause which forbids any Catholic ecclesiastic or any member of certain religious Orders "to wear the habits of his Order" in public, clearly introduces terminology of a very ambiguous kind, for while the context seems to point to what we commonly understand by a "religious habit," a comparison with previous enactments of the same class suggests that the vestments distinctive of sacred orders, *i.e.*, those distinctive of priests, deacons, etc., were originally intended by our legislators. (See Father J. H. Pollen in *The Month*, October 1908, pp. 367-370.)

It seems reasonable, therefore, to infer from all this that the interpretation of Clause 26 of the Catholic Emancipation Act is involved in much obscurity. Indeed, shortly after the prohibition of the procession, at a meeting held by the Baptist Union to express approval of Mr Asquith's action in preventing the carrying of the Host through the streets of London, a remarkable utterance upon the legal aspect of the question was delivered by His Honour Judge Willis, while speaking in full sympathy with the motion. Judge Willis, whose reputation as

a jurist stands high, and who was for five years examiner in Common Law at the University of London, is stated in the newspaper reports to have said:—"In his (Judge Willis's) opinion Mr Asquith possessed no more power to prevent the procession in which the Host was carried than any other citizen. In fact, no one in the realm had any authority to stop the procession or to interfere with any of the persons who should compose it. The intended procession would not in Common Law have constituted an unlawful or illicit assembly, and even if it had been made illegal by Act of Parliament—and he did not know of any such Act—no one could lawfully touch in a hostile manner any person forming part of such a procession. The procession could not be regarded as a violent assembly, merely because men of distempered passions might assail it like a vulgar mob."

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